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THE Journal of THOMAS STORY, which is commenced in the present volume, is one of peculiar value. It contains a variety of interesting personal narrative, and lucid explanations of the doctrinal views of the Society of Friends. It was his lot to be frequently engaged in controversies with the opponents of Friends, and he has given copious and instructive details respecting these, exhibiting the objections of his adversaries and the sound Scriptural arguments by which he refuted them. Both the doctrines, and the objections brought against them, being the same, down to the present day, the journal furnishes clear and satisfactory solutions of the difficulties and cavils by which those who are inimical to Quakerism seek to puzzle the minds, especially of the young, and to shake their faith in the soundness of those precious principles which the Society has ever held, and which have proved a source of strength and consolation through life, and in death to its brightest and best members. The account of the conviction of Thomas Story, conveys much instruction, proving that his religion was the product of obedience to the revelations of the Holy Spirit in his heart, and a submission to those baptisms by which the dross and tin, the corruptions of the first and fallen nature are done away. It was not a religion of tradition, or education, or which cost him nothing; but a quickening powerful work begun and carried on by the divine hand in the inner man, the verity of which was proved by the readiness with which he parted with all that he apprehended stood in his way to obtaining the pearl of great price. While we prize the privileges of a birthright in the Society, it is much to be desired that more of those who are thus made nominal members, might be induced to submit to the same blessed means by which Thomas Story was made such a dignified and useful instrument in the divine hand, that so they might become happy possessors of the benefits and the privileges of the religion they profess.

IN closing the Journal of THOMAS STORY, the Editors wish to solicit for it the careful and attentive perusal of their subscribers. It is replete with interest and instruction. Aside from the personal narrative, which depicts in a striking manner his early religious impressions, his conviction, growth in the Truth, and his abundant labours for its advancement, the doctrinal matter contained in the work is clear, cogent and convincing. The ceremonies of dipping and sprinkling in water, and of taking the bread and wine, are ably discussed, and the various objections to the doctrine of Friends on those subjects, are met and answered, in a manner that must, we think, remove every reasonable doubt and difficulty. Other points of doctrine, wherein the Society of Friends differ from other Christian professors are also handled in a lucid and informing manner, and many popular errors respecting the great truths of Christianity are plainly exposed; particularly that which teaches people not to expect entire redemption from sinning in this life. There are few Journals extant, the diligent and serious perusal of which, would be more likely to give our young friends correct views of our religious principles and testimonies, and we are therefore particularly desirous it may claim their attention.

JOSEPH PHIPPS, whose treatise on the Original and Present State of Man, is commenced in this number, is one of the most perspicuous and forcible writers in the Society. This work has long been considered a valuable and instructive essay on the subjects of which it treats; and has several times been republished. It takes up, and refutes, some of the unfounded objections which the adversaries of the Society have at different periods brought against it; and as they are still occasionally revived it is well to be acquainted with the manner in which they have long since been answered. We think our readers will find it interesting and useful.

THE MEMORANDUMS OF PATIENCE BRAYTON, which are printed in this number, appear to have been written by a humble and sincere Christian, and though not adorned by beauties of style, set forth an instructive example of humility and watchfulness, and that daily exercise of mind before the Lord, which is essential to a growth and preservation in vital religion.

In taking a review of the present volume of the Library, the Editors are encouraged to believe that it does not fall behind any which have preceded it, in the value or importance of its contents. It enters more largely than either of the others, into doctrinal matter, giving a clear and concise view of many of those precious truths which our worthy forefathers were divinely called to uphold; which they proved conclusively, to be in accordance with the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, and which their successors of the present day, are under a solemn obligation faithfully to maintain.

Although the work has already extended through ten volumes, there is still a considerable amount of excellent matter unpublished in it, which it is desirable should make a part of the series, especially, as the Library now forms almost the only collection of Friends' writings to be found in many families and neighbourhoods, and will probably be more exclusively so, in

years to come. When we look toward succeeding generations, as well as the large number of youth now growing up in the Society, it does seem a matter of great importance that there should be printed and preserved to posterity, a good selection of those valuable writings which set forth the principles and testimonies of the religious Society of which we are members, the faithfulness and zeal of our predecessors in suffering for and spreading the Truth, and the blessed effects which it wrought in their hearts; producing a life and conversation becoming the gospel, and sustaining them in the hours of sickness and of death, by the undoubted assurance that they had not followed cunningly devised fables, but the very Truth of God, the end whereof would be everlasting life. With these views the Editors are encouraged to persevere in their labours, and they solicit from Friends generally, their continued support for the work.

Abg. L. Williams

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COMPRISING

JOURNALS, DOCTRINAL TREATISES, AND OTHER WRITINGS

OF

MEMBERS OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

EDITED BY WILLIAM EVANS AND THOMAS EVANS.

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VOL. X.

CONTAINING

LIFE OF THOMAS STORY.—THE ORIGINAL AND PRESENT STATE OF MAN.
LIFE OF PATIENCE BRAYTON.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY JOSEPH RAKESTRAW,

FOR THE EDITORS.

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1846.







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THE  
JOURNAL OF THE LIFE  
OF  
THOMAS STORY,

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

[The Journal of Thomas Story, containing much repetition of the same matter, it has been thought best to revise it, and abridge some parts, carefully retaining the most interesting portions of the narrative and a clear exposition of his doctrinal views.]

THE following work is intended to record the tender mercies and judgments of the Lord; to relate my own experience of his dealings with me through the course of my life; and to write a faithful journal of my travels and labours in the service of the gospel: which I design for my own review, and likewise for the serious perusal of all those who may incline to inquire into things of this nature.

I have solid evidence to believe, that the Lord, in his great mercy and kindness, had an eye upon me for my good, even in my infancy, inclining my heart to seek after him in my tender years. From hence, I may reasonably conclude, arose that early inclination I had to solitude; where I sometimes had religious thoughts, and frequently read in the holy Scriptures; which I ever loved, and still do, above all books, as most worthy and most profitable; especially the New Testament, in which I chiefly delighted.

In this state, my mind suffered many flowings and ebbings; and as I grew up towards a young man, I found myself under great disadvantages in matters of religion, as I was then circumstanced. My father, intending me for the study of the law, which was esteemed a genteel profession, first sent me to the fencing-school, as a fashionable and manly accomplishment. Here I became a considerable proficient in a short time, over all my cotemporaries in that faculty; by which my mind was greatly drawn out, and alienated from those beginnings of solidity which I had once known. Having also acquired some skill in music, the exercise of that occasioned an acquaintance and society not profit-

able to religion; though I was hitherto preserved from such things as are generally accounted evils among mankind.

After this I was put to the study of the law, under a counsellor in the country; with a design to be entered, afterwards, into one of the inns of court, and to finish there. Being much in the country, and the family sober and religious in their way, of the most moderate sort of Presbyterians, I had again the advantage of solitude and little company, and that innocent; so that my mind returned to its former state, and further search after the truth. And though I had, at times, some youthful airs, yet, through secret grace, I was preserved from gross evils, and gained respect from all the family.

During my abode with this counsellor, I was several times with him at London; where by the fear of God, I was preserved from vice and evil company, which much abound in that great city, though I was not without temptations; and some not otherwise to be resisted than by the secret influence of grace, which supercedes them; though it may not always be immediately apprehended by such as are preserved by it.

Though I was educated in the way of the national church of England, yet I had no aversion to any class professing the Christian name, but occasionally, heard several sorts; and yet did not fully approve any sect in all things, as I came to consider them closely. At Newcastle upon Tyne I once happened to hear a famous Presbyterian preacher. It was in the reign of King Charles the Second, when the national laws were against them



and all other dissenters from the national worship; and they, being cowardly, had their meeting in the night, and in an upper room, with a watch set below. I did not go into the room, but stood at the head of the stairs, expecting to hear something like doctrine from so noted a man among them; but all that he entertained his auditory with, was suggestions of jealousy and dislike against the government; and this he delivered in such a way as appeared to me very disagreeable.

At another time I was at a Friends' meeting, on a week-day, at Broughton, in the county of Cumberland; where I applied my mind with as much diligence as I could to examine what I could discern in their way. But, though I observed they were very grave, serious and solid, in the time of their worship, I could gather but little, either from their manner or doctrine; only I took them to be an honest, innocent, and well-meaning sect.

Towards the latter end of the year 1687, we came out of the country, and had chambers in the city of Carlisle. King James the Second being then on the throne, and the garrison and castle in the hands of popish officers and governors, the Protestants were apprehensive of great danger, and the people much divided in their sentiments and interests. There was a loose and treacherous sort among the Protestants, who approached daily nearer and nearer towards the Papists, and fell in, generally, with all their measures; which grieved the steady part, and justly heightened their apprehensions.

About this time I went diligently to the public worship, especially to the cathedral at Carlisle; where, in time of public prayer, as soon as that called the Apostle's Creed began, we all used to turn our faces towards the east; and when the word Jesus was mentioned, we all bowed and kneeled towards the altar-table, as they call it; where stood a couple of Common Prayer books, in folio, one at each side of the table, and over them, painted upon the wall, I. H. S. signifying, *Jesus Hominum Salvator*; Jesus, the Saviour of mankind.

I had read and heard many things of the popish religion; of their manifold ceremonies, strange tenets and doctrines; their cruelty, murders, and massacres of all who differed from them, wherever they had power: which I thought denoted a degeneracy below even fallen nature; that making men worse than this. As I was concerned to inquire more and more after the truth of religion, the manner of our worship in the cathedral often put me in mind of the popish religion and ceremonies, and made me conclude, that the way we were in, retained abundance of the old relics; our prayers, postures, songs, organs,

cringings and shows, appearing to be little else than an abridgment of the popish mass, and the pomp and show attending it; I began to be very uneasy with it; and though I went there a little longer, yet I could not comply with several of the ceremonies; which being taken notice of, in a familiar conference with an acquaintance of the same way, I asked a little pleasantly, What is that we worship towards the east? And why towards the altar, more than any other place, at the saying of the Creed? The person replied, "Sure you are not so ignorant as you would make yourself seem. The Scripture saith, 'At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.' And again, 'As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.'"

To the first I returned, That our pagan ancestors were worshippers of the sun and all the host of heaven; and this looked very like that; and could not certainly be grounded on that Scripture; which I cannot understand to signify any other, than the gradual manifestation of the power and glory of Christ to the world. But if he should literally come from the east, in an outward sense; which, considering the state of the earth, its revolutions and relation to the sun and other planets, cannot be in the nature of things, that being west to one place which is east to another; yet that coming would not excuse our superstition, if not idolatry, before he so come; though I grant, if he should so come, and we see him, then, and not till then, may we lawfully and reasonably worship towards the place, or imaginary place, of his coming.

As to bowing at the name of Jesus, I understand it to be in the nature of a prediction, that in the fulness of time all powers in heaven and earth shall be subjected and brought under the power of Christ, as the next verse imports, which is explanatory of the former, viz: that "every tongue shall confess, that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." Agreeing also with what the Lord Jesus himself saith,—“All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.” And therefore, this bowing towards a cipher of the words, Jesus the Saviour, painted upon a wall, whilst the heart and spirit of a man is not subjected to the power of his grace, is but a mocking of Christ, a relic of popery, and hath some show of idolatry in it, from which I thought all Protestants had been thoroughly reformed.

This a little surprised my acquaintance at first, coming from one in whom so little of the work of religion appeared outwardly; but



as I remained in the diversions of fencing, dancing, music, and other recreations of the like sort, little notice was taken for a while.

After this I happened to be at a christening, as we called it, of a relation's child; on which occasion I found my mind agitated in an unusual manner, and a secret aversion to that ceremony; which I perceived was not according to the holy Scripture, for we have neither precept nor example there for that practice. And when the priest came to say the prayer, which is a part of the service on that occasion, a great fear and surprise came over my mind, as I gave a more close attention than usual, so that I could not pay that regard to it as formerly. By way of introduction to the work, the priest reads part of the tenth chapter of Mark's history of the gospel, where it is related, that the people "brought young children to Christ, that he should touch them;" that his disciples rebuked those that brought them. But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased; and said unto them, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God. Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall not enter therein. And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them." After this they prayed that God would give his holy Spirit to that infant; that she, being born again, and made an heir of everlasting salvation, through our Lord Jesus Christ, might continue the servant of God, and obtain his promise, &c. And after some more ceremony, the priest said, "We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign her with the sign of the cross," &c. Then the priest, pretending to the company that the infant is, by that ransom, regenerated and grafted into the body of Christ's church, exhorts them to prayer; the substance whereof was this: they thanked God that it had pleased him to regenerate that infant, with his holy Spirit, to receive her for his own child by adoption, and to incorporate her into his holy church, &c.

Upon this I note, that the Scripture there hath no relation at all to baptism; much less to sprinkling, which is no baptism. For the people brought their children to the Lord Christ, not to be baptised, but that he might touch them; and he answered the faith of the people accordingly; he blessed them, and declared their innocence and aptitude for the kingdom of God, without such baptism; and did not baptise them. So that this Scripture is inapplicable, and all the consequences drawn from it, in this sense, are null and chimerical. But they, first praying that God, in their own invented way, would give his holy Spirit to

that child; and that being taken for granted, as already done by that ceremony and prayer, they then receive the child into the congregation of Christ's flock; as they say, acknowledging, that, by that baptism, that child is regenerated, and grafted into the body of Christ's church; and accordingly they make their address of thanks to God for doing it. After this ceremony was over, I privately asked the priest, whether he did believe that that ceremony, for which there is not any foundation in Scripture, either for making little children the subjects of baptism, signing them with the sign of the cross, promising and vowing in their names, believing and confessing in their stead, or sprinkling them only with water, &c., did really then, or at any time to come, regenerate those children? At which he smiled, and said no; but it being an established order in the church, the practice could not be omitted. Why then, said I, you do but mock God, in giving him thanks for that which you do not seriously believe he hath effected. And the sequel proves there is no such thing done by those means; for true baptism is justification and sanctification, effected by the holy Spirit of Christ in the mind; and not by the application of any outward element, or external performance of any person whatsoever, under any qualification.

I continued in the national way of worship, though by the divine grace, my understanding was still more and more cleared. About this time the power of king James the Second was at the height, and all sects were indulged with great liberty; when John Scansfield, a noted Quaker, having, by leave, a meeting on a first-day in the town-hall, several young men, amongst whom I was one, went thither to hear what those Quakers had to say. There was a mixed multitude, and some of our sort and company rude enough; but others, and myself, were resolved to give the best attention we could, in order to form a right judgment. Two Cumberland preachers spoke before John Scansfield, whom several of us knew; but their preaching had no other effect upon me, than to confirm an opinion which I had conceived when I was a boy; that as a sort of people I had heard of, called Baptists, imitated John the Baptist, in washing or plunging their followers in water, who, I believed, had not any authority from God for that practice; so the Quakers only imitated the apostles, in going about preaching, as they did, but without that power which the apostles were accompanied with and travelled in; and I thought it was a great pity they were not so endued, since I heard they took pains as if they were. One of these preachers, to me, had only a little dry, empty talk, and the



other was more lively; but straining his voice to be heard over the multitude, he quickly grew hoarse, lost his voice, and so sat down. And then Scansfield, the stranger, from whom we had greater expectations, stood up, and made a more manly appearance than either of the former. The first thing he did was to reprove the rudeness of some of the company; and, in his preaching, falling upon baptism, amongst other things, and alledging there was no foundation for the practice of the church of England, in all the Scripture: concerning that, he advanced this query: "Suppose," said he, "I were a Turk or a Jew, and should ask thee, What is the rule of thy practice in that point? and thou should say the Scripture; and if I should desire to see that Scripture, thou not being able to produce any, what could I conclude other than that thou hadst no foundation for thy religion but thy own imagination, and so go away offended and prejudiced against the Christian religion?" This agreed with my own former sentiments, and gave me occasion to give further attention. In the rest of his speech, he first run down the national church at a great rate, and then likewise the church of Rome: and there being many Irish, popish, military officers present, and a couple of musketeers placed at the door, and the officers behaving so tamely, as no show of dislike appeared in any of them, many suspected Scansfield to be a Jesuit, and that his aim was to expose and run down the church; and what he said against the church of Rome, was only the better to cloak his design: for the king and his friends could support their religion by the power of the sword, and other cruel and forcible means; that being their usual method and practice: but there was nothing then to support the church of England but the truth of her own principles, and the fortitude and stability of her members, in the time of an impending danger and trial.

Many of us left them when they went to prayer; yet I was apprehensive of the secret influence of a divine power and presence, being in some degree, among that people: but that impression did not remain long with me, till renewed upon another occasion; which will be related hereafter.

This was in the year 1688; and when the news came of the birth of a prince, the Papists made a great bonfire in the market place; where they drank wine, till, with that, and the transport of the news, they were exceedingly distracted. The whole Protestant part of the king's subjects, except the temporizers, were in great consternation, and apprehensive of a popish government, and consequent oppression and persecution to de-

struction. Nevertheless, whether out of fear, or other cause, as well the bishops as inferior clergy, and the generality of the people throughout the king's dominions, presented addresses to him on this occasion, replete with the utmost expression of loyalty and duty that words were capable of. The pulpits generally resounded throughout the nation with their king-pleasing doctrine, of passive obedience and non-resistance; but with their own mental reservations, as in the sequel proved, insomuch that he who could not compose a discourse on that modish subject, would beg, borrow, buy, and steal from the more able, rather than not be fashionable; which occasioned jealousy in many, lest the clergy should revert and embrace the old errors; from which they, with the people, seemed to have been reformed. Yet seven of the bishops stood obstinately to their principles, when the king commanded them to read, or cause to be read, his proclamation for liberty of conscience in their respective dioceses; which, though highly reasonable and Christian, they refused. This could not be on any foundation of religion, but because it was contrary to those national laws which persecuted and suppressed all but themselves, and those of their own sect.

The face of affairs thus flattering the Roman interest, they became zenith-high in their expectations and assurance; imperious, insolent, swaggering, and insulting every where; and the Protestants more and more filled with rational apprehensions of impending danger and destruction. Notwithstanding, there were many, both among the priests and people professing the Protestant religion, as brisk and forward as the Papists themselves, to fall into the present measures, interests and politics; which gave others just occasion to think they would, in the end, prove themselves false brethren.

A solid consideration of the state of affairs, and the doubtfulness of the issue, put me upon a more inward and close observation of persons and things than ever. And one day, at the assizes at Carlisle, dining at an inn with a mixed company, where happened to be two of our ministers of the church of England, a popish gentleman moved a debate concerning transubstantiation; pretending to prove, by Scripture, that, by virtue of certain words which their priests say over a piece of bread, or wafer, there is a substantial conversion of it into the real body of Christ; the very same that was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified at Jerusalem, and now glorified in heaven.

The text of Scripture he advanced to support this position, was, "And as they were eating, Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it,



and gave it to the disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body." And his argument was this, That Christ, being the Word of God, and the truth, whatever he said must be positively and literally true; and therefore there is a real change of the bread into the true and real body of Christ: and this being an ordinance of God to his ministers, the same power is annexed to that ordinance; since, at the same time, he commanded them to do the same, saying, "This do in remembrance of me."

During this uninterrupted discourse, my zeal was kindled, so that I could scarcely contain it. But being young, and diffident of my own abilities, and paying regard and preference to our two ministers present, and expecting their appearance against so great an error, and so opposite to the Protestant religion, I delayed till it became almost unseasonable to engage him. But they minding their plates, and hanging down their heads, with their countenances veiled by their hats; and I seeing no sign of any answer from them to the papist, I took him up upon the subject, thus:

You of the church of Rome take these words literally; but we take the whole form of his speech at that time on that subject, to be figurative; and that these words, "This is my body," intended no more than, This bread is a symbol, or figure, or representation of my body, which shall shortly hereafter be broken for you: for we ought not to divide the sentence or speech of Christ, and take one part literally and another figuratively. And you may remember that, at the same time, he also took the cup, saying, "This cup is the New Testament, in my blood, which is shed for you." Do you think that that cup, whether of gold, silver, glass, or wood, was the New Testament? Or can't you see, that in this latter part of his speech there is a double figure? First, the thing containing for the thing contained; and secondly, the wine in the cup, exhibited under the word cup, as a figure or representation of his blood; which was not then actually, or literally shed, or his body broken. And seeing he said, in the present tense, "This is my body which is broken (not to be broken) for you; and this cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is (not which shall hereafter be) shed for you;" you must either own that Christ advanced a false proposition, which you will not; or that he spoke figuratively in both sentences; which you cannot reasonably avoid. Besides, the words uttered by Christ himself, did not work that effect you imagine; for no man can call a thing by any name, denoting its existence, before it is that thing which it is called: [then

taking up a plate] no man, for instance, can truly and literally say, this is a plate, if it were not a plate before. Then, by a parity of reason and truth, Christ could not say, this bread is my body, if it were not his body before. Therefore these words made no alteration, for it was so before; these words were only declarative of what was before, and not initiatory, or commencing of a new being, which was not there before. Again, if ever these words had effected a transubstantiation, they would when Christ himself uttered them. Consider then, pray, that as soon as Christ began to speak these words, "This is my body," the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, began to cease to be his body, and the bread began to convert into it; and that, as soon as the words were finished, the body born of the Virgin, altogether ceased to be what it was before; and, by a new way of corporeal transmigration, insinuated itself into the bread; which, by the same degrees that the body of Christ ceased to be his body, commenced, proceeded, grew, and became his body; or else he had two bodies present with his disciples at the same time; and if they eat his body that evening, what body was that which was crucified the next day? And what blood was then shed, if, the night before, the disciples had drank the blood of Jesus in a proper and literal sense, and without a figure? And where now is that same cup? If you have lost that, you have, in your own sense, lost the New Testament, and all your share therein. Now, if you can persuade me and this company out of our senses and understandings, so that we may be able to believe against both, that a piece of bread is the body of Christ, and a cup of wine is his blood, then you may bid fair for our conversion, or rather perversion, to your religion. But, till you can do that, you cannot reasonably expect we should embrace so great absurdities. Upon this, several of the company laughed; and the Papist said these were great mysteries, and the subject copious and intricate, and could not, at that time, be fully prosecuted, but might be more largely discussed at some other convenient opportunity. I replied, then why did you move it? Could you think we would all sit silent, to hear you propagate such notions, and make no opposition? And so the matter dropped. But though I had thus opposed him, he showed more respect to me afterwards than to any other of the company.

Dinner being over, our ministers retired into another room, and I went to them; where, with much seeming respect, they addressed themselves to me after this manner, "We are very glad to hear you have so much



to say in defence of our religion, and that you managed the debate so that he got no advantage, nor could maintain his point." But I, being still under the grief and shame, as well as resentment, of their temporizing cowardice and negligence, quickly returned thus: "And I, gentlemen, am very much grieved and ashamed to find that you had nothing at all to say in defence of it, which I very much wondered at; for I so long expected one of you would have engaged the gentleman, that it was almost unseasonable to make any answer."

To this they replied, that I might do it a great deal better and safer than they; for it would have been more taken notice of, and worse resented in them; and might have been greatly to their future prejudice.

This reply, from men of their profession, at such a crisis, when our religion was apparently in the most imminent danger, bore such an aspect of temporizing, and was so suspicious of a secret inclination to apostatize from their own avowed principles and to conform to Popery, then ready to force its way into fashion, that it very much offended me, increasing my former disgust; and occasioned such a crowd of thoughts in my mind about the clergy and the religion they pretended to propagate, that I said no more to them about it.

This was towards the end of August, in the year 1688; and not long after, arrived the Prince of Orange; at whose appearance, that party which had but a little before, been so very high, despotic, and rampant, were at once universally dispirited and dejected to such a degree, that they stole away from some places in the night, particularly Carlisle. There was a strong castle here, and other fortified holds, and the city surrounded with a high and strong wall, and well stored with ammunition; which made many judge that their guilt, and the consciousness of their own evil designs against the Protestants, were the main ground of the panic which seized them at the news of the arrival of that Protestant prince; with whom they had good ground to believe the Protestants had a secret understanding; and with whom, most likely, they would quickly join; which accordingly happened at the erecting of his standard and displaying his banners.

Being at Carlisle when this surprising departure of the Popish party happened, and with them our great fears, I wrote to my brother, chaplain to the Countess Dowager of Carlisle, and then with her at Howard castle, in Yorkshire, a full and particular account of all the circumstances of it; which being intercepted, with other letters, and sent to the

Lord Delamere, then in arms, in favour of the Prince, it gave him great satisfaction. But the noise of passive obedience and non-resistance being still fresh in my ears; and, thinking the clergy would oppose their late doctrine by a contrary practice, I inserted this sentence in the close of my letter: "However, I could now wish that those who have so lately been preaching passive obedience to others, may not be found in actual rebellion themselves." I was not aware into whose hands it might fall; nor had I penetration enough to discern, or apprehend the subtle distinctions contrived by the learned clergy to reconcile their practice to their doctrine; distinguishing and explaining it so as to make it, at last, passive obedience and no passive obedience. But the sentence above being then unfashionable, my brother was directed to admonish me to forbear meddling any more with that subject.

These things gave me still more occasion to reflect, and closely to consider the foundation of our own religion and of those who pretended to propagate it. For though that doctrine, rightly stated, is a Christian doctrine and duty, yet the failure in practice renders that testimony, as to them, void, how nicely and subtly soever they may interpret themselves out of the practice of what the people understood, and the priests intended they should understand by it at that time.

But though I was well pleased with the revolution of affairs at that time, the circumstances thereof being attended with sufficient evidence of a very particular providence of the Almighty, yet I took offence at the clergy's appearing so much in it as they did, who had lately so vehemently preached up contrary principles.

This great and sudden revolution in the government seemed to unhinge things for a time; and few, if any, knew where they would at last fix. The church was divided in judgment, if not in interest; some few keeping to the practice of their former doctrine, but the generality receding from it. So that, for my own part, being young, and only a private person, I could not see any certainty in any thing we called religion, state, or politics; all being interpreted as served the times; or as if none of them had any certain or steady bottom, or longer continued the same, than the humour or interest of Pretenders run that way. Christianity, heaven, and eternal life, and the way thither, were the general pretences of so many insincere and empty professors of Christ, wholly strangers to his holy and divine nature; that under deep humiliation in a view of these things, and of my own want of an experimental knowledge of



God, in true contrition, and bent of both mind and body before him in secret, I often implored his divine wisdom and direction in a concern of the last importance; in which, above all things, we ought to be most certain and clear, both as to the object of faith, in things to be believed, done and suffered; about which there are so many great and unchristian-like contests in the pretended Christian world, and so little of the wise, innocent, and holy nature of that divine and heavenly thing we all talk and make profession of.

I think proper in this place, to recount some of the gracious dealings of the Lord with me from my early days. I was not naturally addicted to much vice or evil; and yet, through the conversation of rude boys at school, I had acquired some things by imitation, tending that way. But as I came to put them in practice, by word or action, I found something in myself at such times, suddenly surprising me with a sense of the evil, and making me ashamed when alone; though what I had said or done was not evil in the common account of such as I conversed with, or among men, in a common acceptance. And though I did not know, or consider what this reprover was, yet it had so much influence and power with me that I was much reformed thereby from those habits, which, in time, might have been foundations for greater evils; or as stocks whereon to have engrafted a worse nature, to the bringing forth of a more plentiful crop of grosser vices.

Nevertheless, as I grew up to maturity I had many flowings and ebblings in my mind; the common temptations among youth being often and strongly presented: and though I was preserved from guilt, as in the sight of men, yet not so before the Lord, who seeth in secret, and at all times beholdeth all the thoughts, desires, words, and actions of the children of men, in every age and throughout the world.

The lust of the flesh, of the eye, and the pride of life, had their objects and subjects presented. The airs of youth were many and potent; strength, activity, and comeliness of person were not wanting, and had their share; nor were natural endowments of mind or competent acquirements afar off; and the glory, advancements and preferments of the world, spread as nets in my view, and the friendship thereof beginning to address me with flattering courtship. I wore a sword, the use of which I well understood, and had foiled several masters of that science in the north and at London; and rode with fire-arms also, of which I knew the use; and yet I was not quarrelsome; for though I emulated, I

was not envious. This rule, as a man, I formed to myself, never to offend or affront any wilfully, or with design; and if, inadvertently, I should happen to disoblige any, rather to acknowledge, than maintain or vindicate a wrong thing; and rather to take ill behaviour from others by the best handle, than to be offended, where no offence was wilfully designed. But then I was determined to resent and punish an affront, or personal injury, when it was done in contempt, or with design. Yet I never met with any, save once; and then I kept to my own maxims with success; and yet so as neither to wound, nor be wounded; the good providence of the Almighty being ever over me and on my side, as well knowing my meaning in all my conduct. But, in process of time, as these motions of corruption and sin became stronger and stronger in me, so the Lord, in great goodness and mercy, made manifest to my understanding the nature and end of them; and having a view of them in the true light, and the danger attending them, they became exceedingly heavy and oppressing to my mind. And then the necessity of that great work of regeneration was deeply impressed upon me; but I had no experience or evidence of it wrought in me hitherto. This apprehension greatly surprised me with fear, considering the great uncertainty of the continuance of the natural life; and it began to put a secret stain upon the world and all its glory, and all that I had to glory in; though I kept these thoughts within my own breast, not knowing of any soul to whom I could seriously and safely divulge them. And indeed none, for a considerable time, discerned my inward concern by any outward appearance; which I found afterwards, had been much to my advantage and safety.

It is admirable by what various steps the Lord is pleased to lead the soul of man out of this world and the spirit of it, home to himself; and yet I am apt to think, that, in his divine and unlimited wisdom, he does not take the same outward method and steps with every one, but varies the work of his providence as their states and circumstances may best suit and bear. By an accident that befel me, I was further alarmed to consider my ways, the uncertainty of life, my present state, and latter end.

It was this: Intending to go to a country church with an acquaintance, as we were riding gently along, my horse stumbling, fell and broke his neck, and lay so heavy upon my leg that I could scarcely draw it from under him; yet I received no hurt. But as we stood by him I had this consideration, that my own life might have been ended by that



occasion, and I did not find myself in a condition fit for heaven, having yet no evidence of that necessary work of regeneration. This brought great heaviness over my mind, which did not totally depart till, through the infinite mercy of God, I was favoured with further knowledge and a better state.

Hitherto I had known the grace of God in me only as a manifestor of evil and of sin, a word of reproof, and a law condemning and judging those thoughts, desires, words, passions, affections, acts and omissions, which are seated in the first nature, and rooted in the carnal mind; in which the suggestions, temptations, and influences of the evil one work and prevail. By this divine grace I was, in some good degree, enlightened, reformed, and enabled to shun and forbear all words and acts known to be evil, and moral righteousness restored in my mind, and thereby brought forth in me. I became then weaned from all my former acquaintance and company; their manners and conversation, though not vicious, for such I never liked, became burdensome and disagreeable; for they had not the knowledge of God, nor such a conversation as I wanted. Yet I did not know the divine grace in its own nature, as it is in Christ; not as a word of faith, sanctification, justification, consolation and redemption; being yet alive in my own nature. The Son of God was not yet revealed in me; nor I, by the power of his holy cross, mortified and slain; being without the knowledge of the essential truth, and in a state contrary to him, and unreconciled. But the Lord did not leave me here, but, in his matchless mercy, followed me still by his holy admonitions, and more and more inclined my mind in an earnest inquiry after himself, and his own truth and Word; concerning whom, I did not know of any in all the earth who could teach me, the world being universally, as I judged by the general ways and courses of men, of all forms and ranks, altogether ignorant of the Lord, knowing only some historical and traditional hints concerning him, and of his doctrine and ways; which having little or no effect or influence upon the minds and conversations of men, it seemed but a dead knowledge or image, and they being dead whilst they yet lived, did not really and savingly believe in the true God, and Christ Jesus, of whom they made profession and talked. I did not then know that the Lord had any people in the world, owned by his presence with them, as his flock and family; which reminds me of that saying of the Lord, "Nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?"

My mind being truly earnest with God,

thirsting unto death for the knowledge of the Way of Life, he was pleased to hear the voice of my necessity; for I wanted present salvation, and the Lord knew my case could not admit of further delay. Being moved by his own free mercy and goodness, even in the same love in which he sent his Son, the beloved, into the world, to seek and save the lost; on the 1st day of the second month, in the evening, in the year, according to the common account, 1689, being alone in my chamber, the Lord brake in upon me unexpectedly; quick as lightning from the heavens, and as a righteous, all-powerful, all-knowing, and sin-condemning Judge: before whom my soul, as in the deepest agony, trembled, was confounded and amazed, and filled with such awful dread as no words can reach or declare.

My mind seemed plunged into utter darkness, and eternal condemnation appeared to inclose me on every side, as in the centre of the horrible pit; never to see redemption thence, or the face of him in mercy, whom I had sought with all my soul. But in the midst of this confusion and amazement, where no thought could be formed, or any idea retained, save eternal death possessing my whole man, a voice was formed and uttered in me, "Thy will, O God, be done; if this be thy act alone, and not my own, I yield my soul to thee." In conceiving these words, from the Word of Life, I quickly found relief: there was all-healing virtue in them; and the effect was so swift and powerful, that, even in a moment, all my fears vanished, as if they had never been, and my mind became calm and still, and simple as a little child; the day of the Lord dawned and the Son of Righteousness arose in me, with divine healing and restoring virtue in his countenance; and he became the centre of my mind.

In this wonderful operation of the Lord's power, denouncing judgment in tender mercy, and in the hour of my deepest concern and trial, I lost my old self, and came to the beginning of the knowledge of Him, the just and the Holy One, whom my soul had longed for. I now saw the whole body of sin condemned in my own flesh; not by particular acts, as whilst travelling in the way to a perfect moral state only, but by one stroke and sentence of the great Judge of all the world, of the living and of the dead, the whole carnal mind, with all that dwelt therein, was wounded, and death begun; as self-love, pride, evil thoughts, and every evil desire, with the whole corruption of the first state and natural life.

Here I had a taste and view of the agony of the Son of God, and of his death and state upon the cross, when the weight of the sins



of all human kind were upon him, and when he trod the wine-press alone, with none to assist him. Now all my past sins were pardoned and done away; my own willings, runnings, searchings and strivings, were at an end; and all my carnal reasonings and conceivings about the knowledge of God, and the mysteries of religion, were over; which had long exercised my mind, being then natural, both day and night, and taken away my desire of food and natural repose. But now my sorrows ended, and my anxious cares were done away; and this true fear being, to me, the initiation into wisdom, I now found the true sabbath, a holy, heavenly, divine, and free rest, and most sweet repose. This deep exercise being over, I slept till the next morning, and had greater and better refreshment and comfort than I had felt for some weeks before.

The next day I found my mind calm and free from anxiety, in a state like that of a young child. In this condition I remained till night: and about the same time in the evening that the visitation, before related, came upon me, my whole nature and being, both mind and body, was filled with the divine presence, in a manner I had never known before, nor had ever thought that such a thing could be; and of which none can form any idea, but what the Holy thing itself doth give.

Divine Truth was now self-evident; there wanted nothing else to prove it. I needed not to reason about him; all that was superseded by that divine and truly wonderful evidence and light, which proceeded from Himself alone, leaving no place for doubt, or any question at all. For as the sun, in the open firmament of heaven, is not discovered or seen, but by his own light, and the mind of man determines thereby, at sight, and without any train of reasoning, what he is; even so, and more than so, by the overshadowing influence and divine virtue of the Highest, was my soul assured, that it was the Lord. I saw him in his own light, by that blessed and holy medium, which of old he promised to make known to all nations; by that eye which he himself had formed and opened, and also enlightened by the emanation of his own eternal glory.

Thus I was filled with perfect consolation, which none but the Word of Life can declare or give. It was then, and not till then, I knew that God is love, and that perfect love which casteth out all fear. It was then I knew that God is eternal light, and that in him is no darkness at all.

I was highly favoured also with a view of the manner of the operation of the Almighty,  
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in assuming human nature, and clothing therewith his inaccessible divine light and glory, even with an innocent, holy, and divine soul and mind, homogeneous to the children of men; as with a veil, whereby the Most High condescended to the low condition of man, and in whom also man, being refined as the tried gold, and thereby fitted for the holy One, can approach to him, as by a proper medium, and therein dwell with the Lord, and enjoy him for ever.

From henceforth I desired to know nothing but the Lord, and to feed on that bread of life which he alone can give, and did not fail to minister daily, and oftener than the morning: and yet, of his own free will and goodness, he was pleased to open my understanding, by degrees, into all the needful mysteries of his kingdom, and the truths of his gospel; in the process whereof he exercised my mind in dreams, in visions, in revelations, in prophecies, in divine openings and demonstrations. Also, by his eternal and divine light, grace, spirit, power and wisdom or word, he instructed and informed my mind; and by temptations also, and provings, which he suffered satan to minister; that I might see my own weakness and danger, and prove, to the utmost, the force and efficacy of that divine love and truth, by which the Lord, in his boundless goodness and mercy, had thus visited my soul. By all things I saw and heard in his wonderful works of creation, by my own mind and body, by the animals, reptiles, and vegetables of the earth and sea, their ranks and subserviencies one to another, and all of them to the children of men; by the sun, moon and stars, the innumerable host of heaven, and that boundless space which they move in, without interfering, or any way annoying one another, all depending one upon another, all connected without a chasm, and all governed by the steady laws, which the Almighty Word and Fiat who gave them being, and formed them, placed them under, and settled them in.

But, as the diadem of all, and the only true and certain way, when it pleased the Most High, by the effusion of his own goodness, to reveal in me the Son of his love, even his wisdom and power, by whom he designed and effected all things, then I was taught to fear him; then I was taught to love him; then, and not aright till then, was my soul instructed and informed indeed.

But these secret operations were confined to my own breast, so that no one knew any thing of them; an alteration was observed in me, but the cause of it was not seen. I put off my usual airs, my jovial actions and address, and laid aside my sword, which I had



worn, not through design of injury, or fear of any, but as a modish and manly ornament. I burnt also my instruments of music, and divested myself of the superfluous parts of my apparel, retaining only that which was necessary, or deemed decent. I declined the public worship, not with a design to join myself to any other sect; for I was rather apt to conclude, from what I had observed, that these manifestations were peculiar to me, and that there was not any people I might properly associate with; and also, I was induced to believe, that one day I should be obliged to oppose the world in matters of religion, but when or how that should be brought to pass, I did not foresee.

Remaining in a still and retired state, and the Book of Life being opened in my mind, I read what the Lord himself, by the finger of his power, had written, and the Lion of the tribe of Judah opened there; and the Scriptures of truth, written by Moses and the prophets, the evangelists and apostles of Christ, were brought to my remembrance daily, when I did not read them, and made clear and plain to my understanding and experience, so far as they related to my own state, and also in a general way; though I lusted not to know any mystery or thing contained therein, other than the Lord, in his own free will and wisdom, thought fit to manifest.

As the nature and virtue of divine truth increased in my mind, it wrought in me daily a greater conformity to itself, by its own power; reducing my mind to a solid quietude and silence, as a state more fit for attending to the divine Word, and distinguishing it from all other powers, and its divine influences from all imaginations and other motions: and being daily fed with the fruit of the Tree of Life, I desired no other knowledge than that which was thus given me.

On the afternoon of the 21st day of the eleventh month, 1689, silence was commanded in me, though not by me, in which it was given me to remain till the evening; and then that Scripture, John xiii. 10, was brought to my remembrance; which I began to write, and proceeded, as things opened in my mind, and in manner following:

"Jesus saith to him, he that is washed needeth not, save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit."

The washing of the feet signifies the cleansing of the ways; and those who are washed in the laver of regeneration, will walk in clean paths, and bring forth fruit according to the nature of the Tree of Life. Such will walk in faith, love, obedience, peace, holiness, righteousness, judgment, mercy, and truth. And whosoever saith he is of the Father, and

hath not charity, he is a liar, and the living Word ruleth not in him; for whosoever hath known the Word, and abideth therein, hath the Father, because the word of Truth beareth witness of the Father; and whosoever is born of God will keep his commandments.

Hear, O ye mountains, and give ear, O ye cedars of Lebanon, the Lord, the light of Jerusalem, the life of saints, hath put a song of praise in my mouth, and caused me to rejoice in the valley of Jehoshaphat. I was in the desert, and he led me forth by the power of his right hand; I was fallen, and he stretched out his arm, and set me upright; yea, I was dead, and, behold, he raised me from the grave. I was also an hungered, and he has fed me with the bread of his everlasting covenant. I weakly fainted in the way; but the King of the holy mountain revived me by the word of his promise. He has laid my foundations with beauty, with precious stones of divers colours; and the superstructure is all glory.

Fear not, ye of low degree; for with our God there is no respect of persons: fear not, ye little ones; for he showed you his loving-kindness of old; and with him there is no shadow of turning. Awake, awake, ye who sleep in trespasses and in sins; for the trumpet sounds aloud in the city of our King: be raised, ye dead, and stand upright before him; for he is true and faithful who sent forth his Word. Conquer, O conquer, thou holy love of God, those who in ignorance oppose thy mercy. Smite thy people with great thirst, O Lord God of mercy, that they may drink abundantly of the waters of thy salvation. Make them hungry, O Life of the just, that they may eat abundantly, and be refreshed by the bread of life everlasting. Call them from the husks of outward shadows, and feed them with thy hidden manna and Tree of Life. Take from them the wine of the earth, which they have abused to abomination, and give them the fruit of the living Vine at the Father's table. Wash them in the laver of regeneration, by thy holy Spirit; and cleanse them by thy righteous judgments, that they may retain thy love. Consider their weakness, O Father of mercies; for they are flesh and blood, and cannot see through the veil into thy holy habitation. Rend the veil of carnal wisdom in the earthly mind, thou wonderful Counsellor, and display thy glory in its full perfection. Dissolve the great world of pride, covetousness, drunkenness, lying, cursing, oppressions, filthy communications, and whoredoms; and establish righteousness and peace for evermore.

I was silent before the Lord, as a child not yet weaned; he put words in my mouth, and



I sang forth his praise with an audible voice. I called unto my God out of the great deep; he put on bowels of mercy, and had compassion on me, because his love was infinite, and his power without measure. He called for my life, and I offered it at his footstool; but he gave it me as a prey, with unspeakable addition. He called for my will, and I resigned it at his call; but he returned me his own in token of his love. He called for the world, and I laid it at his feet, with the crowns thereof; I withheld them not at the beckoning of his hand. But mark the benefit of exchange! For he gave me, instead of earth, a kingdom of eternal peace; and in lieu of the crowns of vanity, a crown of glory.

They gazed upon me; they said I was mad, distracted, and become a fool; they lamented because my freedom came. They whispered against me in the vanity of their imaginations; but I inclined mine ear unto the whisperings of the Spirit of Truth. I said, what am I, that I should receive such honour? But he removed the mountains out of my way, and by his secret workings pressed me forward.

[At another time he penned the following prayer:]

“O Almighty, incomprehensible, and infinitely merciful Lord God, forasmuch as none can enter into thy rest, unless he be regenerated and renewed, I humbly beg, in the name and for the sake of thy Son Christ, that thou wilt be pleased to wash me in the water of life, and purify my polluted soul with the holy fire of thine infinite love; that I may live in thee, and walk in the living way of truth, love, peace, joy, righteousness, holiness, temperance, and patience, so long as thou art pleased to continue me in this garden of labour. And be my strength, O my righteousness! that I go not astray from thy paths, through the frailty of this earthly tabernacle; but give me daily the bread of life, which thou freely holdest forth to the hungry all the day long. And inasmuch as none can eat of this bread, but those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, give me a fervent desire, O my salvation! and a saving faith, a living faith, to lay hold on thy most certain promise; that I may be made partaker of the glory that is laid up for thy servants in thine everlasting habitations.”

The conversation of mankind being generally upon trifles, not worthy of the thought of rational creatures, tending much more to vice than to virtue; and my mind being a little renewed by the influence of the divine truth, I was much in silence and alone: and what thoughts I had being upon other objects than

those I had been conversant with before I knew the truth, I wrote also some other things, as they were from time to time presented in my mind, without any search or labour.

[The following aspirations show that he experienced the ebbing of the divine life after seasons of enjoyment of which he has spoken.]

“O Lord, take pity on a perishing soul, borne down under a multitude of vile affections, trodden under foot by the insolence of the wicked one. I faint under the yoke, O thou most faithful and true! and have no hope but in thee.

“My heart is weary with sighing under troubles, and my pains increase. When shall my day come, O redemption of the just! and when shall I see the seal of my salvation?

“O work in me the law of everlasting love, and fix my boundaries there for ever and ever. O thou, who saidst unto the worlds, Be ye finished, and it was so; say unto my soul, Be thou perfect, and it shall be done.

“Purify me, O God, by the judgments of thy right hand, and let thy mercies ever be before me: raise me, that I may praise thee in the firmament of thy power: humble me, that I may exalt thy name in the midst of the nations.”

A deep consideration entered into my mind, concerning the states of many persons in the national way of worship, as also among the dissenters from it; some of whose preachers I had occasionally heard, particularly Dr. Richard Gilpin of Scaleby-castle, an able physician and an ancient celebrated preacher among the Presbyterians; and I had observed many others who seemed to have sincerity and good intentions in their respective modes of worship. Hence a question arose, whether it might not be through my own fault, for want of the true knowledge of God in myself heretofore, that I did not enjoy his presence among them, as I had done, through his grace, since I had been visited by the Lord, and drawn into retirement by the comforts of his secret presence? Upon which I determined to go again and see, whether the good presence of the Lord would be manifested in me there, as alone in my retirements. The place I went to was that called St. Cuthbert's, in the city of Carlisle; there being usually prayers and a sermon there in the afternoon of the first-days; but not with that pomp, noise, and show, as at the cathedral, and therefore I rather chose it. Being seated there, as I had been often, and my mind retired inward, to wait upon the Lord, as he himself had taught me, the Lord would not



own that worship by his sensible presence, though in himself omnipresent, nor me in that place; but my mind became filled with darkness, and overwhelmed with trouble, to so great a degree, that I could hardly stay till the time was over. But lest I should do a thing which might be looked upon as indecent, I continued to the end, and returning to my chamber in trouble, and I went not among any of them any more. Though I thus declined all outward worship, or that which was called so, determining to follow the Lord wheresoever it might please him to lead me; yet I found universal love, good will, and compassion in my mind, to all sorts of people, whether Protestants of different denominations, Romans, Jews, Turks, or heathens. But I observed their several religions, or what they accounted so, every man for himself, to be mostly the effect of education, tradition, or chance. For he who is born and educated among the Protestants of any sect respectively, is such: he who is born and educated among the Romans, is a Roman; and so of all the rest, till by accident, or interest, they change from form to form; or sometimes, though more rarely, through the inward convictions of the Holy Spirit of God, they obtain a right understanding and worship him in truth. Therefore I stood still, and waited for the further leadings of the Lord, and the evidence of his presence, what to do, or where to abide; though the Protestants, in general, especially the national church, were still nearer to me than any other sect.

Thus, the world, in general, appearing to me dead with respect to the true knowledge of God, notwithstanding the truth of some notions they held in relation to matters of fact and literal interpretation, and as walking statues, I did not then see that the Lord God had any collective body of people at that day, who truly worshipped him, according to his own institution; or that any one on earth knew some things, which the true and living God had been pleased, of his own free grace, and which I could neither ask or think of, to communicate unto me; though I found, in due time, I had been in this point mistaken, as the prophet of old, who thought he had been alone, and all Israel departed from the Lord.

As the life of the Son of God prevailed in me, I became more and more innocent, humble, loving, and charitable to the poor; to whom I gave money according to my ability, and without ostentation, or expectation of reward: one instance of which I think proper to relate, it being attended with some particular circumstances.

At the time king William the Third was subduing Ireland, some persons and families, retiring from the inconveniences and hardships of the war, came into England, and among others an Independent teacher, and with him a youth, his son; who being in want, requested charity; and coming to my father's house in Carlisle, where I then was, I gave him half a crown; which being more than he expected, or had received, as he said, from any other person in town, he took occasion thence to enter into discourse concerning some points of religion, and civilly asked of me, what form of worship I attended? I replied, I had formerly frequented the national worship, according to my education; but then, and for some time before, had declined it, as also all other outward forms, keeping retired in my chamber, on the usual days appointed for that purpose. And when he heard this, he asked if his company the next Lord's day, as he called it, might be acceptable, for the national worship was not agreeable to him; I gave liberty, and he and his son came accordingly to my chamber, where I was sitting alone in silence, waiting upon the Lord.

After a civil reception, and short pause of silence, he began to magnify the great providence of God, in re-establishing and advancing that people, meaning the Independents and Presbyterians, who had been so much hated, persecuted and suppressed, now to be made the chief instruments of deliverance, restoration, and reformation to the right way of the Lord, and to his own glory.

As he spoke, I observed he himself was not upon the true foundation, nor acquainted with the mind of the Lord on that account; but spoke from his own imagination and partiality to his own sect, as he and they desired it should have been; his mind natural and carnal, and his views outward, toward the power and dominion of this world, as the Jews were at the time of the appearance of Christ among them; and as soon as he came to a period, finding my mind filled with the sweetness and meekness of divine truth, I replied,

"The divine providence is indeed great over the children of men, and apparently over this nation and her dependents at this day; and the necessity of a right and thorough reformation is very great, and in the proper time and way of the Almighty, will be brought to pass. But it will be neither by the means nor instruments now in your view; for all the contenders, one against another, by destructive force, are of one spirit divided against itself, under different forms and views, in which the strongest will advance themselves and their own way; but cannot by such



means, reform either themselves or others, as they ought to do in the sight of God, who does not approve or countenance violence, bloodshed, and unrighteousness in one sect, and condemn the same things in another; and will therefore bring about that right reformation, by instruments of a different kind, and by another means and way: as it is written, 'Not by might, nor by power; but by my Spirit, saith the Lord.'"

Upon this the stranger was much broken in spirit, and the tears ran down his beard, and dropped upon his knee, as he sat by me; and after that being filled with love, the same which had reached him from my spirit, he embraced me in his arms, rejoicing that he had met with me, but said no more on any religious subject. Soon after he departed, and I saw him no more.

I now proceed with the account of my further progress. In writing the last paragraph of a piece, the people called Quakers were suddenly, and with some surprise, brought to my mind; and so strongly impressed on my remembrance, that thenceforward I had a secret inclination to inquire further concerning them, their way and principles.

It was sometime in the fifth month, in the year 1691, when an opportunity was presented. The occasion of it was some concerns that I had in the west parts of Cumberland, when lodging at an inn kept by one of that profession, on a seventh-day night, and inquiring of him concerning some points of their religion, I perceived no material difference between his sentiments and mine, in the particulars then asked after; and he also perceived I was nearer them than he or perhaps any other had thought, for I had formerly opposed the same man in some things, which gave him occasion to inform me of their meeting, to be held the next day, at a country village called Broughton.

As I had been desirous to be rightly informed concerning that people, and to see them as in truth they were, I was pleased with the opportunity; and the next morning the Friend and I set forward toward the meeting. He being zealous to have me further informed and convinced of the truth of their way, spake of many things as we rode along, and with a good intent: but my mind being composed, and its attention directed towards God, who knew I wanted only to see the truth, and not to be deceived, I could not take any distinct notice of what the Friend said; which he perceiving, after some time desisted, and said no more. And then we rode some miles together in profound silence; in which my mind enjoyed a gentle rest and consolation, from the divine and holy presence.

When we came to the meeting, being a little late, it was full gathered; and I went among the throng of the people on the forms, and sat still among them in that inward condition and mental retirement. And though one of their ministers, a stranger, began to speak to some points held by them, and declaim against some things held by others, and denied by them; particularly predestination as asserted by the Presbyterians; yet I took not much notice of it. I did not doubt but like all other sects, they might have something to say, both for their own and against the opinions of others; yet my concern was much rather to know whether they were a people gathered under a sense of the enjoyment of the presence of God in their meetings; or, in other words, whether they worshipped the true and living God, in the life and nature of Christ, the Son of God, the true and only Saviour: and the Lord answered my desire according to the integrity of my heart.

For, not long after I had sat down among them, that heavenly and watery cloud overshadowing my mind, brake into a sweet abounding shower of celestial rain, and the greatest part of the meeting was broken together, dissolved and comforted in the divine presence of the true, heavenly Lord; which was divers times repeated before the meeting ended. In the same way, by the same divine power, I had been often favoured before when alone, and when no eye but that of heaven beheld, or any knew, but the Lord himself; who, in infinite mercy, had been pleased to bestow so great a favour.

And, as many small springs and streams, descending into a proper place, and forming a river, become more deep and weighty; even so, thus meeting with a people gathered of the living God, into a sense of the enjoyment of his divine and living presence, through Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Saviour of the world, I felt an increase of the joy of the salvation of God; and the more, by how much I now perceived I had been under the like mistake as the prophet of God of old; but now was otherwise informed, by a sure evidence and token; by the witness of the divine truth, in which no living soul can err, or be deceived; being self-evident and undeniable in all those who truly know him.

Our joy was mutual and full, though in many tears, as in cases of the deepest and most unfeigned love; for the Friends there being generally sensible I was affected and tendered with them, by the influence of the divine truth they knew and made profession of, did conclude I had been at that time, and not before, convinced and come to the know-



ledge of the way of truth among them; and their joy was as of heaven, at the return of a penitent; and mine as the joy of salvation from God, in view of the work of the Lord so far carried on in the earth; when I had thought, not long before, there had scarcely been any true and living faith, or knowledge of God in the world.

The meeting being ended, the peace of God which passeth all the understanding of natural men, and is inexpressible by any language but itself alone, remained as a holy canopy over my mind, in a silence out of the reach of all words; and where no idea but the Word himself can be conceived. But being invited, together with the ministering Friend, to the house of the ancient widow Hall, I went willingly with them: but the sweet silence commanded in me still remaining, I had nothing to say to any of them till He was pleased to draw the curtain and veil his presence; and then I found my mind pure, and in a well bounded liberty of innocent conversation with them.

Having staid there a short time, I was invited to dinner at the house of Richard Ribton, an ancient and honourable Friend in the village, where I was made kindly welcome, and where I had great freedom of conversation.

Being now satisfied, beyond my expectation, concerning the people of God, in whom the Lord had begun, and in a good measure carried on a great work and reformation in the earth, I determined to lay aside every business and thing which might hinder or veil in me the enjoyment of the presence of the Lord, whether among his people or alone; or obstruct any service whereunto I was or might be called by him; especially things of an entangling or confining nature; not regarding what the world might say, or what name they might impose upon me.

The business being over which had brought me into that part of the country, I returned to Carlisle, where I had been but about two weeks till the Friend of the inn before mentioned, coming to town, informed me of their meeting for business and affairs of their Society, and invited me to it, being about four miles distant.

At first I was a little surprised that he should invite me to such a meeting, and hardly thought him prudent in it; for I had not yet made any outward profession with them, or declared myself of their communion. But though I found some aversion, rather than inclination, towards it, yet I yielded to go, that I might see in what spirit and wisdom they managed the discipline and business of their Society in matters of religion, that I

might view them a little more clearly in all circumstances, before I should openly declare for their way in all things—some doubts yet remaining as to some points—and see whether they thoroughly agreed with the idea I had conceived in my mind of the state of the church of Christ, viz: that they believed in God and Christ; were settled in the practice of Christian morality; that they were able to suffer any persecution, or opposition, for true religion, when thereunto called, in the course of divine providence; that the characteristic mark of the disciples of Christ should be fairly upon them, “to love one another,” not in word and in tongue only, but in deed and in truth; and that they should be preserved by that love, in uniformity and unity among themselves; and also be loving and kind to all men, as occasion might offer; and evince the same, by doing them good, and never any harm. These qualifications I had deemed sufficient to demonstrate such to be the children of God, brought forth in his image, righteousness and true holiness, in the inner man.

The meeting being set, they had first a time of silence, waiting upon God, as I did believe and practice, for the renewing and strengthening of their minds; and after that they proceeded upon the business of the day. It happened at that time that a matter of great moment among them was debated, and not without some warmth on both sides; but the zeal of both did not arise from the same root. It was concerning the manner and essence of their discipline, which a sect among them had opposed, from the time of the first proposal of any discipline in the Society. The debates arising pretty high, and they observing me to be there, and most of them, I doubt not, having heard I seemed to favour their way; and being cautious lest I should take offence at their debates, not knowing the state of the case, or, perhaps, not qualified to judge in matters so foreign to me, some of them prudently put the Friend who had introduced me, upon an inoffensive way to procure my absence; and accordingly he called me into an outer room, offering to discourse on some foreign subject. But as my mind, in time of silence in the meeting, had been comforted in the life of truth, I remained under the sense of it; having taken little other notice of what had passed in point of argument, than in what spirit they managed and contended on each side.

Though I observed the Friend's good intent in calling me out, I could take no cognizance of what he said; for a deep thought now entered my mind, whether these could be the people of God? since they seemed to be di-



vided among themselves, and treat one another with an acrimony of language, which, I thought, could not arise from love, neither altogether suited to the humility of Jesus, the true Christ. The Friend observing my silence, and that I was under a deep inward concern, became silent likewise, and a trouble also seized him, but of another kind; for I was concerned to know the truth, and on what side, if on either, it might lie; and he was afraid I had taken, or might take offence, and depart from the beginning I had made among them.

Thus we remained silent for some time; during which I plainly observed a struggle between two distinct powers working in myself, which exhibited two different conclusions in my mind concerning the matter then in hand, and the spirits and persons concerned therein, viz: the first was Truth, establishing himself in his own nature, a law-giver and ruler in every member of his church and body, as alone needful unto them who were truly so. But as He who knoweth all things, did foresee that many would, in time, come into that profession, as of old, without any knowledge of divine truth, or the work of it in themselves, but, as thieves and robbers, climbing up some other way; by education, tradition, imitation, or sinister interests and worldly views; who, not being under the rule and law of grace in the second birth, would act and say of themselves, contrary to the way of truth and the church of the living God; and therefore, in his wisdom and power, working in the minds of the just, he had early established, and was yet more firmly establishing, a due order among his people; for preserving the right, and passing judgment and condemnation on the wrong and evil doers; that such as should profess the truth of God, and yet walk contrary to the same, bringing forth fruits of another kind, might be bounded and confined by outward moral rules, adapted to human reason and understanding.

Secondly, that the spirit of this world had been, and still was working in the other sort, to oppose all order and discipline, and to live loose as they list, without any rule or account to the Society, though professing the same truth with them; wanting to be judged only by their own light, or what they called so, and accountable only to the spirit in themselves; though several among that party were only against some branches of the discipline already established by the body of the Society, and not against the whole.

During this time of silence I clearly beheld the contrary natures and ends of these differing spirits; the one truth, the other error; the

one light, the other darkness; the one for moral virtue and a holy pure mind, and the other for a loose unbounded liberty; and yet, that these last, as creatures, did not see the sophistry of the evil one, to whom themselves were instruments, nor the snare; but intended well, in their own view and way of conceiving things.

As these distinctions were gradually made clear in my understanding at that time, the load and trouble I was under abated; and at last my mind settled down again to its own centre in peace, and became serene, as before; which, being fully sensible of, I was cheerful, and said to the Friend, we may now return into the house, for the danger is entirely over. I knew thy meaning before we came out of the other room; and commend your care and caution. With this he was greatly pleased; and so were the rest, when they came to know it.

After this I was at some other meetings; but little notice was taken of it by any of my relations or acquaintance, till the time of the assizes at Carlisle, where some Friends being prisoners in the county jail, for non-payment of tithes, others attended the assizes, as their custom was, the better to obviate the occasion of troubles or hurt to any of the Society, and to minister counsel or other help, as need might be; and these went to a meeting at Scotby, about two miles from the city; and thither I went also.

During the time of the meeting I found an unusual load on my spirit, and hardness in my heart; insomuch that I could hardly breathe under the oppression; nor could I say I had any sense of the comforts of the divine presence there, but that the heavens were as thick brass, and the bars thereof as strong iron. But though I had no enjoyment in myself, yet I was sensible the presence and goodness of the Lord were there, and many therein greatly comforted; and therefore did conclude my condition of mind was from some other cause, and not relating to the state of the meeting in general. After the meeting was over, one of them asked me how I did; I answered, indifferently. Then he and some others perceived my spirit was oppressed, and sympathized with me therein. I could not, all this time, perceive the particular matter which thus affected me,—for I knew not of any thing I had done or said to bring it upon myself—till that evening, being returned to my father's house, very solitary, silent, and inward, there came in one Thomas Tod, an acquaintance of mine; who, after some compliments of civility—for at that time I had not quite declined the common modes of salutation—desired to speak with me apart; and



then told me that he had a trial to come on next day, concerning certain houses of his in the town of Penrith, being the greatest part of all he had in the world; that one of the witnesses to his deeds of conveyance was dead; another of them gone into Ireland, and could not be had; but I, being the third, and having made the writings, he hoped, through my evidence and credit, to gain his just point against his unfair adversary; and desired me to be in readiness in the morning; for the trial was likely to come on very early.

As soon as he began this relation, the word of life began likewise to work in me in a very powerful manner; and the hammer of the Lord I sensibly felt, and saw to be lifted up upon that hardness of heart, which for some time had been my state; and it began to be broken, softened, and dissolved; and the sense of the love of God in some degree to be renewed. Then I saw plainly that this was the hard thing I had to go through, and that now was the time of trial, wherein I must take up the cross of Christ, acknowledge his doctrine in that point fully and openly, according to the understanding given me; and to despise the shame and reproach, and other sufferings, which I well knew would ensue quickly; or I must forsake the Lord for ever. For, denying his doctrine, in the sense I had now plainly seen it, would be denying himself before men; and if I had then denied him, I could expect no less, but according to his word, to have been immediately, and for ever denied of him, and left under that hardness of heart and want of the enjoyment of his divine presence, wherewith I had been favoured before, and all the dreadful consequences of a beginning so woful.

But according to the advances of the word and work of the Lord in me at that time, my heart inclined to him: as my acquaintance was speaking, and by the time he had done, I was furnished with a full resolution to give him a plain and direct answer; which was on this manner: "I am concerned it should fall out so;—for I had a real respect for him, and saw his case to be very hard—I will appear if it please God, and testify what I know in the matter, and do what I can for you that way; but I cannot swear."

This was so great a surprise to him, both from the nature of his case and confidence he had of my ready compliance, he having had no suspicion of my present condition till that moment, that he broke into a passion, and with an oath, or curse, said, "What, you are not a Quaker sure!"

Though I had made confession to the truth so far, in that point, and the divine presence sensibly returned in me, yet, upon this I was

again silent, till clear in my understanding what to answer in sincerity and truth. For as nobody before that time had called me a Quaker, so I had not assumed the appellation; which being given in reproach, was not grateful; though the thing, in its proper sense, most delightful. Nor did I then see whether I had so much unity with all their tenets as might justify me in owning the name,—for in the unity of divine love and life only I had known them—till the power of that life of Him who forbiddeth all oaths and swearing, arising yet clearer and fuller in me, opened my understanding, cleared my way, and enabled me thereto; and then I said, "I must confess the truth, I am a Quaker."

As this confession brought me still nearer to the Son of God, his love increasing yet more sensibly in me, so likewise it heightened the perplexity and disturbance of my friend, whose case thereby became more desperate, in his own opinion. Upon which, in an increase of heat, and expressions therefrom suiting so obvious a disappointment, as it then appeared to him, he threatened to have me fined by the court and proceeded against with the utmost rigor of the law; saying, "What! must I lose my estate by your groundless notions and whims?"

But the higher my enemy arose and raged in this well-meaning, but mistaken man, who thus, without design, became the instrument of my trial, the fuller and more powerful still was the love of God; whose cause I had now espoused through his own aid and the power of an endless life from him made manifest in me. I replied, in that calm of mind and resignation to the will of God, that the life of the Son of God enables to and teacheth, "You may do what you think proper that way, but I cannot comply with your request in this matter, whatever be the issue of it." And then he departed under great dissatisfaction, with all the threats and reproaches his enraged passions could suggest, under a view of so great loss.

Immediately I retired into my chamber; for perceiving my grand enemy to be yet at work to introduce a slavish fear, and by that means subject my mind and bring me again into captivity and bondage, I was willing to be alone and free from all the interruptions of company, that I might more fully experience the arm of the Lord and his divine instructions and counsel in this great exercise.

The enemy being a crafty and subtle spirit, wrought upon my passions, not fully subjected, and artfully applied to my natural reason, my understanding not being fully illuminated, as his most suitable instrument. He urged the fine and imprisonment, and the hardships



accompanying that condition, and how little help I could expect from my father or friends, who would be highly displeased with me, for so foolish and unaccountable a resolution, as they would think it; and also the scoffings, mockings, derision, scorn, contempt, loss of friends and friendships in the world, with such other inconveniences, hardships, and ill consequences, as the enemy could invent and suggest.

During all this time, from about eight in the evening till midnight, the eye of my mind was fixed on the love of God, which still remained sensibly in me, and my soul cleaved thereto in great simplicity, humility, and trust therein, without any yielding to satan and his reasonings on those subjects, where flesh and blood in its own strength is easily overcome by him. But about twelve at night the Lord put him to utter silence, with all his temptations, for that season, and the life of the Son of God alone remained in my soul; and then, from a sense of his wonderful work and redeeming arm, this saying of the apostle arose in me with power, "The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death."

Then the teachings of the Lord were plentiful and glorious; my understanding was further cleared, and his holy law of love and life settled in me; and I admitted into sweet rest with the Lord my Saviour, and given up in perfect resignation to his holy will, in whatsoever might relate to this great trial of my faith and obedience to the Lord. In the morning I went up toward the hall where the judges sat, expecting to be called as a witness in the case before mentioned; but before I reached the place, I saw my said acquaintance approaching me, with an air in his countenance denoting friendship and affection; and when met, he said, "I can tell you good news; my adversary has yielded the cause; we are agreed to my satisfaction."

Upon this I stood still in the street, and reviewing in my mind the work of the Lord in me the night before, as already related, this Scripture came fresh into my remembrance, in the life of it, "It is God who worketh in you, both to will and to do of his good pleasure." I was sensible it was the Lord's doing, and accounted it a great mercy and deliverance; though I was by this means exposed to the view and observation of all, the pity of many, as they judged of my case, and the scoffs and censures of the baser and more ignorant sort, which was for Christ's sake only; for none had any immorality to charge me with.

This happening at the time of the assizes, and people from all quarters being there, I

quickly became the common subject of discourse and debate. Few could believe the report, and many came to see; and during the assizes would get together, talking and wondering; and when they happened to see me afar off in the streets, would come in crowds to gaze. Some would take off their hats, and pretend to show more than ordinary complaisance, saluting me as at other times; but I not making any returns of that kind, some would f leer, and giggle, and scoff, and grin, and run away in loud laughter, saying I was mad. Yet some others were struck with another passion; they turned pale, looked sorrowful, and returned weeping. And one who had been educated at an university, to show at once his temper, manners, and learning, after he had gazed upon me a while among the baser sort, cried out, as if he had then been surprised with the discovery of some new system, "He knows not a *genus* from a *species*!" when there was not any thing previous leading to such an expression. Yet he was mistaken in that; for I knew very well that dog is a *genus*, and cur, bull-dog, and blood-hound, are distinct *species* of that *genus*; and at that time, saw the nature and way of these brute animals too much resembled in that giddy mob; though I said very little to any of them, but gave them my face to their fill of gazing. Some who, but a day or two before, durst not have discovered a disobliging look upon me, now insulted and triumphed; which put me in mind of a saying of Job, "But now they, who are younger than I, have me in derision; whose fathers I would have disdained to set with the dogs of my flock;" and likewise of some expressions in that little piece before inserted; which I did not think, at the time of writing it, would be so soon, if ever, fulfilled upon myself, viz: "They gazed upon me; they said I was mad, distracted, and become a fool; they lamented because my freedom came."

The fool's pretended pity and instructions, who could not see and pity his own miserable case, or knew what himself said, was hardest to bear: yet all these things did not provoke or move me; for the grace and presence of the Lord was with me, and were my strength and preservation. My heart was surrounded with a rampart of invincible patience, and my soul filled with divine love. This usage gave me a much clearer view of the low, mean, miserable, brutish state of many men, and of the greatest part of that mob, than ever I had before, or could have imagined. But I was more civilly used by some counsellors who came the circuit from London, among whom I had some business; especially ——— Dor-



mer, who was afterwards a judge: they were kind, familiar, and without a scoff or taunting grin.

The business of the assizes being over, some of my acquaintance, gentlemen both of town and country, who wished me well, in their own sense, thinking I had been deluded, as they usually called it, by the Quakers, consulted how to restore and reclaim me. Several ways were proposed, especially by a meeting and consultation of some of the clergy; who, they imagined, might solve those doubts I might be under, and but yet wavering; supposing those sentiments to be but lately embraced by me, and I not yet settled in them; though I do not think any of them knew what the true Quakers or their principles were.

The clergy generally shunned me, and I quickly observed a particular enmity in them against me; though I had no more aversion to them as men than to others.

But some of these others, my well-wishers abovesaid, supposing me melancholy, because reduced from my former airs and cheerfulness to silence and gravity, got together in a tavern, and my father with them, intending to have me among them, to drink a hearty glass; and try in their way, whether they could raise my spirits into a more sociable temper, and bring me off from such thoughts.

While they were contriving this scheme, I was retired alone into my chamber, and favoured with a sense of the good and soul-nourishing presence of the Lord; but after some time, a concern came upon me, which gave me to expect something was in agitation concerning me; and soon after an attorney at law, of my acquaintance, came from the company to me, and mentioned certain gentlemen who desired to see me at the tavern.

I was not hasty to go, looking for the countenance of the Lord therein, neither did I refuse; but my father and some others being impatient to have me among them, came likewise to me. I arose from my seat when they came in, but did not move my hat to them as they did to me; upon which my father fell a weeping, and said I did not use to behave so to him. I entreated him not to resent it as a fault; for though I now thought fit to decline that ceremony, it was not in disobedience or disrespect to him or them, for I honoured him as much as ever, and desired he would please to think so, notwithstanding the exterior alteration.

Most of the rest kept up another air, hoping to bring me into the same at the tavern; but I, through grace, saw their intents, and was aware; and I had now freedom in my mind to go among them. When we came there, the

company all arose from their seats, and seeming generally glad, put on airs of pleasantness. In seating themselves again they placed me so that I was in the midst of them, and then they put the glass round; and to relish it the more, they began a health to king William. But the secret presence of the Lord being with me, though hid from them, it affected them all in a way they did not expect; for scarcely had two of them drank, till their countenances changed, and all were silenced. The glass, nevertheless, went forward, till it came to me, and then I told them, I wished both the king and them well, and if I could drink to the health of any, I should more especially to the king's, but should drink no health any more, and so refused it. The glass never went round; for several of them fell to weeping, and were much broken, and all of them were silenced for a time. When this was over, some of them said they believed I intended well in what I did, and that every man must be left to proceed in the way which he thinks right in the sight of God; and so we parted in solid friendship. It was the secret grace of God which wrought this; and to him, the Lord alone, did I impute it. The company dispersing, I returned to my chamber in divine peace and true tranquillity of mind; with which I was favoured for many days.

I had not, all this while, conversed with any Friend about their principles, or read any of their books; nor did any of them come near me for some time; for my father would not then allow them to come to his house; yet some of them not long after sent me three small books; which I took kindly, as well intended. But I was favoured of the Lord with something to give me understanding and support in time of need, more excellent than books; for that book, which had been sealed as with seven seals, was now, in measure, opened by the powerful voice of the Lion of the royal tribe, the Holy Lamb of God; even the book of the eternal law of God; the law of the Spirit of life from the Father, by Christ the Son, the Redeemer of the world, and my delight was to read day and night therein. By this I profited more, in a short time, in the knowledge of God and the things of his holy kingdom, than if I could have read and understood all the written and printed books in the world. I therefore declined reading these till a more proper season; and then I looked into one of the aforesaid books, a small tract, concerning prayer: for it must be allowed, that the reading of good books, especially the holy Scriptures, the chief of all, and upon which the truth of the rest depends, is highly profitable and commendable.



Sometime after this Dr. Gilpin, before mentioned, sent his son, a counsellor, under whom I had been initiated into the study of the law, and who was one of those at the tavern aforesaid, and still retained a great affection for me, to invite me to his house at Scaleby-castle, and desired to see some of the Quakers' books, supposing I had been imposed upon by reading them; and I sent him, as I remember, all that I had.

Soon after I had parted with these books, I observed a cloud came over my mind, and an unusual concern; and therein the two sacraments, commonly so termed, came afresh into my remembrance, and divers Scriptures and arguments, pro and con; and then I was apprehensive the doctor was preparing something of that sort to discourse me upon. I began to search out some Scriptures in defence of my own sentiments on those subjects; but as I proceeded a little in that work, I became more uneasy and clouded; upon which I laid aside the Scriptures and sat still, looking towards the Lord for counsel. I considered the doctor as a man of great learning, religious in his way, an ancient preacher and writer too, famous in Oliver's time, and a throne among his brethren; and that he might advance such subtleties as I could not readily confute, nor would concede to, as knowing them erroneous, though I might not be suddenly furnished with arguments to demonstrate their fallacy; and so might receive hurt.

Then it was clear in my understanding, that as he was in his own will and strength, though with a good intent, searching the letter, and depending upon that and his own wisdom, acquirements, and subtilty, leaning to his own spirit and understanding, I must decline that way, and trust in the Spirit of Christ, the divine Author of the holy Scriptures. This caution was presented in the life and virtue of truth, and I rested satisfied therein, and searched no further on that occasion. When I went to his house, he entered into a discourse on those subjects; and had such passages of Scripture folded down as he purposed to use: when I observed it, I was confirmed that my sight of him, in my own chamber at Carlisle, and of his work, some days before, was right; and my mind was strengthened thereby. But, before he began to move upon the subject, he dismissed every other person out of the room; so that himself and I remained alone.

The first thing he said, was in a calm manner, to admonish me to be very cautious how I espoused the errors of the Quakers; for he had heard of late, and with concern, that I had been among them, or seemed to incline that way. I answered, that I had not been

much among them; nor seen any of their books but those I had sent him; and knew not of any errors they held. "Yes," said he, "they deny the ordinances of Christ, the two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper;" and then opened his book at one of his down-folded leaves, where he read thus:

"Unto the church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints;" 1 Cor. i. 2. And, at another folded down part, he read thus: "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me: for as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come."

Upon these Scriptures he raised this argument, That though the Corinthians, at that time, were sanctified in Christ, and called to be saints, yet they still needed this ordinance, and were to continue in it, according to the apostle's doctrine, till the coming of Christ, at the end of the world: and he did not think the Quakers more holy or perfect Christians, than the Corinthians at that time; and consequently, that no state in this life can render that ordinance needless to them, or overgrow it.

To this I replied, That though some of those Corinthians had obeyed the call of God, and were at that time sanctified by faith in Christ; yet others of them had not obeyed the call, but were remaining in gross sins and pollutions. But as they had been heathens, and convinced by the ministry of that apostle, as appears by the beginning of the second and fifteenth chapters of that epistle, he had first of all preached to them Christ's coming in the flesh among the Jews; his life, miracles, doctrine, death for our sins, and resurrection from the dead, as saving truths; but does not so much as mention this supposed ordinance among them.

But, considering their weak and carnal state, and incapacity then to reach the knowledge of divine mysteries, the apostle had, in their initiation into the Christian religion, related to them the sayings of Christ on that subject; and they had been in the practice, or rather abuse of it, till the time of the writing of that epistle. Yet, if the words of that epistle in that place, be carefully and impartially observed, without prepossession or



prejudice, and compared with other Scriptures, it will appear that there is not any positive command for it at all, much less is it made a standing ordinance; but left to the option and discretion of his disciples; to whom it was first mentioned how often they should do it, and consequently also, how long they should continue it; as appears by the same text now adduced, viz: "This do, as often as ye do it, in remembrance of me."

But to set this matter in a clearer light, it is well known, that at the time of the redemption of the Jews from their Egyptian slavery, the passover, with the paschal Lamb, was instituted as a standing ordinance in commemoration of it, until Christ the Lamb of God, and antitype of that figure, should come. But as Israel, offending the Lord, was afterwards sent into captivity under the Babylonians, they could not in that state, and under that government, celebrate it in form; and therefore they invented another way to keep that great deliverance in memory, which was this:

The father or chief of the family, at the proper time of the paschal supper, took bread and blessed it, saying, "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, who gives us the fruit of the earth," then dividing it among the company; in like manner also he took the cup, and blessing it, said, "Blessed be thou, O Lord, who gives us the fruit of the vine." This they did in a solemn manner, remembering their Egyptian slavery and deliverance, lamenting their present state, acknowledging their sins, and the justice of God in their punishment, and hopes of his mercy, from his former kind dealings and gracious promises.

The Jews being thus initiated into this practice, upon so solemn an occasion as the Lord's being pleased to remember them with redemption a second time, the succeeding generations continued it, as incident to the passover, until the Lord Christ, the antitype, as well of the paschal Lamb, as of the bread and wine, did come; who, when he appeared, was declared by John the Baptist, to be "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world;" and he declared himself to be "the bread of life, the living bread which came down from heaven:" proclaiming also, and that very emphatically, that his "flesh is meat indeed, and his blood is drink indeed;" that "except they ate his flesh, and drank his blood, they had no life in them." And all this was meant of the Spirit of Christ, and not of his flesh; "it is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing."

The time drawing near when the Lamb of God was to be slain, and offered as a sacrifice,

declaring the mercy of God the Father, who sent him in love to the whole world, he then said to his disciples, "With desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer." And at the time of it, as father and chief of his flock and family, he celebrated the passover in form, with this difference only, that whereas the Jews, until that time, in the celebration of it, had looked back to the type and the outward deliverance from Egypt, the Lord now directs them to himself, as the antitype of all figures; and tells them, he would not any more eat thereof, (the passover) until it should be fulfilled in the kingdom of God; nor drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day "when he should drink it new with them in his Father's kingdom."

Which eating and drinking in the kingdom of God, cannot relate to material bread and wine; which can only be exhibited as symbols of the outward body of Christ, and the blood of that holy body; which to be eaten and drank in a natural sense, profiteth nothing: but to the all-quickenings virtue and power of his Holy Spirit; which is all in all, and the true feeding to the commonwealth of the whole Israel of God. Therefore this passover, or any part or relative to it, whether bread, wine, or any other matter in it, could be of no further use or obligation to the disciples of Christ, than till they should experience in themselves his divine and spiritual appearance and coming in them; and Him to be the same to their souls or minds, which natural food and drink is to the body; its support, strength, nourishment and means of duration. This coming of Christ, as such, can mean no other than his being made manifest in a spiritual administration: for, as he is that eternal Spirit of Truth and Word, wisdom and power of God, it is not strictly proper to say of him, in that sense, that he shall come or go any where, but to be made manifest; for, as such, he ever was, is, and will be, omnipresent, and never absent from any place or time.

His coming then must intend his powerful manifestation where he already is, and not a loco-motive coming from where he is, to any other place where he was not before: "For the heaven of heavens cannot contain him." 2 Chron. ii. 6.

Seeing then this was only the passover, and the terms of the application of it to himself not institutive of any new command or ordinance, but a liberty to do or not to do it, at discretion, "this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me," laid no obligation upon them to do it any more at all; it being ended by the manifestation of its antitype; and in the nature of the thing, could be of no further



obligation or reasonable use, when Christ himself was witnessed in them, to be that eternal, never-failing, divine substance.

But the apostle Paul, whose concern for the Jews, and zeal for the conversion of the Gentiles, to whom in an especial manner he was sent, engaged him to "become all things to all men, that by all means he might gain some," recommended to the Corinthians the practice of the passover, with the new application of it to Christ, at the time of their first believing in him by that apostle's ministry; that being yet carnally minded, they might have an outward communion, till the true communion should be made known; which their state, at that time, could not bear: as, in point of prudence only, he practised some other legal rites, at some times; which, in his doctrine, he condemned at other times, where the state of the people was able to bear it.

It is much more likely, considering the nature and end of the gospel, and its excellency above the law, and all legal and typical rites, as substances excel shadows, that the apostle, observing how much some of the Corinthians had abused the passover in practice, and their very carnal state under it, was rather, by that epistle, endeavouring to supersede it, and bring them off to the living substance; where he saith to such among them as were already sanctified, and to whom he inscribed his epistle, "I speak as to wise men, judge ye what I say: the cup of blessing, which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we, being many, are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread."

It is plain therefore, that the communion of the sanctified and wise in Corinth, stood not in the bread which perisheth, nor in the wine of the grape, which some of the Corinthians were carnally abusing, but in the quickening Spirit and power of Christ, the true, living, life-giving, and life-preserving bread; which daily comes from heaven, into all the sanctified and saved of the Lord.

This is that Spirit that quickens and preserves to life eternal; the flesh profiteth nothing: and since it is so, much less does any symbol of the flesh profit; but the divine substance only. This is that substance of which the apostle draws the comparison; "we, being many, are one bread." For, as wheat consists of many particular grains, each containing a distinct principle of life after its kind, and all of the same nature; which, being broken and rightly prepared and ordered by the good husbandman, become one bread: even so is the church of Christ. Every member, in his natural state, being alienated from the life of

God, through the ignorance and darkness that was in him, and separated also one from another, as without a proper medium and condition of union; but being ordered and prepared by the Father of mercies, through Christ his eternal Word, they become one body, and one spirit, the church; which is his body; the fulness of him who filleth all in all.

The substance of this was what I observed to the doctor, though I have in this place expatiated somewhat further upon the subject, and generally applied the Scriptures; to which he made little other reply, than by telling me in a very calm and familiar manner, that as he had always believed it to be an ordinance of Christ, he had solemnly used it as such, and found comfort in it.

To which I returned, That I did not doubt but that he might have some satisfaction in it, since he believed it a remaining ordinance, and did it under that apprehension. Whosoever in his heart believes any thing to be a standing duty in the church of Christ, which ever had any countenance in it by practice, and performs it faithfully, according to his belief and understanding, may find a satisfaction in it.

But since God, in mercy, is pleased to afford the living substance, without the use of those means which are supposed to lead to an end already attained, they can be no more a duty to such; and that is the real case among the true Quakers, who love and fear the Lord sincerely.

As to the other point, viz: baptism, he said but little about it; for he knew very well, that in strictness, they were not so much as in the form of water baptism. And I only asked him this question, Whether he did believe it necessary to salvation? He answered, That he did not think it absolutely necessary. Then, said I, we shall not need to say any more about it; and so the whole matter ended, as to these points.

Then he said something concerning the books I had sent him, speaking slightly of them; but thought that about prayer, written, I think, by George Keith, the best: and said, that seeing the Quakers pretended, that they did not know before they went to meetings, whether they should preach or pray, or what way in either, and yet travelled in strange places, how could they speak to the states of the people, or be joined with in prayer?

To this I answered, That such as went to a meeting empty of all things, and waited upon God, were filled with his Holy Spirit, who knows all states, at all times and places: and if the preacher attend to him as he ought, and delivers those matters opened to him at the time, the Lord both gives the word, and



makes the application to every state, in every particular person; which no preacher or instrument, of himself, is able to do.

And as to joining in prayer, all right prayer is by the aid of the Spirit of Christ, the Mediator between God and man; which, in that respect, is called the spirit of prayer and of supplications; and as such, is promised of the Father to the church, and received by her. Her unity in prayer stands not so much in the form of words, though sound and pertinent, as in the nature, virtue, and influence of the Holy Spirit of Christ, her holy Head, Life, Law-giver, and Comforter.

The doctor did not oppose this; but only said I had given him better satisfaction in that point, than he had found in the book; and afterwards he was much more free and familiar with me than before, or than I expected: and so we parted in friendship, and I returned in peace and gladness.

From henceforth I was easy as to every thing any of that sort could say. And divers disputes I have had with many of them since, in other parts of the world; but never began any controversy, being always on the defensive side; and rarely entered upon any point in question, with any sect, till I knew the divine truth over all in my own mind, and my will subjected by it. And my next care usually was, not to provoke my opponent; for, by keeping him calm, I had his own understanding, and the measure of grace in him, for truth and my point, against the error he contended for; and my chief aim generally has been, to gain upon people's understandings for their own good. But when a man is put into a passion, he may be confounded, but not convinced. For passion is as scorching fire without light; suspends the understanding, and obstructs the way to it, so that it cannot be gained upon or informed: which ought to be the true aim, in all conferences and reasoning in matters of religion; else all will end in vain and unprofitable jangling, contrary to the nature of the thing they reason about, and displease the Holy One. In two or three times, at most, in the course of my life, in some low cases, and in too hasty engagements in my own strength, my mind hath been ruffled: and though I have gained the point, by force of argument, from the principle of reason only, and not from the principle of divine Truth; yet I have not had that peace and satisfaction of mind which is to be found in the virtue of truth alone. And this has also taught me to be totally silent, and sometimes even insulted by ignorants, as if I had nothing to say; till the power and virtue of truth hath arisen in my mind, and then it hath never failed, by its own light

and evidence, to support its own cause, and justify me.

After this I had divine peace and consolation in my mind for some time, and was mercifully favoured with the living bread from above daily. I went constantly to the meetings of Friends, where, in a state of silence, my heart was frequently tendered and broken, by the divine influence of the truth, to my unspeakable satisfaction: a holy pleasure and enjoyment, which the world, or any thing therein, can never afford.

Our meetings in the north in those days were frequently broken and melted in silence, as well as under a powerful, living ministry, by the Word; which gave me occasion sometimes to remember another saying in a piece which I wrote; "He gave me joy which no tongue can express, and peace which passeth understanding." In the mean time my father began a little to relent, and admit some Friends to come to my chamber to see me; and he was brought by degrees, into a pretty low state of mind. One day, as I was sitting by him, he read in a book entitled, *Clerk's Lives, &c.*, as I remember, when I observed his tears drop upon the book; but he did not know that I perceived it. After he had wiped his face, he turned towards me and said, "I see there have been in former times, as great fools as you, to leave their friends and preferences in the world for their opinions in religion."

But he did not remain long in this condition; for the spirit of the world began to work another way. Some of his acquaintance discoursing with him concerning me, as I was for a time frequently the subject of common conversation, one day told him, "We know your son very well; though young, he is no fool. You know the Quakers are an opulent people, and their principles lead them to refuse the payment of tithes to the clergy; which, together with other oppositions they meet with from one or other, occasions many law-suits and much business: and as they favour one another in all things, particularly in trade and the like, you will see he will have as much business soon as any man in England; and will be well paid without question."

This temptation being skilfully adapted, took immediately with him, and entered very deep, the ill effects whereof quickly appeared. He soon got from under that humble state of mind and tenderness he had in some degree experienced; and though his countenance seemed very open and cheerful towards me, yet it was from that wrong ground and worldly view; which greatly loaded and oppressed my mind. I clearly per-



ceived the practice of the law, and to be frequently in the suits and contests of the world, would be inconsistent with divine peace in my own mind, expose me to many temptations, and confine me so that I could not follow the Lord in that way wherein I understood he was leading me, and purposed to bring me forward; that is, not only in sanctification and justification, for my own salvation, but also in a public ministry of that holy and powerful Word of life, by which the Lord, of his own free will and grace, had called me; and to that end, I knew, was working in me qualifications suiting his own purpose thereby. Therefore my secret concern was, how to get rid of that great and dangerous obstruction; well knowing it would very much oppose my father's views, heightened as aforesaid, and I was loath to offend him; but had no concern, prospect, or doubt then, as to a way of living in the world. On the other hand, to offend the Lord by neglect or disobedience, was justly to forfeit his mercy and favour, and cancel the seal of the covenant of life; depending, on my part, upon perseverance in moral righteousness, and a faithful future obedience to his holy calling. Where the word of God is given, and become a law of life and an immediate director, disobedience is of a higher nature and more immediately attended with the sensible and dreadful condemnation of this immortal law, thus ministered, than for the neglect of any moral command, mediately administered to mankind, whilst yet in a natural and rational state only.

Duty to the Almighty, and the will and views of my natural parent, becoming opposite, I remained not long in suspense what to do. For as, through grace, I had been enabled to take up the cross of Christ, in confessing his holy Name, in the dispensation of God to his people at that time; so, by the same grace, I was likewise enabled to undergo the displeasure of my father, to close my eyes from all worldly views, and to stop my ears for ever from hearkening to any preferences there. Being furnished with a full resolution in my mind to decline the practice of the law, though the only thing designed as a means of life, the next persons who came to employ me in business of that kind, I refused in my father's presence; and told them in his hearing, that I should not undertake business of that kind any more.

Upon this the load went off my mind; but from that time my father's countenance was changed towards me, and his behaviour quite another thing; often asking me with a supercilious brow, how I expected to live in the world? as if he feared I should become a dead charge upon him.

This temptation being overcome, another quickly followed: the world had formed a false notion in those days, that our ministers, like their priests, were well paid by the Society for preaching, and generally grew rich by that means; they not knowing of any reasonable motive to such an undertaking, but lucre only. Some having told my father, that such and such ministering Friends whom he knew, went often abroad preaching, and as often brought home good sums of money; and that his son, being ingenious, would soon learn to preach among them, get money, and become rich too; this seemed to take some hold, and he would now and then pass a joke upon me about it; but I being silent for some years after, it afforded him no great hopes of my living by it.

This I think proper to remember here, that though I had no more dislike to priests than to others, as men, yet, when any of them and I happened to come into the same company or place, they usually fell into some visible disorder and uneasiness, though I said nothing to occasion it; which I took, therefore, to arise from a prepossession and general prejudice and enmity against Friends, supposing them enemies to their persons, as to their errors. And particularly one of them coming into a place where I was, all of a sudden, and in a confused manner, without any occasion given to lead to it, cried out, "You deny the resurrection." I replied, that he had not heard me say any thing on that subject. Then said he, "The people you have joined yourself to deny it." I replied, I did not understand they denied the resurrection; and that Christ, to prove the resurrection, adduced that Scripture, where it is written, "But as touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob. God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." If then Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, had attained the resurrection from the dead, in Christ's sense of the resurrection, and yet the bodies of those saints then remained in the earth, something else must be meant by the resurrection of the dead than earthly bodies.

Then said the priest, "I believe that Abraham, &c., did arise, not only to a state of righteousness in this life, but also to a state of glory in heaven after his death." Then said I, "Since he attained a first and second resurrection, he completed that state, without the resurrection of this earthly body; for of a third resurrection we read not, and of a second, by implication only." And so the matter ended: and from that time we became



acquainted and intimate so long as I remained in the country.

Another time there came a priest into the company where I was, and I being silent, and the rest cheerful in their way, he being a wanton, airy man, and a little in drink, observing me, cried out in a scoffing manner, "What have we got here, one of the holy brethren?" I returned upon him, "What! art thou a teacher of the people, and scoffest at holiness? What canst thou teach, since thou art void of a qualification indispensably necessary to that work?" Upon which he became so uneasy and downcast, that he could no longer stay in the room, but went off troubled. And that night, being from home, I lodged with another priest at his house, with whom I was acquainted, a sober, religious man; where I was kindly entertained, and had no occasion of offence, either by himself or any of his family.

Again, having been concerned in writing a settlement for a gentleman, upon the marriage of his daughter, and at his house in the country on that occasion; after the ceremony was over, and dinner upon the table, the priest said what they called the grace; wherein he gave thanks for their creation, redemption, sanctification, &c., to which I paid no respect, keeping on my hat all the time, because it was a dead form; and that neither the priest himself, nor any of his company seemed to have any real sense of what he said. As soon as dinner was over, a fiddler began to play; and up started the priest, and taking one of the young women by the hand, fell to dancing very merrily. I being in the room, and under heaviness, some others of the company could not take all the liberty the occasion called for in their way; and expecting I would not stay long, forbore. Nor could the priest make much of his dance; for the load upon my mind was to be left among them before I departed, and I only waited a proper occasion, which was soon offered; for the priest's dance going on heavily, he left it, and came to me, where I was sitting quietly, and would have had me dance with one of the young women. Then I took the opportunity to tell him, that I had observed his grace, and what he had said before the Almighty and the company so very lately, giving thanks for his creation, redemption, sanctification, &c., and so very quickly after to fall into such behaviour as did not consist with sanctification and redemption, denoted his very great insensibility of the import of his own words. Then he clapped himself down on a seat, and began to defend the use and innocence of music, which at that time was not the most offensive part, and said that king David used music, yet was

a prophet greatly beloved of God, and wrote the Psalms, owned by Christ as of divine authority.

I replied, that David employed his music in holy hymns and spiritual songs to the Lord, according to the dispensation then in being; but that afterward, some airy persons, such as the priest himself, had invented unto themselves instruments of music like unto David's, and used them in their profane revelings, as he and his company were then doing; and therefore a prophet of God, by divine authority and direction, cried out, "Wo to them that chant to the sound of the viol, and invent to themselves instruments of music like David;" and thou being in that practice, the wo is upon thee also. Upon this I was very easy, and left him sitting silent, and the company in some surprise; and wishing them all well, I departed in peace and great tranquillity of mind.

My eldest brother being priest of the parish, and likewise dean of Connor, afterward of Limerick, in Ireland, had one of the Scots Episcopal priests for his curate, or journeyman, who had been turned out at the establishment of Presbytery as the national way in Scotland. This priest being poor, my father took him into his house for his better accommodation; which proved some exercise to me, we being so very different in our sentiments in some things relating to religion. One day, there being a goose on the table at dinner, he intending to disappoint me of a part, whispered to me so loud as that all about the table heard him, "This is a tithe goose;" and then sleered. I replied, "Let him look to the evil of that to whom it is tithe; but to me it is no tithe, but a goose only; and with my father's leave, I will take a share." After this we had much dispute about the maintenance of the ministers of Christ. I alledged, that when Christ sent out his disciples to preach to the people, he said, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" and did not allow them either gold, silver, or brass in their purses, nor scrip, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor staves, but to depend on Divine Providence only for their subsistence; "eating such things as should be set before them; for the workman is worthy of his meat."

To this he answered, that Christ and his apostles received money for preaching, otherwise where did they get the money they had in the bag; for they were poor men, and had nothing to give, or any other way to procure money. Upon this I asked him whence that money came that Christ sent Peter to take out of the mouth of the fish? Had he not command over all things to have what he pleased? But you priests, to justify yourselves in your



antichristian practices, dare accuse Christ himself, and his apostles, of your own crimes. He and they preached not for hire, not for filthy lucre and maintenance, but for the help and salvation of men. As there is nothing needful to the labourer in that work, but the present subsistence of food and raiment, with that they were to be content: and as to what money they had, it arose from the superabounding love of those who heard him and them, and believed; which they did not hoard up, and detain to their own use only; but also gave to the poor, as they had occasion: so far were they from sitting down in corners, and forcing a maintenance, even to luxury, from those who did not receive them, as you priests do at this day. By which it appears you are none of his, but rather like Judas the traitor, who carried the bag, loved money better than him, and was a thief. At this he became a little ashamed, and in an abject manner said, "What I have for my preaching is but a small matter:" as if the diminutive pay and poverty should excuse the error; and so it ended.

At another time my father had a mind to discourse me on that subject; and after he had moved it, I desired leave to ask him a question before I entered the dispute with him. He granted it; and then I asked him, if it were not for his reputation among men, and the law of the land, would he himself pay any tithe? Upon this he was silent a little, and then replied with an oath, that if it were not for the laws he would pay no more tithe than myself. Then said I, "There is no need of any further dispute:" and it ended thus; for he never offered any argument about it.

My delight was continually in the truth, and I desired no company but of Friends, and frequented meetings on all occasions; where my heart was frequently tendered by the truth, and it often reached and affected others by me, and sometimes very much: so that I became very dear to Friends, and they to me. And as that tenderness was an involuntary ministry, being an operation of the Spirit without words, I found for some time, great satisfaction and safety in it.

Desiring to see Friends in some other places, I went a short journey with Andrew Taylor, a powerful and able minister in his day, of an affable and cheerful temper, and one of my particular friends. On the 20th day of the twelfth month, 1691, we went from Heatherside, in Kirklington, in Cumberland, and that night lodged two miles beyond Alston; and thence next day to Welgill; on the 22nd to Thomas Williamson's; on the 23rd to Walkmill; on the 24th to Steel, and on the 25th to Benfieldside; having meetings at several of these places.

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From thence we went, on the 27th, to Newcastle, and lodged at Jeremiah Hunter's, being at their meeting next day; and on the 29th we went to Caleb Tenent's, at Shields and had a meeting there. On the 1st day of the first month, a meeting being appointed at Sunderland, we intended to cross the river Tyne at Shields, in order to be there; but Caleb Tenent and we entering the ferry boat with our horses, and the wind being very high, they were frightened with the fluttering of the sails, at our putting off from the key; so that Caleb's mare, being strong and sprightly, jumped overboard, and carried him along with her as he strove to stop her by the bridle, and they both went under the water, for it was deep; but as good Providence would have it, the mare came up with her head towards the shore, and near it, and he came up behind her at so little distance, and with such presence of mind, that he laid hold on her tail, and got on shore without any other hurt than the surprise and wetting his clothes.

The meeting was appointed at Sunderland, to begin about the middle of the day, and we being obliged, by reason of the high wind, to go round by Newcastle, it was put off till the evening; which proved a very comfortable time of the enjoyment of the good presence of the Lord; with which my heart being plentifully furnished, it greatly tendered me and bathed me in a flood of tears, from divine melting love, and had the like effect over the meeting; and this happened in time of silence. After this Robert Wardell, a ministering Friend, at whose house we lodged, spoke some sentences; by which I perceived he thought I should have uttered some words by way of public ministry at that time. But I did not apprehend my time was then come for that service; and it had the same effect, and peradventure, more than if I had uttered words: for it was a ministration of the Word, by a more immediate operation, and a great mystery.

After the meeting many Friends came to me, and expressed so much love and respect as gave me occasion to consider what could be the reason of it; for they were all strangers to me, and I to them; and being but a child in the knowledge of the invisible operation of the Word of truth and its effects by instruments, in a way of silence and sympathy, I had looked at its effects only in myself for my own strength and consolation; and yet could not but observe, that when truth broke in upon me in an eminent manner, with which, in other places, I had been often favoured before, it affected the living part of the meeting the same way, at the same time: and it is clear to my understanding, by experience, that there is a communication of divine love



through the one Spirit, and that unspeakable, among the sanctified in Christ, at this day, as well as in time past; and that in a state of holy silence, as the members of Christ sit together in their heavenly places in him.

The next day we were at a meeting at Shotton, from whence we went to Anthony Robinson's, at Hawthorn, and next day had a meeting at Durham; thence to Auckland, and so on to Robert Corney's, at Stockton; thence to Yarm, and back to Stockton; in all which places we had meetings: from thence to Darlington, and on the 10th of same month, to Raby; thence to Cutherston and Bowes; at all which places we also had meetings, and the Lord was with us. And yet, for some days after that meeting at Sunderland, my mind was very low, and not sensible of the same degree of the divine presence as some time before; and a question possessed my mind, whether I ought not to have uttered some words in that meeting. But by degrees I attained my former tranquillity.

On the 12th went to the Height of Winder by Sedberg; then to Side; next day to Dent; next day to Dent meeting at Anthony Mason's. On the 16th we went to John Dickinson's, at Beckhouses, and to the meeting at Grayrig; next day to Girsgarth, at Thomas Wilson's; and so to Crook, at John Thompson's; and on the 18th to Thomas Lower's, at Marshgrange; and the next day to Broughton Tower; and the next day to Swarthmore; and on the 22nd to Hawkside meeting; having likewise had several other meetings in the way; and on the 23rd we went to John Banks' at Rogersgill; and the next day to the meeting at Pardshaw. After this we went to the house of Margaret Fawcett, an ancient widow, having an estate of six or seven pounds per annum, out of which she entertained all travelling Friends coming that way, besides her own family, and had always plenty; and so desirous was she to entertain all, that she was commonly called the covetous widow of Cumberland; and was a woman truly honourable in the truth during her time.

On the 25th we went to Eaglesfield; and then to Jonathan Bell's at Hundwath-hill; and so to Cocker mouth and Broughton; and thence to Alanby; and on the 27th to Holm-Cultram; and so to Longnewton and Bowstead; having meetings all along. But I had no other public ministry in this journey, than being frequently much tendered in the several meetings, to my great satisfaction, and the comfort of many who wished me well for the Truth's sake, and desired my prosperity therein. This journey being finished, I went home to my father's house in the evening; and having taken much cold, so that I was hoarse,

I spoke with difficulty when I went into the house; yet, through a very sensible operation of the divine truth, and the healing virtue thereof, under which I sat in silence for about half an hour, I was perfectly healed; by which I was forever confirmed in the belief of the miracles of Christ recorded in holy Scripture.

After this I remained at my father's house, though under many inward loads and burdens in the family, not one soul of them having any sense of truth; and keeping constantly to meetings, and living near the divine truth, I was thereby preserved from the attending evils and temptations, till the Lord opened a way for another journey; which was as follows.

On the 19th day of the eleventh month, 1692, I went from my father's house in Cumberland, and that night lodged at George Marshe's, at Healy Hall, not far from Newcastle upon Tyne, where I met with John Bowstead, by appointment, the next day; and on the 22nd we went to Shields, and back the day following to Newcastle, and were, on the 24th, at Benfieldside; and on the next day at Hexham; on the 26th again at Benfieldside, and back to Newcastle on the 27th; having meetings at these several places; and on the 30th we set forward from thence for Scotland, by way of Morpeth, Horsley, Framlington, Whittingham, and Wooler-Haugh; and next day we came to Kelso, in Scotland.

On the 2nd of the twelfth month we arrived at Edinburgh, and were at the quarterly meeting there on the same day; which being ended, we met with Thomas Rudd, who had some days before, come from England by way of Glasgow, and had been several times through the city and colleges of Edinburgh, crying, "Wo to the sandy foundation," with some other words of the like import. Next morning, being about to depart the city homewards, John Bowstead and I went with him to take leave of William Miller, at the King's Gardens, and his family; where we had been but a short time, till the concern returned upon Thomas Rudd to go again through the city; and after great exercise and travel in spirit, he became willing, and went. The most of his message was in these words, "Ho! all people; O all be warned this day, to fear before the Lord, the mighty God of heaven and of earth; and every one turn from the evil of your ways." He had a voice suited to the measure of his words, with an innocent boldness in his countenance, frequently lifting his right-hand towards heaven as he passed along, which was with a slow and grave pace. John Bowstead and I, though we had a good will to the cause, and personal love to our friend, sufficient to have engaged



us with him in any service warranted by any degree of the like concern and call, and to go with him through the city; yet we were not willing to hazard our lives or liberty as intruders into his concerns, not finding any thing from the Lord so to do. We therefore went to our friend Bartholomew Gibson's, where we lodged, to wait the issue of our friend's undertaking; where we had not sat down, till it pleased the Lord to give us a more evident fellow-feeling of our friend's concern, in great brokenness of heart, in which we were constrained to go up into the city after him, where we found him delivering his message to a great multitude of people. Some of them had thrust him down into a low shop in the high street; from whence, as he attempted to move, the rabble pushed him back: nevertheless the power of the Lord was over the multitude, both in him, and in us; so that all fear of them was removed from us by the protecting arm of the Lord, who is ever near to deliver such as act in his counsel, in the time of greatest danger.

In the mean time John Bowstead, being a bold, able-bodied man, pressed through the crowd, and taking Thomas Rudd by the arm, advanced him into the street; where some of the multitude pointed at a stone by the cross, where he might stand a little above the people, which he did; and John Bowstead and I stood between him and the people, and they were then a little quiet, expecting, as we supposed by the rumours in the city, to have heard some judgment denounced, or prophecy declared. But Thomas having only some short warnings for them, some of them mocked, others threw a pack of old cards among us, with some scoffing words; yet others among them were put upon a more serious consideration, what could engage us thus to appear in a place of so imminent danger. Others whispering said, "This is he who went through London with a message, and shortly after there was an earthquake there." By several circumstances, we perceived it became a general amusement to the inhabitants of all ranks; and many, as well of the greater as lesser quality, would gladly have known the result of the matter.

From the cross we went down the high street and Canongate, till we came to the Tolbooth, over against which stood several companies of soldiers, drawn up in order in the street; to whom Thomas Rudd spake some words, by way of warning, as before; and I did not observe that any of them offered the least opposition, either by word, deed, or gesture. But as we were passing by them, intending to go to our lodgings, there came a certain civil officer from Charles Charteris,

chief bailie or alderman of the city, to summon Thomas Rudd before him. This officer making known his message in a very civil manner, Thomas went with him into the city. I told the officer, that he did not need to lay hold on Thomas Rudd as a prisoner, for he would go along without it; so John Bowstead, and the officer and I, went before, and Thomas Rudd followed after, till we came before the bailie; who examined Thomas about such things as he thought fit to object against him, concerning his going through the city, but would not suffer us to be present to hear his examination; and in a short time he was committed to the Tolbooth of the city, and put among such as they accounted traitors and rebels against the government.

John Bowstead and I staid a little before the prison door, the good presence of the Lord remaining with us, and bearing up our spirits over all, in times of most apparent danger. We called to the turnkey to admit us into the prison to see our friend, and accompany him in his imprisonment; which he readily and courteously did. No sooner were we entered, than a multitude of prisoners, and their friends who were with them, came to see us in the large common hall of the prison, where they gazed upon us with seeming wonder; for the Episcopal party at that time were under dissatisfaction, because of the suppression of their clergy; and others also were not satisfied with the government upon other scores; which had excited several, of divers sorts, to offensive behaviour; so that the prison, which is large, was very full.

After a while the jailor took us into an apartment made of deal, called the Quakers' high room, made by Friends in time of greater persecution, for their own convenience. There we staid till the evening, where several Friends came to us. And Thomas Rudd being concerned in prayer at supper, the people in the prison rushed towards the place, and were attentive; some of them afterwards expressing their satisfaction to hear us crave a blessing, as they phrase it, at our meat; by which I suppose they had been misinformed, that we were such as would not call on the name of the Lord, or crave his blessing on such occasions.

That night John Bowstead and I went to our lodgings, and in the morning returned; and understanding that the bailie aforesaid was keeping a court near the prison, being emboldened by the presence of the Lord, we went into the court to him, with a Friend or two of the town with us, and there staid till his business was over. As he came to the foot of the stairs we began to expostulate the matter with him; and John Bowstead told him,



it would be a great reflection upon the Presbyterians in Scotland, who so lately themselves had been hardly used, as they said, by the Episcopalians, so soon to begin to persecute us, for no other cause but discharging our duty to God, in such manner as we were persuaded in our consciences the Lord required at our hands.

The bailie replied, that he had not imprisoned our friend maliciously, but out of kindness to protect him from the rabble; "which," said he, "when they are moved, are not easily suppressed, but will commit outrages of dangerous consequence, notwithstanding any power we have over them, when fully enraged." And said he, "I am willing to set your friend at liberty, provided he will depart the city without any more disturbance." Accordingly he went into a private office, whence he had committed Thomas Rudd, and sent for him from the prison; and after some fruitless endeavours to extort a promise from him to depart the city, and come no more in the streets as before, he gave orders for his release. Then we went again to the prison-house, to pay the victualler of the same for some bread and drink which we had used in the prison: and there we met with one John Kerr, an Episcopal priest, who had been lately incumbent at Roxburgh, and ousted at the revolution. He had been, the night before, with Thomas Rudd alone; who having been in prayer, this John Kerr had been so much affected thereby, that he promised, of his own accord, that if he was released from his imprisonment, he would come to our meeting the next time it should be held; yet he neglected it, though he was released according to his own wish. Thus the Lord is gracious in giving men their desires in times of distress; yet they are apt to forget their duty, his mercies, and their own promises, when they come where they think themselves less obnoxious to judgment, or the cruelty of their adversaries.

As we were in the prison-house together in silence, we were much broken in the good presence of the Lord; and John Bowstead being concerned in prayer, several of the prisoners and their visitants came up in a rude manner, to hear and gaze; but the virtue of truth affecting them, they uncovered, kneeled down, and revered that divine power and presence that was with us; though I think, themselves did not know the cause of their subjection.

After this, a discourse happened between the said John Kerr and a Friend, who was a citizen, concerning freedom from sin in this life; which John Kerr asserted could not be; and brought this passage out of the Epistle to the Romans, which he thought proved it, viz:

"For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do;" and divers parts of the same chapter throughout. I being at the other end of the table, and hearing them, and observing where the priest erred, a concern came upon me to take up the argument, and to endeavour to inform him better. I said, That the apostle, in that epistle, in the first place proved, that both Jews and Gentiles were under sin, the former as well as the latter, notwithstanding the law and ordinances of God delivered to them, which they had not kept. That both had redemption through faith in the Lord Christ; by whom they were made free from sin, even in this life, which the law could not effect, as appears by these words: "Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto sin once; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin; but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord," &c. The apostle here, taking the comparison from the certainty of the death and resurrection of Christ, infers likewise as great certainty of their being, in this life, through him, raised unto newness of life; which he corroborates in the 18th verse of the same chapter, saying, "Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness." And in the 22nd verse, confirms it further; "But now, being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life." Where it is apparent, that the apostle makes the service of God and sin inconsistent, and altogether incompatible: but, resuming the same doctrine, under another similitude, in the seventh chapter, he there personates the state of the Jews, and of himself, whilst only under the law, and without the knowledge of Christ, and not that state that he, or the adult in the church, was in, as an apostle and Christian, at the time of writing that epistle; which states are so different, that it is impossible the apostle could be in both in so short a time, as between writing part of the seventh chapter and the beginning of the eighth, which might be less than half an hour; for in the 24th verse of the seventh chapter, summing up all the weaknesses under the law in a few words, he cries out, "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!" And immediately answers his own question, "I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord;" and then continues to assert the Christian freedom, and saith, "There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus,



who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit: for the law of the Spirit of life, in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death," &c.

"Thus it appears that the apostle Paul was not under the body of sin and death at the time when he wrote that epistle; but was only recounting the various states, both of himself and others, under the law of Moses, and after the law of life and liberty from sin was come by the Son of God, and fulfilled by him in this apostle, as also in the adult in the congregation of Christ."

Upon this the said John Kerr freely acknowledged before the company, that he had all along mistaken that Scripture, and that we understood it right.

Having paid for our bread and drink, and returned the bed and bedding to the Friend who had brought the same, in expectation that Thomas Rudd's imprisonment would have been longer than it was suffered to be, through the good and well-ordering hand of the Lord, and departed out at the prison door, no sooner were we in the street, than Thomas began again to speak to the people. John Bowstead and I finding no concern that way for a short time, at first were not forward to go with him, but went into a Friend's shop; where we had not been long till the power of the Lord came upon us; and then we went into the street, where we found Thomas Rudd preaching among the people; who were more solid than before, concluding, no doubt, that the magistrates had found no fault in him, having so soon released him: but there was a secret power over them, which they knew not.

We went down the high street, near to the Canongate; and upon an out-stair, within the gate, Thomas Rudd stood up and preached to the people, and after him John Bowstead; upon which the multitude became so still as if we had been in a meeting of Friends; and many persons of the greater rank, of both sexes, leaned out at the windows, and heard the sound of the truth. In the mean time I had been a while separated from the rest by a coach, and disputing in Canongate with a young man who had asked me some questions, which I answered; and we parted in friendship.

Thus the whole multitude being as it were chained by the mighty and invisible power of truth, and our spirits over them, and at liberty by the same, to his glory and our great consolation, we went to our lodgings; where we had been but a short time till a messenger came from the countess of Kincairn, to invite Thomas Rudd to her lodgings, in order to have some discourse with him concerning his message, and to know whether he had de-

nounced any judgment against the city; for the adversary, by his emissaries, had invented and spread a rumour, that Thomas Rudd had prophesied that in seven days the city should be destroyed.

In the afternoon we went to the countess, and Thomas Ballantyne with us, a Friend who had been through the streets with Thomas Rudd before we came to town, and continued with us during the whole time. This countess was an ancient woman, and of a grave and serious deportment: she was kind and courteous to us, entertained us with respect, and acknowledged several doctrines of truth, so far as we had occasion to discourse her. She also acknowledged a sense of the great provocations that city had given the Lord to bring severe judgments upon it; and told Thomas Rudd she heard he had spoken against the Presbyterian church, of which she was: to which he answered, that he was concerned by the Lord to cry, "Wo against the sandy foundation;" and if the Presbyterians were concerned there, they would do well to look to it.

From thence we went to the lady Collington's lodgings, who, in the time of Thomas Rudd's imprisonment, had sent to him to know if he wanted any thing; and had likewise sent her maid to invite him to her house after he was at liberty. She entertained us respectfully, and discoursed matters that occurred seriously; but in the mean time came in a priest and one Dr. Sibbald, a physician; with whom we had some dispute: the matter in controversy with the doctor was baptism; we made short work with him, but the particulars not being exactly remembered, are omitted.

But the priest being a young man, and a little too forward to engage in matters he did not understand, and the controversy with him being concerning the ministry, I cited a passage out of the first epistle of John, viz: "But the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you: and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie; and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him;" and asked the priest what this anointing was, and how the same taught? To which he was silent, not without blushing in the presence of the lady, who was an ancient grave woman, and several younger, her kinswomen.

Then I questioned the priest further about his call to the ministry, and by what authority he took upon him that office? To which he answered, "There is an external call, and an internal call." The external I passed over, and asked him what his internal call



was, and by what? He replied, that it was by the light of God's grace, which was in him.

I returned, "Take heed how thou ascribest so much power to the light within, lest thou be reputed a Quaker." Upon this he desisted to prosecute his argument any further, and dropped the defence of his internal call; but betook himself to railing accusations; and speaking to Thomas Rudd, said, "We have ministers here already, sufficient to instruct the people, and need not you to make such disturbance in the city." "No," answered one of the young ladies, so she was styled among them, "it was not they that made the disturbance, it was your hearers;" meaning, that the unruly people were, for the most part, of the same profession with this priest. A pause of silence coming over us, and truth over all, Thomas Rudd said some few things to the old lady, and John Bowstead to the priest and doctor, and then we departed in peace with the Lord, and in favour and respect with most of our auditory, which were many more than I have mentioned in particular.

Having finished our concerns at Edinburgh, we went into a ferry-boat at Leith, on the 6th day of the same month, and arrived at King-born, and next day to Couper; through which Thomas Rudd went with the same message as at Edinburgh, and John Bowstead and I went with him. The people came forth as bees from a shaken hive; so that the streets were quickly filled. We went through the town unmolested, and came back near the place where we began. Then came two of the bailie's officers in red clothing, and summoned Thomas Rudd to appear before him, which he did. The bailie inquired by what authority or power he preached to that people? Thomas answered, By the authority of the Word of God, nigh in his heart, by which a necessity was laid upon him; as it is written, "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," and "a good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things."

The bailie being a moderate man, and trembling a little whilst he examined Thomas Rudd, though in the presence of many of the people, did not detain him long, but dismissed him, without the least rebuke or scurrility; after which, and a short exhortation to the people by John Bowstead, and some few words to them by myself, being the first I had ever uttered in a public manner, we departed thence. The two officers and a multitude of the inhabitants, very lovingly conducting us out of town to a green hill a little without, directing us the way we inquired after, with

great respect. When we were about a quarter of a mile gone from them, the tender love of truth being much manifested in us, we were constrained thereby to look back, when we saw the multitude still standing on the hill looking after us, and that love flowed towards them as from an open fountain; in the sense whereof we were tendered and broken, and yearned towards them, as a young man towards his beloved, when he takes his journey from her for a season. There will be a tender people there in time.

We went to Dundee the same day, where Thomas Rudd likewise preached through the streets, John Bowstead and I going along with him. No incivility was there offered to us, save only that a soldier took Thomas Rudd by the arm and bid him be silent; but Thomas not regarding him, he offered no further violence. Being come quite through the town in that service, the Lord dropped his peace upon us, and we went on in great joy and comfort in his good presence, being lovingly directed on our way by one of the inhabitants. The fields of Dundee are not yet fully ripe, but in due time there may be a plentiful harvest.

The concern came upon us again in the way as we went from Dundee; and at Broughty, a village along the river side, below the town, Thomas Rudd delivered his message, the same as before, to a small people. They opened not a mouth, as I remember, but stood as if they had been amazed at the sound of truth, which came with good authority and power.

A little further east, at a place called Moneysfeath, near an old bridge and a water corn-mill, Thomas Rudd was concerned to cry aloud, as we passed by two or three houses there, to warn the inhabitants to turn from the evil of their ways; and immediately came forth a company of idle people, who had been at a wedding, with music and reveling; and they being in the height of their pleasure, little was effected upon them; but some of them seemed surprised with fear of some personal danger.

That evening we went to Aberbrothwick; where we felt a war in our spirits, against a foul, dull, senseless spirit reigning there. We laid, as it were, under it all night, and in the morning went through the town; Thomas Rudd warning the people as at other places. They offered us no violence, only some mocked, others gazed; and the whole, being generally Episcopal, had little desire to know the truth.

On the 8th day of the same month we went to Montrose; where we found ourselves engaged of the Lord to alarm that place also,



and to make war, against the spirit that ruled there. Having on our armour of the love of truth to all souls, we went into the streets, Thomas Rudd warning the people, as before. There is much of the seed of Ishmael there, and some also of Isaac, though oppressed and much under at present; the Lord God of Israel hasten the time of his redemption. By the time we were fully through the town and returned to the market-place, there was a multitude of people gathered about us; who, in the main, were indifferently sober, only some of the younger sort threw dirt on Thomas Rudd's hat, as we went along the street; but he going into a Friend's house to wash himself, John Bowstead preached to the people; who heard him with attention, and departed peaceably.

A little after, on the same day, the Friends in that place being come together, we had a meeting with them; and so departed in peace. On the 9th day of the same month, as we were on the way to Kirktown-hill, where David Falconer lived, Thomas Rudd went to a house on the west side of the river from Kirktown-hill; where lived a widow, who had several daughters then with her. The message was as at other places; and the fountain of eternal life was largely opened towards them; and we found respect from them in a good degree, according to their way of expressing it.

The same day we went to Urie, to the widow Barclay's; and the next morning, were concerned to visit several villages in the neighbourhood; as Fetteresso, Dunnotter, and Stonehaven: and after Thomas Rudd had delivered his message in the streets of the Upper Kirktown of Fetteresso, John Bowstead preached in the grave-yard to a people buried in ignorance; who seemed to have no sense of God at all, but only what they dreamed in their public form. We understood the priest of the place was, all the time, looking out at a window towards us; but did not offer the least opposition, though such as they account wolves in sheep's clothing were even in the midst of his flock.

After we had gone through the streets of Stonehaven, we came into the market-place, where John Bowstead had a very good time in preaching to the people; and some soldiers at first attempting to pull him down, were hindered by others. The people there, though in the main afar off, yet some of them are drawing near the streams of the free fountain; which, in [the days of thirst, hastening upon that nation, may satisfy their fainting souls.

On the 11th day of that month we went to Aberdeen; and on the 12th, being the first-

day of the week, we were concerned in the streets, as at other places; and a military sergeant, with a file of musketeers, came against us in the market-place in a furious manner, clubbing their muskets over our heads, as if they would have knocked us down, pretending orders from the officer-in-chief to put us out of the town. But we standing in the power of the Lord, were not afraid, but demanded of the sergeant, by what authority he, being a military officer, offered to hinder us from doing our duty; at which he, with his fellows, withdrew, as one conscious of his error. Thomas Rudd then continuing his message through the market-place, John Bowstead was, a little after, concerned to proclaim the spring and dawning of the day of God's glorious power to be near at hand upon the inhabitants of that place, and the country adjacent: and so after a good time in the streets we retired to our lodgings.

On the 14th day of the same month Thomas Rudd went back towards Kirktown-hill; and in his way, as he told us, at a place called Benham-Kirktown, he met with a priest, who had taken upon him to report to the people in those parts, after we had passed through to Aberdeen, that we were Jesuits in disguise. But when Thomas Rudd went among them, and to the place where the priest lived, to deliver his message in public, the cowardly hireling, like one ashamed of his slanders, shrunk into his house, not having the least objection against what Thomas Rudd there delivered, notwithstanding his backbiting insinuations aforesaid.

In the mean time, viz: on the 18th day, John Bowstead and I went northward to Inverary, where we had a good meeting among Friends; Robert Gerard, a sober young man, a Friend of Aberdeen, then accompanying us.

On the 19th, being the first-day of the week, we went to the meeting at Kilmuck; where, about the middle of the same, Thomas Rudd came again to us. From thence we went to Lethenty, to our friend Robert Burnett's; towards Inverness, which is about sixty miles north of Aberdeen; and no Friend there; nor had any Friend travelled that way for about fourteen years before.

On the 21st of the month we went from Lethenty to Ligetsden, Strathbogie, Keith, and Castle-Gordon, where we lodged; and the next day we went to Elgin in Murray.

As we came near Elgin, the word of the Lord began secretly to work in us; and when we came to the town, we went to an inn to refresh ourselves; where we had not drank till Thomas Rudd became concerned, as at other places, to go through the streets with



the same message as before; and John Bowstead and I, having a fellow-feeling of our friend's concern, went into the streets with him. Once we went through the whole town; and as we came by the guard, in the middle of a street, where was part of a regiment of dragoons, the officers, stirred up by the Presbyterian magistrates, stopped us, and asking us some questions, called us Jesuits in disguise: adding, that if we did not instantly retire to our quarters and refresh ourselves, for so much liberty they would seem to allow us, and so depart the town, a drum should be sent after us. But John Bowstead being bold at that time, answered, that he would hope for better evidence from them of that Christianity they professed, than to offer to drown with the noise of drums, the voice of such as were sent of God, to warn people to turn from evil; but some cried out, "They deserve to be hanged;" and others had other hard speeches against us. But in the mean time we went on with our concern by the guard again; and at about forty yards distance from that place, Thomas Rudd spake some words by way of testimony to the people, who were very numerous, and more quiet than could have been expected, considering the encouragement they had from the example of the soldiers and magistrates.

After Thomas Rudd had done, John Bowstead began to speak to the multitude, and forthwith came several soldiers from the guard, by orders from their officers, and took us all into custody, and imprisoned us in the guard-house among the soldiers; where, for a short time, we were mocked and scoffed at by them. But they seeing our patience and innocent behaviour, soon began to draw near us and excuse themselves, saying, they did not imprison us of their own accord, as having any thing against us, or what we were concerned in; but being commanded by their officers, they could not but obey. The corporal of the guard seemed much concerned at our imprisonment, and sorry for us; for said he, "I have seen multitudes of your friends in Ireland at their public meetings without interruption, and never knew of any ill they did; and why might not you have had liberty to do that which you think your duty here? But our officers cannot help it; for they are put upon it by the Presbyterian magistrates." Some of the soldiers became so kind, that they sent for ale for us, though we requested them to forbear it; yet, seeing the reality of their kindness, in their way, we tasted a little of their drink, which pleased them.

In a short time after, the power of the Lord began to increase in us, and we opened several truths of the gospel among the soldiers, as

the Lord opened in us, and gave us utterance. And they standing with their backs towards the door, in the mean time came the officers and some of the magistrates, as also the laird of the town; who, when they heard what we were upon, were more earnest to put us out of the guard, than before they were to imprison us there. But we finding that the Lord had wrought our liberty, and ourselves being above them in our spirits, and that power that wrought in them, we were not hasty to go out; but remained discoursing those things which were upon us, till the officers came behind us, and in a manner forced us out before them.

Then I called lieutenant Drummond aside, he being the chief officer present, and gave him to understand that the civil magistrate had imposed upon him; for it did not belong to the military officer, but to the civil, to intermeddle with matters of that import. However, we parted with them in kindness; but withal they commanded that we should depart the town, and speak no more to the people; and would have had us promise so to do, as the condition of our liberty, before they absolutely released us. John Bowstead answered, that if we could have gone through the town in peace with the Lord, without doing his command to the people, we should not have been their prisoners; and therefore could not make any bargain with them. Nevertheless, through the secret overruling power of the Lord, they set us at liberty. All praise and renown be given to the name of our God, who liveth for ever. Amen.

But we were not above fifty yards from the guard, till Thomas Rudd sounded again; and so we went towards the east gate; and before we came to the market-place, John Bowstead preached to the people.

From thence we went towards the west gate, Thomas Rudd proclaiming his message, and in the way a Presbyterian priest fell in with us; and walking behind John Bowstead, put a young man upon moving some dispute with him: and Robert Gerard and I being a little behind them, observed the priest, and his design, and went up to him to wait his proposal to John Bowstead; but in a short time he asked me by what authority Thomas Rudd went through the town with that message? I answered, that his question was not proper to me, since the man himself was present; but said I, "Thou thyself seems to be a teacher, by what authority dost thou preach?"

"We," said the priest, "have an external call, and an internal call." "Where there is a call," said I, "there must be a voice to give that call: this call thou sayest is within; what therefore is this in thee which calls thee to



that office?" Upon this the priest demurred a little, and began to tremble, for the binding power of the Lord was coming over him, but at length said, "It is by the light of God's grace." "Why then," said I, "dost thou oppose us for preaching the power and virtue of that light, which, by thy own assertion, is able to qualify for the gospel ministry? But withal, do not thou belie the grace of God, in saying it hath called thee unto that office, when in truth, it hath not. And beware how thou pretends to preach the light as the foundation of thy ministry, lest thou bring thyself under the denomination of a Quaker." Thus, by virtue of that light, I extorted a testimony to the same, from him who came to oppose it, and the work of it in us.

The priest being under this circumstance, John Bowstead cried aloud to the people, saying, "Observe the confusion of your Babylonish teacher;" and then opened several of their errors. But the priest's familiars, seeing him out of countenance and in confusion, would gladly have had him out of the crowd in which we were environed; and some were observed to weep. Others, being affronted at their priest's confusion, threw dirt in my face, which reflected back on his; upon which he seemed to smile, expecting, it is like, to be rescued from the just hand of truth, by the power and industry of the stoners and bedirers among his hearers, from whom he alledged his outward call. Then said John Bowstead, "Art thou a minister, pretending a call by the light of God's grace, which teaches to deny all ungodliness, and yet canst laugh at wickedness; and see also the fruits of thy teaching among thy hearers, who thus offer violence to strangers?" Upon which a party from the outside of the crowd, in a body, pressed into the middle of them, where we were, and so drove the priest quite out to the other side, and away he ran. Then John Bowstead cried aloud after him, "The hireling runs, because he is a hireling;" and after some exhortation to the people, we went towards our inn, Thomas Rudd proclaiming his message.

No more violence was offered to us, save only that a soldier threw a piece of hard earth from the guard-house among us, which fell upon Robert Gerard's shoulder, but did not hurt him much. The rage of satan being overruled by the blessed power of God, to whom be praise and glory for evermore, the inhabitants of Elgin became very calm; and we, finding the concern to cease in us, went to our quarters. But the concern returning on Thomas Rudd, and reaching me likewise, we went out together towards the west gate; where he delivered his message, without any

opposition from any person by word or deed. So we returned to the inn to our companions; and after refreshment we departed in the justifying presence and peace of the Lord, and went forward that evening to Forress; the whole time spent in Elgin, as aforesaid, being about three hours.

At Forress we lodged at an inn kept by bailie Scot; who, together with his wife and family, entertained us with friendly respect. The next morning, being the 24th, we went through this town, Thomas Rudd doing his message, as at other times, but no violence was offered by any. That day one William Falconer, a relation of David Falconer, came to see us. He was an Episcopal priest, and had been displaced some time before by the Presbyterians. He was a comely person, and of an affable temper; and I asked him why they had turned him out? He replied, that it was for the original sin of Episcopacy. They objected nothing against his morals; and for the maintenance of his family, he would have conformed: but his father having been a bishop, they would not trust him, lest Episcopacy should have become hereditary in him: but more of him hereafter.

The same day we went forward to Old Nairn, where we were concerned; and Thomas Rudd warning them to turn from their evil ways unto the Lord, they gave us full demonstration there was need of it, by throwing dirt and trash at us, and using bloody speeches. But the Lord preserved us from their evil, by his blessed truth, the greatest good; unto whom, for the riches of his power, be honour everlasting. Amen.

From Old Nairn we went to Nairn, where part of a regiment of dragoons were quartered; and Thomas Rudd delivering his message, as at other places, many of them followed us through the streets very soberly; one of whom, a coporal, as I remember, so soon as he had seriously observed us, and heard the message, held up his hand, and stretching it towards the people, gave strict orders that neither soldiers nor others should in any ways molest or interrupt us, which accordingly was observed, for all were very peaceable toward us. As soon as Thomas Rudd had done, a multitude of soldiers and town's people followed us to the door of our inn; and there being out-stairs ascending to an upper room, John Bowstead stood upon the same, and preached a considerable time to them; they generally behaving with friendly gravity, with tears gushing into several eyes; and the testimony of truth went freely and openly towards them. And though the Lord had not hitherto opened my mouth in testimony, so as to be termed a minister, yet my heart



was full of the Word of Life; and the love thereof went towards the people, as it were, unrestrained; as it had done towards many others of that nation in that visit.

After refreshment at the inn, we went that evening to Inverness; where some of the people taking us for Dutchmen, came to inquire after news, martial affairs being then much in agitation between the French and confederates; but finding what we were, their expectation failed.

The next morning, being the seventh-day of the week, Thomas Rudd walked through the streets alone, very early; and afterwards we went all up together in the market-place, where there were many Highlanders in their usual dress, and armed; who, together with other people, flocking about us, John Bowstead preached to them; and the testimony of truth had fluent passage. They were respectful above expectation; and when any boys, or other particulars, moved the least incivility or light behaviour towards us, others were forward to correct and reprehend them. And whenever we went out of our inn into the streets on any occasion, the people flocked after us.

On the same day, in the afternoon, divers young men, of the better rank, as they are accounted, came to discourse us upon several points of religion; to whom, in the main, through the truth, we gave satisfaction; only one John Stewart, a Presbyterian, abruptly darted in a question about the Almighty's decreeing some men and angels to eternal damnation. I being most concerned at that time in discourse, declined that subject, till other matters, more suitable for the auditory, were fully discussed; and then I told him, That it was more proper and necessary for him to make his own calling and election sure, than to be too curious about questions of so mysterious import: and withal, that he ought not to wrest the Scriptures, which were, in the main, designed to remove these conceits of the Jews, that they were the only chosen of God, by covenant with Abram and the fathers, and through the mediation of Moses at Mount Sinai; by which they slighted Christ, the elect seed of God, and the gospel of salvation offered unto themselves, and the work of the same, at that time taking place among the Gentiles. Those Scriptures in the Epistle to the Romans, then adduced, having no relation at all to the decree of any particular man, or order of men, as such, or angel, or order of angels, to destruction from eternity; for that could never comport with the unchangeable and glorious attribute of divine goodness, essential to the Almighty: with some other matter suiting that point.

And the young man being frustrated of his expectation, went away in a sullen rancour; not like one on the right-hand, if such a decree had been; but the Lord preserved us in the spirit of meekness and charity. This gave me occasion to observe how hard it is for such as are prepossessed with antichristian notions and conceits, to embrace the truth, or apply themselves to virtue; and how the enemy of their souls rages in their own hearts, when any thing appears to discover his deceit in any measure; how, through envy, moving the same in them, does he blind their eye, and keep them in the dark, to their utter destruction: for no sooner can one offer to resist that notion of predestination, as they hold it, or form an argument against it, how clearly, calmly, rationally, and truly soever, but they generally fly up like fiery serpents, ready, through rage, if it were in their power, to set the very course of nature on fire, kindling it with the fire of hell.

On the seventh-day, at night, we remained under some exercise of mind; and the next morning, went into the market-place, in the crossings of several streets; and there, first Thomas Rudd, and then John Bowstead, preached a considerable time to the people, who were generally to come that way to their several sorts of worship; and many of them staid and heard with grave attention; and are a people of an English demeanour and aspect. In convenient time we retired to our lodging, and in an upper room had a meeting among ourselves and some few more. Our landlady not having been able to move out of her chamber for many weeks before, came up to us, and staid during the meeting, to her great refreshment and satisfaction, as she openly declared soon after. Glory be to the Lord, who is ever ready to do good to all who faithfully wait on him for his pure grace, and the virtue of it; which is able to refresh both soul and body, when it pleases him to move by the same in his poor creatures.

Our meeting being over, which happened before others came from their several workshops, we were concerned to go to the steeple-house; but as we were going down the street, one of the civil officers being at the door went in, but suddenly returned, and placed a hand on each side of the same; and when Thomas Rudd, who was foremost, attempted to enter, the officer hindered him. Thomas Rudd offered some arguments to induce him to admit us, but could not prevail, saying he could not dispute with us, but there we must not come; but gave us no hard words, nor showed any passion in his gesture. They were Episcopalians, Presbytery not having overspread all the north at that time.



We walked to and again in the street, and many people came to us, and several would have had us go to the Presbyterian meeting, which was a little below in the same street; but having no concern that way, we took little notice of them. But the Episcopalians, soon after, coming from their worship, and very numerous, Thomas Rudd moved into the street before them, with his arms spread abroad, as if to embrace them, and spake to this effect, That some of the apostles of Christ, coming to a certain place, where other worship than what they then preached was exercised, had the privilege, after such worship was over, to preach to and exhort the people; and why might not we have the same among professors of Christianity? And then went on with other matter. The people generally staid, though the priest used some ineffectual means to make them depart from us; knowing that if the truth, and the blessed work of it, once affected their hearts, his gain, power, and glory, would soon be lost.

The people were extremely quiet and attentive; and the priest seeing their inclination and resolution to stay, went away with some few attending him, without offering any discourse to us, or objection against what was delivered.

By the time Thomas Rudd had done, the Presbyterians came from their meeting, and were, for the most part, to pass along the same street; and whether they were so inclined or not, they could not but stay; for the whole street was blocked up by the crowd. When Thomas Rudd had done, John Bowstead spake to them in good authority, but not very long; and towards the end, exposed the priest, and the design of his ministry to the people; which being as a trade for maintenance, could never profit them: and having cleared their minds of their concern for that time, we went to our inn without any molestation.

Having dined in a large upper room, several military officers, viz: lieutenant Livingston, lieutenant Alexander Frazer, ensign Cunningham, &c., who kept garrison there, desiring a little of our company, came to see us. At their entrance into the room they saluted us in their manner, uncovering and bowing, saying, "Your servants, gentlemen." And the presence of the Lord being over us, Thomas Rudd answered, "Not our servants, but servants of God, and fellow-servants one of another for the Lord's sake." Then they made an apology, saying it was their way of expressing their respect; which we perceiving to be without mocking, little more was said on either side, but all drawn in an instant into profound silence, by the invisible power

of God; and in a short space the room was full of people, and all sober, like a meeting of Friends; and Thomas Rudd spoke to them concerning true silence, and the worship of God in spirit, in the silence of all flesh, and the imaginations and desires thereof; with some other things of that import.

After Thomas Rudd had done, John Bowstead preached to them, and then Thomas Rudd prayed, and after him, John Bowstead prayed: and so the meeting ended, all departing in a grave and serious frame of mind. The officers took leave of us in a friendly manner, and the company departed without any objection to what was said.

The next morning, being the second-day of the week, as were about to depart towards Chanery, on the other side of Murray Firth, the said officers came again to discourse with us and take their leave; and as matters of truth and religion were opened to us, which was not sparingly, we opened to them, and they seemed troubled to part with us, and took us by the hands, praying that the Lord might be with and prosper us. About the first hour that afternoon we arrived at Chanery, but found no further concern on that side; and after a little refreshment, we crossed the river, and that night lodged at Nairn.

That night Thomas Rudd became concerned to return to Inverness, to speak to the priest; and in the morning he and John Bowstead went to that place, where Thomas Rudd, as they said, warned the priest not to deceive the people any longer; with some other matters of religious import. The priest was indifferently patient; but his clerk used some light and indecent expressions, pretending to argue several points with them. Their business was not to dispute at that time, but to deliver a message; which having done they were clear. But the people flocked about them as before, with expressions of gladness at their return.

In the mean time Robert Gerard and I went to Forress, where we had appointed to stay till they should return to us; and finding a concern come upon me, I went to the house of William Falconer, the priest before mentioned, and Robert Gerard with me; and there was one that was steward to a nobleman with him, and some others besides his own family. He seemed to receive us with respect; nevertheless in a short time there appeared a cloud of darkness. I sat quiet and inward, and the truth arose as a standard against it, and the opposing darkness vanished, and truth reigned in me. Then I began to speak concerning the many divisions in the pretended Christian world, the Papacy, the Prelacy, and the Presbytery, with their several



subdivisions and confusions, which being departed from the Spirit of Christ, the prince of Peace, into the spirit of envy and persecution, were warring and destroying each other, contrary both to the nature and end of that religion they profess, which is love. I was answered, that the bishop of Rome, under pretence of being the successor of Peter, and as such, infallible, hath usurped a dictatorship over the Christian world in matters of religion, and imposed a multitude of antichristian errors, by unreasonable force upon mankind. But God having committed his whole will unto writing in the holy Scriptures, and in the course of his Providence preserved them unto us, we have our whole duty declared therein, as our rule and guide in matters of religion; so that we are not to expect the manifestations of the Spirit as in times past, that dispensation being now ceased.

I replied, that what he said of the bishop of Rome was true, and that the Scriptures are the most excellent books extant; which were given, from time to time, by the Word of the Lord, which is the Spirit of Christ. But men may read and speak the truths contained in the Scriptures one to another, and the readers and speakers remain still ignorant of the Word of the Lord, and of the things themselves intended to be signified by the words; and not being sent of God, as the Scriptures send no man, cannot profit the hearers, but are themselves transgressors in so doing, unless they were sent by the influence, power, and virtue of the same Word that did dictate the matter of the Scriptures unto the holy penmen thereof; as appears by the 23rd chapter of the prophecy of Jeremiah: and then I called for a Bible and read, "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully: what is the chaff to the wheat, saith the Lord? Is not my word like a fire, saith the Lord; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces? Therefore, behold, I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that steal my words, every one from his neighbour. Behold I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that use their tongues, and say, He saith: Yet I sent them not, nor commanded them; therefore they shall not profit this people at all, saith the Lord." So that it is contrary to the declared mind of God, that any should use his words to others as his ministers, who are not sent by himself so to do; for though they have been his words unto others, those who use them without his command, are charged by him as thieves; especially such as make merchandize of them to the people.

As to the dispensation of the Spirit being

now ceased, I am sorry to hear it is so; for I can show thee to whom it is so ceased, but not to the church of Christ: then I turned to the third chapter of the prophecy of Micah, and read, "Hear, I pray you, O heads of Jacob, and ye princes of the house of Israel, is it not for you to know judgment? Who hate the good and love the evil; who pluck off their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones; who also eat the flesh of my people, and flay their skin from off them; and they break their bones, and chop them in pieces for the pot, and as flesh within the caldron. Then shall they cry unto the Lord, but he will not hear them; he will even hide his face from them at that time, as they have behaved themselves ill in their doings."

Here it appears, that for the ignorance, cruelty, and injustice of the princes or heads of the people, the Lord would not hear or regard them. Again, in the 9th verse, the Lord resumes his charge against the great men in that day; "They abhorred judgment, and perverted all equity: they built up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity: the heads of that people judged for reward, their priests taught for hire, and their prophets divined for money; yet they pretended to lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us? No evil can come upon us." But the Lord was not to be mocked by such; his just judgments were denounced against them; "Therefore shall Zion, for your sakes, be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps; and the mountain of the house, as the high places of the forest." This was fulfilled upon them, and remains over them, as a monument of the justice of God, unto this day. The charge of the Lord, and his judgments against the prophets, I left to the last, viz: "They made the people err; they bit with their teeth, and (yet) cried peace; and he that put not into their mouths, they even prepared war against him: therefore night shall be unto you, that ye shall not have a vision; and it shall be dark unto you, that ye shall not divine; and the sun shall go down over the prophets, and the day shall be dark over them. Then shall the seers be ashamed, and the diviners confounded; yea, they shall all cover their lips, for there is no answer of God."

Now as to these Scriptures, said I, like sin, like judgment. All these three divisions of the pretended Christian church, falling into the sins of the old heathens, are become hateful, and hating one another; and through that hatred, have persecuted and destroyed each other when and wherever they have had power. And all these in their turns, having deceived and subjected the temporal



powers, have persecuted and destroyed the church of Christ among them. "They have hated the good, and loved the evil." They have exercised such cruelties upon the innocent and just as are here figuratively termed, plucking off their skin and their flesh, and the breaking of their bones, and the like. The priests of every form have fleeced the people and the church of Christ, which they have not fed; they have made laws by their own power, against them, and thereby made war against such as would not gratify their covetousness; they have worried them as with their teeth, and yet cried up the peace of the gospel in words; they have built and propagated their several sects and parties with the blood of others, and of the saints of God; and have filled their sanctuaries with evil-doing and fraud. Their heads, who lord over them, have exercised their offices for gain and pay, their priests teach for hire, their prophets divine for money; yet they pretend the Lord is with them in their various and opposite ways, and that no evil can come upon them. And yet, though the day of the gospel of Christ be dawned upon his church, and the Sun of Righteousness arisen and shining in her, yet the night of apostasy, and mist of thick darkness and ignorance is over these. They have no vision of God; they cannot divine; the sun is set unto them, and the day is dark over them. For the light thereof they despise and hate, because they are evil-doers, and to them there is no answer of God.

But the church of Christ here speaketh another language; she bears another, a true testimony to the true God. "But truly I am full of power, by the Spirit of the Lord, and of judgment, and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgressions, and unto Israel his sin." Here it is apparent from whom the Spirit of the Lord is departed, and to whom he is not now revealed, and in whom he does not reside; that is, Mystery-Babylon, with all her divisions, subdivisions and members, every where, and under whatsoever name: but God is with his people still, as in former times, according to the promise of the Son; "If a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him."

The auditory heard what was said with patience, and none made any answer but the priest; and all that he said was, and that a little pleasantly, "Such as you, going about with such chapters, may do much mischief." To whom I replied, that in as much as he was then silenced by the temporal powers, he would do well never to look after that employment any more, or think to enrich himself thereby; and the

rather, since he had a competent estate independent of it; which the Lord would bless to him and his family, if he disclaimed that ungodly practice of preaching for hire, and was silent in the things of God till the Lord should send him, if it might please him so to do. The priest's wife seemed well pleased with what I said to him, and he made no reply: and so a little after we departed in peace, and in friendship with them, and went to our inn.

Soon after came Thomas Rudd and John Bowstead back to us from Inverness; and the next morning being the 1st day of the first month, 1693, we went to Elgin; and thence to Fochabers, or Castle-Gordon, and there we lodged; and in the morning Thomas Rudd and John Bowstead went through the streets, Thomas Rudd delivering his message, as at other places; and from thence we went to Keith, where he did likewise.

On the 4th day of the first month we came back to Urie, where we had a meeting among Friends, as in divers other places, from whence Thomas Rudd went back to Aberdeen, and John Bowstead and I went to Edinburgh. But as we were by the ferry, in order to our passage to Leith, there came a concern upon us, and we observed several persons, who were to be passengers with us in the same vessel. As we were putting off from the shore, some discourse was moved by way of opposition to us in matters of religion. He that managed against us we found, by his way of reasoning, was a priest; who finding us very sharp upon him, and how little impression his reasonings and imaginations made upon us, he fell into so great a rage, that he commanded us to be silent, and the skipper to put us on shore, for we were not far from it. "Thou art under a mistake," said I; "thou art not now domineering over a few poor parish people, who dare not speak the truth; we are not to be silenced by thee, nor put out of the vessel by any, since we have agreed for our passage, and are already in possession." This being said with the authority of justice, neither he nor any other said any more of turning us out; but the contest was renewed in matters of religion. After some observations on the several ways of worship in the world, I fell upon some reflections on such as shifted from one form to another, and would hang the cloak on either shoulder for advantage and honour among men. This proved, though an arrow at adventure, to hit the mark; after which the rude and boisterous spirit of the man became more humble, and we came over him by the Truth; who is always near to guide and strengthen such as wait on Him for strength and direction: to his glory be all things.



As there came a calm over this evil spirit, there came a calm likewise upon the water; so that we were a considerable time upon it, and had much discourse of religious consequence. All in the boat were quiet and nearer us than at first, and the priest himself began to commend love, and grew very kind to us; and when we came on shore he took us by the hand very lovingly, wishing us well; and we likewise parted with all the rest in friendship.

After this, as we were going up the high street of Edinburgh, towards our meeting near the West-port, we saw the priest again; and inquiring of a Friend who he was, he told us his name was James English, who had once been a Presbyterian minister, and had also showed some love for truth and Friends, and had read our books; but persecution rising hot, in king Charles's reign, by the Episcopalians against the Presbyterians, he had thereupon transformed himself into the likeness of an Episcopalian; and now, when Presbytery had again prevailed, he had changed the cloak again to the other shoulder, having a kirk without the West-port of Edinburgh, not far from the place of our meeting. In those days change in government did not alter men's behaviour towards us, but we were rudely pelted with stones and dirt, and otherwise abused in our meetings, and in our passage along the streets to and from the same, by a miserable wretched rabble, through the connivance of the magistrates of every notion and profession; who perverted and misapplied, or willfully neglected their offices.

Observe then a twofold transforming: a transformation of the adversary into the likeness of an angel or messenger of light and truth inwardly; and of his ministers into the likeness of the ministers of truth outwardly. And as satan will transform every way, to save his kingdom in man, till, by the stroke of the judgment of the Almighty, he be destroyed in all who believe in God, and in Jesus Christ the Son of God, and obey and keep his commandments; so will those priests of antichrist, of every form and notion, turn every way to save and support their worldly power, pomp, grandeur, and unjust maintenance, till the sword of the mouth of the Lord rescue his people and children from under them, and by the breath of his mouth they be swept into the ditch. "For they, the blind shepherds of mount Esau, have troubled Jacob, and led and drove the stranger out of the way; therefore is the hand of the most high God against them, and the day of mourning is near upon their dwellings." Amen.

On the 13th we went to Linlithgow, and that evening had a meeting among Friends

there. On the 15th we went to Hamilton and had another; and on the 18th to Glasgow; and on the 19th, being the first-day of the week, we had a meeting with Friends. But the Presbyterian provost or mayor, notwithstanding the establishment of liberty of conscience in matters of religion, sent three of his under officers to disperse the meeting; but the power of Lord being over them, they were overawed thereby for some time, till one of them more hardened than the rest, laid hold on one of the Friends belonging to the city, and haled him out of the meeting-house; and then the other two, by his example laid hands on other Friends, and took several more out. At length, they laid hold on Hugh Wood, gardener to the duke of Hamilton, a grave and religious man, whom they forced towards the door; but suddenly turning, he twisted himself out of their hands, and sat down where he was before. Then several other Friends came in again, and so the meeting continued; and through the good presence of the Lord, who never fails his people in the needful time, we were much comforted and strengthened against all their disturbance. When they saw they could not prevail that way, they used threats, saying, "It is upon the stroke of twelve, and the kirks are ready to break loose, and if you be not gone before the rabble come, they will tear you in pieces, and we shall not be able to hinder them." Then said John Bowstead, "Do your kirks consist of rabble, that they will come with such violence so soon as the clock or dial assigns the hour?"

But the Lord was pleased to afford his blessed presence to us, and thereby to continue our meeting till their kirks were broken loose, and their rabble came, but were chained by the invisible power of the glorious God. They had no power to hurt us; for some were on our side, though others against us. Then the meeting went to prayer along with John Bowstead, and one of these disturbing officers attempted to stop his mouth with his hand several times; but being overawed by a power of which he was ignorant, he could not. When the prayer was ended we went through a narrow lane filled with the rabble, and then through a great multitude of people in the street, without any harm; so good was the Lord to us, in preserving us from the cruelty of that self-righteous and persecuting generation: yet a better disposition appeared in many among them, which was obvious by their countenances and behaviour.

That afternoon we went back to Hamilton, where we found Thomas Rudd, come after us from Aberdeen; who had been through the streets with his usual message the same day;



and we were told by some we met in the way, who were not Friends, the people had abused him very much.

A little after we came to town the concern returned upon him, and reaching us, with several of the Friends there, we went all into the streets two by two, each two at a little distance from the other, and Thomas Rudd proclaimed the same warning as before; upon which a multitude of people issued into the streets, and were indifferently sober, till the town officer came in a barbarous and furious manner, and laid hold on Thomas Rudd, commanding him to go to his quarters, otherwise to the Tolbooth, their prison-house. The rudeness of this man in the presence of the multitude so encouraged the baser sort, that they fell upon us, and inhumanly abused us, but especially Thomas Rudd. The most active in this shameful work were mostly of that furious sect of Presbyterians called Cameronians; and among others, there were a town officer, and the sons of a deacon of the Presbyterian church at Hamilton. Thomas Rudd not having fully delivered his message, which he always continued every where till the people were quieted, went again down the high street. Upon which the officer put him in prison; and John Bowstead, Hugh Wood, James Miller and I, went with him, with design to accompany him in his imprisonment; but the rabble furiously pushed John Bowstead from the door down the stairs, pulled off his hat, and trampled it under foot; and some of them fixing their hands in his hair, dragged, beat, and abused him, till several, touched with compassion, cried out murder; and some young men of a more noble disposition, particularly one Thomas Kirkbarns, rescued him from them.

They dragged James Miller, one of their neighbours, back from the prison door; and throwing him upon the ground, beat, abused him, and brake his nose, thereby shedding his blood: also they pushed, haled, tossed, and abused Hugh Wood very much; which was the more inhuman, he being an ancient man, a neighbour, and had not said any thing to provoke them, unless to persuade them to moderation. Some of them pushed me from the prison door to the foot of the stone stairs, which were on the outside, with great fury, and bruised my left side against the stones, though I had said nothing to them.

In the mean time John Bowstead called for the chief magistrate, that if he had any thing to object against us, we were willing to answer him; whereupon came David Marshall, eldest bailie, and desired us to go into his house, which was over against the prison, till the rabble dispersed. But he did not make any

use of his authority as a magistrate to disperse and appease them; so far from it, he suffered one of his own servants to be active in this work. The others, who threw dirt and stones at us, calling us dogs, and other reproachful names, were generally the wives, sons, daughters, and servants of the magistrates, merchants, and manufacturers. Thus ended their sabbath day's work; though one of their pretences for using us thus, was, that we had broken the sabbath by going through the town in that manner. Whether we, who were there on the Lord's account, to warn them to turn from evil, or they who thus abused us on that day, which they call the sabbath, did more break the sabbath, let their actions and ours demonstrate: and whether magistrates countenancing evil, and taking part with the evil-doers, be not false to the trust reposed in them, perverters of the good end of their appointment, and guilty of all the evil they might restrain, or punish, we leave to the Lord to determine in his own time and way, by his unerring justice, against that and such a magistracy.

The next morning Thomas Rudd and John Bowstead were concerned to go through the same town again, where they met with like entertainment; some of the rabble taking off Thomas Rudd's hat, dashed his eyes, face, and head over with dirt taken out of the stinking kennels; and having thus deformed him, they cried out, "He looks like a devil!" Then Thomas Rudd, going to the house of a Friend, washed himself; and going down the street again with the same message, they renewed their cruelty as before; particularly one Robert Hamilton and his two sisters, Anne and Rebecca, gave threatening speeches, the latter saying, she could find in her heart to kill Thomas Rudd with her own hands. This Robert Hamilton, when I desired to reason with him, why he, a professor of Christianity, which teaches love even to enemies, would so much abuse us who were their friends, and come in Christian love to visit them, and encourage others also in the same work, peevishly turned from me, saying he would not converse with the devil.

Thomas Rudd going down another street, the rabble attempted to put him into an open well; but being prevented by some more humane than the rest, they tore his hair from his head, and beat him, and also the rest of our Friends accompanying him, with great severity, and dragged them into the market-place; where they might have done more mischief, but that Thomas Edgar, a young man of commendable deportment, with some other sober and well-minded persons, of the Episcopal way, I suppose, cried



out, "Shame on such actions;" and used some endeavours to restrain them. Thus we see the Lord, either immediately or instrumentally, or both, is ready to deliver from cruelty, and to bear up the minds of his servants, acting in his will under the same: to him be dominion and glory for ever and ever.

The same day John Bowstead and I went to a meeting at Shatton-Hill, which had been appointed before, leaving Thomas Rudd at Hamilton, from whence he purposed to go for Ireland; but that day he went through the town again, and the inhabitants became more sober; and the next morning he visited them in the like manner, and they were all still, and came not out any more to molest him. And then finding his concern in that place to be at an end, he departed in peace.

But before I departed that town, I wrote a few lines to the above named Robert Hamilton, in this manner:

"Robert Hamilton,

"I understand thou art a person professing Christianity, which is the highest excellency named among the children of men; but how far thou art short of that life of love inseparable from every true Christian, thy deportment to my friends, the servants of the Most High, and also to myself, in the streets of Hamilton, does sufficiently demonstrate."

I also wrote to the inhabitants who had abused us as aforesaid, in these words, from the mind of the Lord, viz:

TO THE PRESBYTERIANS OF THE TOWN  
OF HAMILTON.

"20th of the First month, 1692.

"How long will you do wickedly? How long will you stone and abuse the servants of the Most High, who are sent to you for peace and reconciliation? How long will you trample under foot the blood of the everlasting covenant, and adore your own inventions? How long shall the wooings of the Highest be despised? Shall eternal judgment terminate your wickedness? Or will you escape by obedience to the gospel of peace?

"Anger remains in the bosom of fools; and do your actions bespeak you wise? Has the Lord left you to the counsel of your own will; or is there yet hopes of redemption for you.

"Surely the Lord is displeased with your doings, because you hate the counsel of his love. How far distant is persecution from the everlasting gospel of peace? And how evident demonstration you gave last night and

this morning, that the prince of the power of the air, Apollyon the destroyer, who reigns in the hearts of the children of disobedience, also rules and rages in your hearts, I leave with you to consider; that if yet there remains any place of repentance, you may lay hold of it, and escape the unspeakable misery that is hastening upon all the workers of iniquity, how well soever covered with a mask of profession.

"I am, through Christ, a lover of the souls of all, whose day of visitation is not already over,  
"THOMAS STORY."

On the 22nd of the first month, John Bowstead and I had a meeting among a few Friends at Drumlanrig, in the house of James Wood, gardener to the duke of Queensberry; and on the 24th we went home to our several habitations, John Bowstead to his family at Eglinby, in Cumberland, and I to my father's house at Justicetown, in the same county, being safely conducted and preserved through all dangers by the arm of Lord; whose name is becoming dreadful among the nations. Unto him be the honour and glory of all his great works and goodness, for evermore. Amen.

About this time some of the parishioners of Scaleby, in Cumberland, were convinced of the truth, and Nathaniel Bowey, being priest incumbent there, wrote a letter to them, containing several invectives, false accusations and reproaches against Friends and the divine light we profess, as likewise heterodox opinions, and false doctrines; which I answered. But neither the letter nor answer were printed.

The time of the county meeting for Cumberland being come, John Banks, that good, old, and valiant soldier and warrior for truth on earth, offered his service as a representative from the county to the yearly meeting at London, then approaching; and the meeting thought fit to name me for the other, though I did not deem myself qualified for that charge. But the meeting insisting upon it, I yielded; and the rather, since I was to go with a companion so experienced and able in that service.

We set forward on the 11th day of the third month, 1693; and by several stages and meetings went to Waltham Abbey on the 23rd; and on the 28th to the house of our friend George Barr, in Berry street, in Edmonton. Here we had the satisfaction to meet with our eminent and honourable friend William Penn, which was the first time I saw him; and with whom, at that time, I contracted so near a friendship in the life of truth and tendering love thereof in many tears, as never wore out till his dying-day; and in



which his memory still lives, as a sweet odour in my mind, as a faithful servant of the Lord, a man of God indeed in his time, and of whom I shall have occasion to make further mention in the sequel.

On the 4th day of the fourth month we arrived at London; and the Lord gave his church and people, there assembled from all parts of the nation, and from Scotland, Ireland, &c., many comfortable seasons of his divine life-giving presence, to our great edification, confirmation, and rejoicing; where I became nearly acquainted with divers of the most eminent elders of that day, both in the city and country, to my great satisfaction, and to theirs also; for mutual love and esteem were not wanting, but adorned our conversation, as in the primitive times.

In a particular manner I became nearly united in the divine love and life of truth, with my much esteemed friend Thomas Wilson, then of Cumberland, and afterwards of Ireland; who was to me the most able and powerful minister of the Word of Life in the age; and whom I had seen but thrice before; once in Cumberland, before he went the first time to America in the service of the gospel; the second time at a county meeting in Cumberland, the same day he and James Dickinson came into that county, in their return from America through part of Scotland, a little before the said yearly meeting at London; and the third time at that meeting. James Dickinson, his usual companion, being engaged another way, he accepted of my company in visiting the west. We set forward from London on the 24th day of the fourth month, and that day had a meeting at Uxbridge; and on the 26th at Wickham; and so by Oxford, where we had a comfortable, open meeting; for though many of the collegians were there, who used to be rude in an extraordinary manner, yet the invisible power of the Word of Life being over them at that time, they were quiet under the testimony thereof, in the authoritative ministry of Thomas Wilson; whose voice was as thunder from the clouds, and with words penetrating as lightning, saying, "It is the pride, luxury, and whoredoms of the priests now, as in the days of Eli the high priest, which deprive them of the open vision of heaven." Upon this many of them were struck with amazement and surprise, and their eyes were filled with tears; so that several of the elder sort retired, but in a decent manner, as if to hide the effect of truth; which, if they had staid, could not have been concealed; but above all the rest, a very comely youth, who, by his appearance and behaviour, seemed to be the son of some noble person, was most deeply affected.

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On the 28th we went to Cowballis, to the house of our friend Giles Pettyplace, a gentleman of a considerable estate, who had embraced the truth in early days; whose company, together with his family, we had next day at a meeting at Cirencester; and from thence, on the 30th, we went by Cuckerton, Tedbury, Didmartin and Sedbury, to Bristol.

Here we staid till the 2nd of the fifth month, where the Lord gave us glorious times, in the sensible enjoyment of his divine and soul melting presence, to our general and mutual consolation. In those days Friends were near the Lord, and to one another in him; and the canopy of his love was over us, and we rejoiced together therein, but with holy fear, and with trembling; and had often occasion to say, concerning the way of the Lord, as of old, and with respect to his noble servant, that he "maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire;" for so he was indeed, in an eminent manner, to the churches where he came in this visit, as generally elsewhere at other times.

On the 2nd of the fifth month we had a meeting at Frenchay, and that evening returned to Bristol; and on the 5th we had one at Posset, in Somersetshire, and the same day returned to Bristol, where we remained till the 12th, having other meetings there. Thence we went to the meeting at Bolton, and that night were at the house of our friend Richard Vickris, at Chew; where we were kindly entertained. He was a gentleman of a considerable estate, and had, at that time, a numerous and hopeful family of children; and they were a family of love indeed among themselves, and to Friends in general. They loved, and were beloved.

The next day we returned to Bristol, to the meetings there, and on the 15th went to Bath, and were at their meeting; and from thence, by Phillips-Norton to Warminster, where the Lord favoured us with his divine presence, and the gospel was preached by my companion, in the demonstration of the wisdom and power of the Word of Life, to the admiration of many who were not of our communion, and to the consolation and edification of the gathered of the Father.

On the 17th we went by Bratton, to Thomas Beaven's, at Melksham, and on the 18th to Caln; where we had a large and glorious meeting with Friends. Many strangers being there, they were much satisfied in a general way, with what they heard; and one among them particularly, thinking himself a competent judge of doctrine, and coming with a design to carp, was disappointed; for he confessed he could not find fault with one word;



but said he, "he exposed the errors of our sect to the auditory."

The next day we went by Chippenham and Slattenford to Marshfield, and on the 19th returned to Bristol where we staid till the 24th, and then had a meeting at Thornbury, in Gloucestershire; and on the 26th at Ross, in Herefordshire, and on the 27th at Hereford; on the 28th at Leominster, and on the 29th at Bromyard.

On the 1st of the sixth month we were at the meeting at Worcester, and next day we went by Bendley, Stourbridge, Newin, Newport, Nantwich, Middlewich, Northwich, and Warrington, to Sanky, where we had a meeting; and on the 6th to our ancient and honourable friend John Haddock's, at Coppull; and so through Preston, Garstang, Lancaster, and Kendal, to Penrith; from which my tender and fatherly companion went towards Hartly Hall, and I returned to my father's house.

As to my own condition and circumstances in this journey; before this time I was favoured with the knowledge and enjoyment of the life of truth; I had delighted therein above all things, and thereby was reduced to a state of silence; not willing to interrupt the sweet and divine pleasure of his presence by any needless and unprofitable talk upon mean and trifling subjects, which I observed many were ensnared in. I was still so preserved as in a state of childhood in the truth, without the least apprehension of any censure. For though I usually sat with my companion in the meetings, and was constantly much broken and tendered from time to time, with many tears, not of sorrow, which I had known long before, but of joy and satisfaction unspeakable; I never considered what any might think concerning me, as to the cause of my weeping, or of any expectation they might have of my appearance in a public ministry, often, if not always, accompanied with such indications in the beginning of that concern.

Though I knew the Lord had called and begun such a work in me, yet I had never met with any thing so great a cross to my natural disposition as appearing in public; and if I might have continued to enjoy the good presence of the Lord any other way, or on any other terms, I had never submitted to it: but those divine wages I could not live without; the countenance of the Lord was become my all, and too dear to part with; and therefore, at length I yielded, without any human considerations or views.

But it is not to be forgotten, that from the last time of our leaving Bristol, every stage we journeyed northward my mind be-

came darker and darker, and the thoughts of returning to my father's house became loathsome and burdensome to me, and even intolerable. Before I got thither, I was greatly clouded, as if a thick fog of darkness came over my mind; and then I mourned, looking back to times past, recounting every step, and the several views and openings of the things of God and his counsel, which I had seen and enjoyed in the several meetings in this journey; and how the Lord, who is a Spirit, exhibits the matters and things of his kingdom in the pure mind, which is spiritual, and impresses it with a necessity of uttering them; qualifying and assisting the instrument which he chooses, to bring them forth in an apt and intelligible manner, for the information, help, and consolation of those that hear and believe; whether in doctrine, exposition of the holy Scriptures, reproof, instruction in morals, or whatsoever tends to the conviction of unbelievers, confirmation of the unstable, edification of the church and body of Christ, and perfecting the sanctified in him.

Being fully convinced I had fallen short of my duty, by neglecting to utter the first sentences which had been impressed upon my mind in several meetings, not thinking them of sufficient weight and importance for public service; and now plainly perceiving, that through want of obedience in that which was first required, I had been precluded from any further progress, the whole depending upon the due order and connection of the parts; and in consequence of my disobedience, having been deprived of all sense of the divine presence for many days, and destitute of all comfort, save a little secret hope, that the Lord might mercifully return, I resolved that if it might so please him, I would then obey. I deeply mourned for some weeks, till all hope was near vanishing, the heavens became as brass, and shut up as with bars of iron, and nothing remained but a bare remembrance of former enjoyments and things, where the true idea was wanting; which nothing can give, restore, or continue, but the divine Truth himself, by his own presence and power.

But notwithstanding all this, when the Lord did again unexpectedly appear, as divine love and light in my heart, and new matter presented in my understanding, I found that state so comfortable and pleasing, that I thought nothing could be added to my enjoyment by uttering it in words, while in that condition; and so let the proper time of moving therein slip over. The duty being anew neglected, I again fell short of a settlement in the divine presence; and when that was withdrawn, condemnation only remained, as due to my fresh disobedience



and neglect; and then I was surrounded again with horror and despair, as if that had been the last call of the Lord, and latest offer of terms of divine peace and salvation; and my soul mourned again unspeakably. Then I understood the language of the apostle Paul, when he said, "Wo is unto me if I preach not the Gospel."

While I was in this condition, my beloved and much esteemed friend Thomas Wilson, imparted to me his intention of visiting the churches in Ireland, desiring my company; but having so thick a cloud over my mind, and little love then appearing in me, either to him or any other particular, or to mankind in general, I did not think myself worthy, or in a condition for such an undertaking. Besides, I was at that time unprovided with money and other necessities for the voyage, and for so long a journey; and the latter I made use of as an excuse for the former, and so declined it.

But though this cloud remained over me for a time, laying me under a necessity to stand still, to see what the Lord would please to do, yet his never-failing goodness and mercy did not finally leave me, but remained as withdrawn behind the thick veil, hid from me only for a season; for in another meeting in Kirklington, in Cumberland, on a first-day, some weeks after, the Lord returned in peace and reconciliation, and his divine countenance shined again upon me, whereby I was enabled to resolve, that if the Lord moved any thing then, as in times past, I would obey.

Soon after that resolution was firmly settled in my mind, these words sprang therein, "It is a good day unto all those who obey the voice of the Lord;" and as they settled in my mind, with the presence of the Lord remaining, I stood up and uttered them in his fear, with a voice just so audible as that the meeting generally heard. No sooner were the words uttered, than my soul was increased in joy unspeakable, which was followed with a flood of tears; and the meeting in general was immediately affected the same way, as a seal of the work of the Lord thus brought forth in me; and all were silent under the canopy of the divine presence for some time. At length John Bowstead, having had a particular concern to come to that meeting, about eight miles from his house at Eglinby, stood up in testimony to the truth of what I had uttered, making it the substance of what he said, to general edification; as a father taking the weak by the hand, and helping forward in that exercise in which I had been long waited for, and expected by Friends in general in

those parts. The Lord favoured us with the enjoyment of his divine presence that day.

After the meeting was over I returned to my father's house, restored to a sense of the remaining goodness of the Lord; and thence forward, from time to time appeared with a few words in meetings, as the Lord made way, and gave matter, strength and utterance; but was not forward to visit any other meeting, till I began to be a little shut up there; and then I waited on the Lord, to know the drawings of his love to some other places, in which I was favoured through his divine goodness; and yet did not make haste, but was kept under a slow, gentle, and gradual progress.

But now a temptation of another kind began to interrupt me; for, having had a reputation in that country, of an understanding at least equal to my education and years, when my acquaintance and others heard of my appearance in a public ministry, they expected something more from me than from some others, of whom they had not conceived the like opinion; and I knowing the way of Truth with me was not in the wisdom and multiplicity of words, but in his own virtue and simplicity, and in a few sentences only, was not willing, of myself, to yield up my own imaginary honour on that account, and be exposed as a fool, in their way of judging. This affected me so that I became backward to appear when such were present, and sometimes neglected the proper times of the movings of the Lord in this calling; by which I retarded my growth therein, and was in danger of greater loss. But the Lord is just and merciful; and though he charged it as a failure, yet, by degrees he helped me forward, though it was a long time before I got over it; for it laid sometimes as a block in my way for many years after, remaining the unmoved cause of many a heavy load; which none knew, or could ease me of, but the Lord alone: and if he had not extended mercy I had yet been undone for ever.

After this, my uneasiness in my father's house increasing, I took an occasion one morning to remind him of the change of his countenance and behaviour towards me, and of the many hints he had thought fit to give, concerning my way of living in the world, as if I were likely to be chargeable to him, in some other way than by the practice of the law, into which I had been initiated; having altogether declined it, as noted before in this relation.

I told him that he could not charge me with any act of disobedience to him from my childhood, nor did he, or my mother, or any



schoolmaster, ever correct me with the rod, or had any cause, or with the neglect of any duty, save now, at last, my embracing the truth of God, as my only way to salvation; in which case he had no right to command or hinder, but rather to consider his own ways and state, and how far they were just and pleasing in the sight of God; to whom I must answer for myself, where he could not for me: and then added, that I intended to leave his house in a short time, and make him easy on that account

This touched my dear father so near that he could not bear it, but wept abundantly; confessing that I ever had been a dutiful child to him, and had never disoblighed him, save in that thing only; nor did he grudge any thing in his power to do for me; but as he had brought me up to the law he thought it might have been a way of living in the world, both plentiful and reputable, but could not now see any reasonable means of a competent subsistence, with that reputation which my circumstances required. However, he made me this proposal, as the best he could then think of, viz: That I should manage his estate to the best advantage I could, and take all the incomes to myself, save a reputable subsistence to himself and my mother-in-law, his wife.

To this I returned him my dutiful acknowledgment, but told him it was now too late. I was fixed in another resolution, under a view of a different nature, and could not subject myself to such a confinement, if he would, on such terms, give me his whole estate for ever: but withal assured him, that I did not leave him under any discontent or resentment of any behaviour he had used towards me, which he had a right to do, according to his views and meaning; but that I had an inducement for my departure, which, probably, he could not rightly apprehend or believe, if I should declare it; which was no other than more perfect liberty to serve the Lord and his people in the way of the calling of God, which was gradually increasing at that time upon me; and I was now grown a little stronger in the ministry, and more experienced in the exercise of the gift of God therein.

Not long after this, Aaron Atkinson acquainted me with his concern to visit Friends in some south and west parts of England; and as we had, from the time of my joining with Friends, been very intimate and near in the Truth and love of it, I was also willing to travel the same way; but he, being ready sooner than I could be, went before up to London, where he staid for me. On the 22nd of the eleventh month 1694, I took leave of my father and his family, and set forward

for London, taking some meetings by the way, as they happened of course to fall out; for I did not think proper to appoint any, my thoughts of my own ministry being very low; yet the Lord favoured me with his goodness and encouraging presence, and made way for me every where, and gave me several open and comfortable times with Friends in my journey, though altogether a stranger as to outward acquaintance with any one; the most satisfactory was at Leicester. It was a hard frost, and snowed every day more or less, during most of my journey, with a high wind for some days at first; so that the lanes and high-ways were generally blocked up by the driven snow, and few travellers were upon the road. It was very bad and dangerous travelling, and I was sometimes alone riding long stages. When I came to Leicester, having been directed to the house of honest John Brookes, he was the first person that came to the door, and looking upon me as I sat on horseback, gave me a kind invitation to alight; which I did, and was received with gravity and kindness. It was their meeting-day, the 30th of the eleventh month, in the afternoon; and being favoured with the divine presence as my only stay, I had little to say to the family in conversation, but was much in silence; in which I perceived I had good unity with them, for the Son of peace was there.

After some refreshment we went into the meeting-house, where the meeting was small; and we sat in silence a considerable time before I found my mind fully qualified to appear in public; but being freely opened at length in the Word of Life, the meeting was generally reached and tendered thereby to a great degree, which was likewise renewed in prayer. This had its right effect upon the Friends, so that they were affectionately kind and loving after the meeting; and most of them spent the evening with me, and we were not strangers one to another any more, but one in the blessed Truth, though we had never seen the faces of each other before; and from thenceforward were near in friendship, becoming outwardly acquainted also, from that beginning, in which we had a certain evidence of the spirits of each other, as the best and most sure foundation of a lasting and unchangeable friendship.

The next day I went forward by Northampton, Newport-Pagnell, &c., and on the 2nd day of the twelfth month arrived at London, where, at that time, was a great body of good Friends, well established in the Truth, and many meetings, and a good number of great and able ministers of the gospel among them; as William Penn, George Whitehead, Samuel Waldenfield, William Bingley, John Vaugh-



ton, John Field, Francis Stamper, John Bower, James Park, and many others of the younger sort.

Considering the many talents of the ministers, their improvement thereof, experience, discerning, and other attainments in the Truth, in their several degrees, their parts and qualifications as men, as also the like qualifications of Friends there in general, together with the politeness, knowledge and understanding of the people in that place, I was kept very low in my mind and circumspect; having no courage of my own to appear in public among them. But the Lord knowing me altogether, my weakness, integrity, simplicity, and good meaning, supported my mind under all these considerations. Aaron Atkinson, my intended companion, having been in the city some time before, and observing him acceptable in his ministry among them, gave me an occasion of reasoning, that I might also, probably, go through the meetings without offence; which was the full amount of my expectation or desire there. And that which added much to my encouragement was, the fatherly care and behaviour of the ministers in general, but especially of that great minister of the gospel, and faithful servant of Christ, William Penn; who abounded in wisdom, discretion, prudence, love, and tenderness of affection, with all sincerity, above most in this generation; and indeed I never knew his equal: nor were Friends in general wanting to me in an open and tender friendship.

In this city we remained in the service of Truth and Friends, according to our several measures and attainments; for as Aaron had been much longer convinced of the Truth than I, and was in the ministry some years before I yielded thereto, he seemed by so much the better grown, stronger, experienced, and preferable. On the 13th day of the twelfth month we had a meeting at Wandsworth; the next day at Kingston; on the 15th at Guilford; on the 16th at Alton; on the 19th at Basingstoke; on the 20th at Whitchurch; next day at Andover; next at Lower-Wallop, and at Salisbury on the 23rd; on the 25th at Fording-bridge; next day at Ringwood, and on the 27th at Pool; where we staid till the 1st day of the first month, and then proceeded to Corse.

On the 2nd day of the first month we returned to Pool; and thence on the 4th to Weymouth, the Lord preserving us, and favouring us with his good presence; and the aid of his divine grace gave us many acceptable times among his people, and our journey and service was thereby made easy and comfortable, both to us and them. Being thus encouraged, we proceeded further, viz: to

Sherburn, Marnhill, Blandford, Bruton, and so by Hallitro to Bristol on the 12th; and on the 13th to Bolton and Chew, to Claverham, and so by Wrinton to Wells, from whence, by Glastonbury and Street, Grinton and Summerton; and then by Longsutton to Gregory-Stoke, Taunton, Wyvelscomb, Collumpton, Tiverton, and Exeter; the Lord still favouring us with his goodness, by which we were preserved and carried on in the work and service whereunto we were called by his grace; which was ever with us, to the sole praise of the great Giver, who alone is worthy now and for ever.

On the 1st of the second month we were at Totness, then at Plymouth, Rowle, Bodway, Liscard, Melton, Trygongieve, Landwithen, Kellington, King's-bridge, Totness, Exeter, Uffcolm, Spiceland, Collumpton, Wellington, Taunton, Michael-Creech, and so by Grinton to Street, Glastonbury, Puddymore, and from thence to Bristol. Lodging at our ancient and honourable friend Richard Snead's, one morning the canopy of the divine presence came over us in the family, and brought us all into right silence for a time; and then the holy spirit of prayer and supplication came upon us: and whilst we were in that exercise, William Penn, who ever loved the truth in the meanest, came into the room and joined with us; and after him, that ancient, able, and eminent Friend and minister of the Lord Jesus, Roger Haydock, who joined us in the same likewise; and some others following them, all coming to see us, were favoured with the same visitation and good presence of the Lord our God, and the enjoyment of him together in the Beloved, to our great and mutual refreshment, edification, and consolation.

This good season being over, we had sweet and agreeable unity and conversation together; and it proved a great strength and encouragement to my companion and me, to be thus favoured in the sight of those elders; who, by their free and fatherly, or rather brotherly, behaviour towards us then, and from that time forward, declared a firm and settled friendship in the Truth, which never waxed old or decayed.

[After taking several other meetings they reached London on the 8th of third month.]

In this journey, though we were not without temptations and exercises of divers kinds, yet the Lord was near to preserve us; and through his divine grace, gave us many open, comfortable and edifying times in the assemblies of his people, and in families, as also in conversation; for the fear of the Lord was over us, and we did not delight in vain and unprofitable talk, but were kept solid; but not cast down, or unconvertible.



At London we parted; Aaron went back into Cumberland, and I remained in the city, and entered into business there for my necessary subsistence: for my father had not bestowed any thing upon me at parting.

The first thing I did was to sell my horse, which I rode in my late journey, for which I got about seven pounds, and with it I put myself into some better clothing; for what I had was much worn out with riding. Friends in London knowing my intention of settling there, at least for some time, and that I desired to be employed in conveyancing, drawing of settlements, and other public writings of all sorts; which was a business I was acquainted with, and also the least confining of any I could think of, and was fitted for; several of them were so kind as to give notice of it in some monthly meetings in the city, and on other occasions; and recommended me to such Friends as might have any thing to be done in that way. William Penn, in a particular manner, was liberal in his recommendations, and showed himself a warm friend in promoting my interest.

This succeeded so well, by the blessing of God, that in a short time I had more business than I could do by myself, so that I often employed assistants. As I was rather under than over in my demands for what business I did, so my pay was good and sure, and I soon came into a reputable and plentiful way of living; for which I was truly thankful to the Lord, who thus provided for me in a way I had not foreseen; but had fully trusted in the Lord, that I should not want, though without any particular prospect how I should be supplied when I left my father's house to follow the Lord, and enjoy his divine peace more fully than I found I could do there.

Remaining some time in the city, Friends employed me to record the foreign sufferings sent, from all parts, to the chamber there; for which they allowed me a gratuity; and after that, put all the deeds and writings belonging to the quarterly meeting of London into my hands, to peruse and consider; and in divers of them I found mistakes, which were rectified. I made a general index and abstract of them, whereby the purport of any deed, and what set of trustees the title of any meeting-house or burying-ground was in, at any time, might be found in a quarter of an hour; for which also I had a consideration.

I kept close to meetings and to business, in their proper places; the countenance of the Lord was with me, and my business increased daily to my satisfaction, so that I had several offers of clerks, with competent sums of money, both from the north, and in London. But considering that as tending to too deep an

engagement in the affairs of life, and a confinement not consisting with the liberty requisite in the ministry, or with my views that way, I declined, and did my business with the help of such writing clerks as I could employ on any emergency, without further engagement.

About this time George Keith, that contentious apostate from the truth of God, once made known to him, made great disturbances in and about London, as he had done before in divers parts of America; endeavouring to impose some unprofitable, hurtful, and false notions of his own and others upon Friends, contending fiercely about them; and had also obtained some regard from envious and prejudiced persons of divers sects and societies.

In this same year, [1696] I was concerned, in the love of Truth, to visit the meetings in a general way, in the north of England, and likewise in Scotland; and in discharge of that duty, set forward from London on the 6th or 7th of the fifth month, accompanied by Henry Atkinson; who was at that time, a very tender and hopeful young man, but had not appeared in a public ministry, though truth was working in him towards it.

We went by Waterford, where I made a visit to the countess of Carlisle, intending to have seen the earl, but he was gone to London, and she received me in her closet with respect, none being present but Helen Fairley, who had been her gentlewoman; but having been lately convinced, another was then in her place. The countess asked me divers questions concerning the way of truth as professed by us; of the sacraments, commonly so called, of women's preaching, of our marriages, and of the grace of God, &c. To all which I answered in much plainness, and I believe, to her satisfaction, viz:

"As to the two sacraments, the national church owns that a sacrament is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace; and if it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified. That grace, of which those symbols are called signs, hath appeared, and doth appear, unto all men; as well where those signs are used, as where they are not used or heard of. So that there can be no advantage in the use of such signs, but in that grace which, through Christ, is given of the Father unto all men, being a divine active principle and power, illuminating, instructing and guiding the minds of all that believe therein, into all truth necessary for the salvation of the soul. The great God, Creator of heaven and earth, King of kings, and Lord of lords, is no respecter of persons in his dispensation of grace to the children of men; but gives more or less as it pleaseth him, but to



every one that which is sufficient; and hath no regard therein to those distinctions, formed and imposed by mortals, one upon another, in this world: so that high and low, rich and poor, noble and ignoble, have all grace sufficient for their salvation, if they believe therein and obey it; as it is written, 'By grace are ye saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God.' Yet you who are great in this world are in most danger, because of the cares, riches, pleasures, honours, and glory of it; for as the Most High regardeth none of these things, but considers you only as others of mankind, these high stations and circumstances delude your hearts by their glittering delights, and betray you into a forgetfulness of God your Creator, and a neglect of the gift of his grace which is in you, though the Lord is not wanting to you in his kind and merciful admonitions and reproofs in your own minds.

"And though you are sometimes brought thereby into inward and deep considerations of your ways, your latter end, and a future state, as others are; yet you are under greater disadvantages through the eminence of your stations and circumstances in the world, being thereby placed out of the reach of the conversation and information of the true and sincere ministers of the Lord Jesus; who, as they love you truly, through his grace, would deal plainly, yet discreetly and respectfully with you, for the sake and redemption of your precious souls, without any flattery, or mean mercenary end, or other earthly view.

"But it is lamentable to consider, that when the grace of God, as it is the divine light of his presence through the Lord Jesus Christ, letteth you see yourselves, and the errors of your ways; and brings remorse over you, and a secret humiliation and sadness into your minds, appearing sometimes in your aspect and behaviour; when none of your pastimes, enjoyments, or diversions have any relish, or afford any satisfaction at all; then, instead of the counsel and help of such as have known this word of reproof, and walked in the path of life eternal, to direct you in the way which leads to the kingdom of God, and to that unspeakable glory, the beatific vision of his countenance, which never ends, as all this world, and the glory and pleasures of it do, even in a moment, and are known no more; you have two sorts of men in particular near you, by whose ignorance, self-views and flattery, you are in more danger of everlasting ruin than those in lower stations. For, in the times of humiliation, when you are fittest for the teachings of God, as it is written, 'The humble he will teach, and the meek he will guide in judgment,' then your priests say you

are melancholy; a ball, or other unchristian-like diversion must be promoted, and your physicians must give physic to your bodies; when, alas! the sickness is in the soul, and they know it not, and can never be cured but by the Physician of value, the High Priest of God and Saviour of the soul; who first slays in it the vain and sinful life of the world, in which all the evils thereof dwell, and then breathes into it life eternal, the life of Jesus the Son of God, who never fell.

"As to women's preaching, it ought to be impartially observed, that the difference of sexes consists not in any diversity of faculties in the human soul; the intellectual powers being alike common to male and female, and the nature of the mind the same in both, and consequently susceptible of the like and same impressions and impulses. And accordingly the Almighty, pointing at the dispensation of the gospel by Joel the prophet, saith, 'I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy.' Again, 'Upon the servants and upon the handmaids, in those days, will I pour out my Spirit.' By the word *prophesy* is understood, by all interpreters, preaching the gospel; and this prophesy took place in the church of Christ at the coming of the Holy Ghost, or Christ in spirit, at Jerusalem, at the time of Pentecost; where, if no woman spake, though we have no express account that any did, the apostle Peter did not apply that text properly and without exception; which we are not to suppose.

"Though the apostle Paul takes some exceptions, and that with sharpness, against some women as to that exercise in the church, yet not against all; for himself declares how women, using that exercise, ought to be circumstanced, and recommends Phebe as a minister of the church which was at Cenchrea; and Philip had four daughters, all preachers; and Priscilla, as well as Aquilla her husband, was a preacher in the days of the apostles; and she, as well as he, instructed Apollos further in the way of Christ, though he had been a preacher before. I conclude therefore, with truth, that women both may and ought to preach, under the gospel dispensation, when the Spirit of the Lord is upon them, and they thereunto called, and qualified thereby; and many such we have now among us, very acceptable in their ministry. So that we know by experience, that they are sent of God, according to the various degrees of their gifts, as well as men, and receive them accordingly in the Lord."

She heard what I said with candour and patience, and I took leave of her with great satisfaction in my mind. And this visit being



over, I returned to the house of our friend Alice Hayes; where I related the passage, with other circumstances here omitted, to several Friends there at that time, which well affected them; and we were all favoured with the divine presence on the occasion, and had a very comfortable time together in prayer; after which we departed towards Albans, where we had appointed a meeting that afternoon, and then went to Hartford.

The next day, being the 9th of the month, we had a meeting there; which at first was very hard and shut up, but ended well, in a weighty sense of the divine presence.

That evening we went to John Etteridge's, at Hare-Street, and next day had a meeting near that place; which at first was drowsy, hard and dry, but after a while, became as a little river overflowing its banks, to the comfort and refreshment of the Friends and us, and to the honour of the name of the Lord; of whom alone is the power, which he dispenseth when and where he pleaseth. That evening we returned to the same lodging, and the next morning a concern came upon our minds, and John Etteridge being much spent in a consumption, uttered a few sentences concerning a day coming on apace, wherein the Lord would gather many, as from the four winds, to sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God, in divine rest and peace; and after prayer we departed, greatly comforted, as also were the Friends in the family.

That day we had a meeting at Baldock; which, for a while, was poor and dry, but in the end a little better.

The 12th, being the first-day of the week, we were at Cambridge; where came two priests, several young collegians, and some other people; they were sober, and the meeting was peaceable. From thence we went by Huntington to Stilton, Wentsford, and so on to Nottingham, and on the 15th fell in with the meeting at Mansfield, which was small and poor; and that evening went to Balbur-Hall, and lodged with sir John Rhodes, baronet; who, being convinced of the Truth very young, embraced the same under the cross, forsaking all the honour of this world, and the friendship of it, for that honour which is of God only, and the friendship and fellowship of the faithful and sanctified in Christ, of whom he is beloved and honoured in the truth as worthy.

Thence we went to Sheffield, and so to Burton, to Francis Harrison's, where we lodged; thence through Leeds, and by several stages into Cumberland, and on the 5th of the sixth month, being the fourth of the week, we were at the Border meeting.

On the 7th of the sixth month we began our journey into Scotland, and next day arrived

at Kelso, where, on the first of the week, we were at a meeting in the forenoon, and another in the afternoon, to our satisfaction; on the 11th we were at the meeting at Edinburgh, and next day crossed the Firth, in order for the north, and that night lodged at Coupar, in Fifeshire; where we could get neither grass, hay, nor straw for our horses, but only thistles.

On the 13th we lodged at our friend William Napier's of Tacks, near Montrose, and being willing to hasten to the farthest part of our journey before the winter came on, went to the widow Barclay's, at Urie, and were at a seventh-day's meeting at Aberdeen, which went from family to family by turns.

The day following, being the first of the week, we went to a six-weeks meeting at Woodland, about nine miles, which was large, but not very comfortable; but having another meeting that afternoon at John Forbes', we were favoured of the Lord with some more divine refreshment in his presence; and there we remained that night and the next day. The day following we had a pretty comfortable meeting with a few Friends at Inverary; in the evening we went to Kilmuck, and next day had a small meeting there; after which I was very well and easy, and that evening went to Aberdeen, where we had a meeting next day to satisfaction; and another in the evening.

The next day we had an evening meeting in the said town, at the house of our ancient and eminent friend Andrew Jaffray, where the Lord favoured us with his life-giving presence to a good degree, several persons of note in the world being there. They behaved very solidly, and I had an open time among them, through the grace of God, especially in prayer, to the praise of the great Giver of every good and perfect gift, who is worthy now and for ever.

On the 22nd of the sixth month we had another meeting there, which was very open and tender; after it was over, we visited Friends in their families in a general way, and the next day being the first of the week, we had two more good and open meetings in the fore and afternoon; and there I took public leave of Friends in those parts: but next morning before we departed, the generality of the ancient Friends came to see us, and being together in John Hall's house, where we lodged, the power of the Lord came upon us, and we were greatly comforted together therein. At that time my companion spake a few words seasoned with grace, to general satisfaction; and then I had also a few sentences, concerning the bond of our unity and communion, which is the spirit and love of Christ, and



then had a tender season in prayer; after which Andrew Jaffray likewise prayed, and so the meeting concluded to our mutual consolation: and in the remaining sense of the love of our heavenly Father we parted, and that afternoon went to Urie.

Here we staid till the 26th, and then had a meeting, which was heavy for some time, but ended in a more lively state; for which we were thankful. Next morning we had a meeting in the family [of the widow of Robert Barclay,] where we were much comforted together, in the springings of the love of our heavenly Father; and greatly were we satisfied to find his divine presence so near them, not only then, but also on the sixth and seventh-days following; for they have a meeting every morning among themselves.

On the 29th we went back to William Napier's, and next day, being the first of the week, we were at the meeting at Montrose, fore and afternoon: in the latter several people came in, and I said many things to them appertaining to salvation, but they did not seem to be weary or heavy laden, or fit for the cross of Christ, nor sensible of any want. The next morning we went from Tayck, where we had lodged, and William Napier conducted us several miles, and was very kind, and that night we lodged at Kennoway.

The 1st day of the seventh month we went to Kinghorn, in order to pass over to Leith; where we found a ferry boat ready to put off from the shore, in which were several passengers, and among the rest an Episcopal priest. As soon as he perceived what we were, he fell into a rage, and endeavoured to keep us out of the vessel, and disappoint us of our passage; which he seemed more bold in, under the countenance of a young gentleman in the boat, who, by his appearance, seemed to be the priest's patron or benefactor. But I soon gave him to understand we were not to be imposed upon in that point; and insisting on our passage, required the boatman to take in our horses, and we stepped in after them; and then his spirit fell when he saw our resolution and management, and that the gentleman did not oppose us. The priest becoming more calm, so did the wind, which had retarded our passage.

After a while, perceiving the spirit of the man to be overcome and quieted, I spake to him concerning his passion and enmity against us without any cause; putting him in mind how inconsistent such behaviour is with Christianity, of which I supposed him to be a professor, if not a professed teacher; and that religion requires all the professors of it to be kind to strangers; and that though he was equally a stranger to us, as we to him, yet since we were strangers in his native

country, that character belonged more properly to us.

This calm reasoning with him, in the grace of God, had so good an effect, that he confessed his fault, and desired it might be passed by; which was freely granted. Then, as we stood together by the side of the vessel, he became very kind and familiar, and told me he was, by profession, an Episcopal minister, but displaced, and deprived of his living by the Presbyterians at the revolution. I informed him that I had been of the same profession of religion; that my nearest relations were so still, and my elder brother a dean of the Episcopal church; [relating also] the manner of my education, my leaving the profession of the law, as not consisting with the calling of God in the concern I was then about; and yet, casting myself on his Providence, I wanted nothing.

I advised him, that since, in the course of Providence, he was divested of his bread in the way he had chosen for himself, he had best now lean upon the arm of the Lord for his subsistence, in a way which might be shown him, in some honest employment, in case he should look no more back to his former dependence: all I said he heard with temper, and said he believed I wished him well therein.

The young gentleman said a little pleasantly, "he himself had a mind to dispute with me on the subject of baptism." "Then," said I, "before we begin the dispute, answer me one question; how many baptisms are there in use in the Christian religion?" He answered, "There are three." Then I told him he would make but a poor hand in dispute, who had missed it so far in the entrance. "For whereas the apostle Paul saith, 'There is one Lord, one faith, and one baptism,' thou sayest there are three baptisms; and since thou opposest the apostle, thou art not fit to be disputed with about religion." And not being in earnest in what he had proposed, he only smiled, and dropped his pretension.

Then he addressed himself to the passengers, and said, concerning Friends, "They are a people who give no honour to any, nor seek any, and yet are honoured of all; being admitted into the company and friendship of men of all stations and degrees without offence, because they make their plain behaviour an incident of their religion, and badge of their profession. And their principles leading them to peace with all sorts, and against wars and fighting, whilst other professors destroy one another, and thereby lessen their numbers, this people are still increasing." This he spake pleasantly, and not seeing need to reply, or make any observation upon it, I let



it pass; and so all that looked like contest ceased, and they continued very sociable till we went on shore, and when we were landed, they invited us to drink a glass of wine with them, but that we excused, and parting with them in friendship, went forward to Edinburgh.

We rested at Edinburgh the remaining part of that day, and on the next we had a peaceable, tender, and comfortable meeting with Friends; on the sixth and seventh of the week we visited Friends at their houses; and on the first-day following, were at their fore and afternoon meetings; and though some rudeness appeared in a few of the baser sort of the people, yet the Lord's power was over all in us, and many of the better sort were very sober and attentive. We met with no rudeness in the streets, save from one man, who, falling in with me and my companion, looked furiously on us as we passed by, having a great broad-sword with a basket hilt, and said, "Awa, the Quakers should all be shot." Upon which I turned quickly upon him, and looking him steadily in the face, asked him, "Why so? What hurt have the Quakers done to deserve destruction?" To which he made no reply, but sheered off as one condemned in his own conscience.

On the 7th we went to Linlithgow, and next morning the Lord favoured us with his heart-tendering presence, with a few of his gathered people there.

On the 10th day of the seventh month we had a meeting at Garthshore; where the power of darkness was very strong, through one Andrew Gray, who had been wise and great in his own conceit; and like Diotrephes, had ruled by his own authority, which he had assumed over the sincere and honest minded; and though he was become an apostate from the life of truth, yet came to meetings, where he ever brought a cloud with him; for his dark spirit was that cloud, and Friends could have no unity with him: yet the truth was over all, and as he could do us no hurt, the meeting concluded well.

The next day we had a meeting at Glasgow; where came a great many collegians, with a mob of other people. They were very rude, both in words and actions, as generally that sort every where are. It is a lamentable thing to consider, that people of the age of discretion, and professing the name of the true God, and of Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Messiah and Saviour of the world, should be so blind concerning that religion, as to think, if they think about it at all, that such brutish creatures as those collegians are, can be ministers of Christ in that condition; being commonly promoted out of that mint wherein they are

coined, not in the image of God, but of the adversary; from wallowing in all manner of vice and immorality, to pretend to teach those who have far more understanding in religion than themselves. Nevertheless so it is. Being reformed at that time in the Word of Life, they were a little more sober for a while; but growing rude again, a soldier who had been in the meeting most of the time, reprehended them sharply, saying, that if any thing was said they did not like, they might let it alone; but if it was right why did they not receive it. And so stupid were they that they had nothing to say in answer to the soldier; neither to us did they make any objection. Towards the conclusion of the meeting, my companion expressed some edifying matter, in great humility and tenderness, that was acceptable to the sensible part, which was the second time he had appeared that way. After all the rude endeavours to disturb us, the meeting ended in divine peace, and in a sense of the love and goodness of the Lord; which is a present, as well as future reward, far exceeding all that can be suffered for it in this short life and momentary world.

On the 12th, being the sixth of the week, we went to Askeen, to our friend William Simson's, where we had a very hard meeting, and the next morning back to Glasgow, where we staid till the first-day, and then had two very hard and dry meetings. Those who came to the meetings were outwardly civil, yet so strong was the power of darkness, and so great the enmity against the life of truth, and so little the faith in that Presbyterian people, that we were that night greatly laden in our spirits, and rested but little.

Next morning we went to Hamilton, and in the evening had a meeting there, which was very poor and low, for things were then in a declining condition at that place; from whence we set forward on the 16th, for Cumberland, where we arrived on the 18th following, in good health through the mercy and goodness of the Lord.

In this journey through Scotland we were presented, in several places, with further instances of the irreligion and cruelty of the Presbyterians of that nation, which demonstrated them to be of the same persecuting spirit of their brethren in \*New England;

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\* Between the years of 1656 and 1661, a violent and merciless persecution was exercised by the Presbyterian government in New England; several laws and declarations being published, with severe penalties annexed, against any Quakers being allowed to land or live within that Colony. In consequence of which, the rage of blind zeal and furious bigotry rose as high as in the worst and darkest times; so that a great number



and that they only wanted power to practice the like, or greater destruction on Friends and others, differing from their imaginations in matters of religion. A few of which being inserted here, may confirm this observation, and are as follow :

1. The General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, published the following act :

"Edinburgh, December 24th, Post Meridian.

"The General Assembly of this national church, for the preventing of the growth of those abominable heresies of the Quakers, do recommend to all provincial synods, Presbyteries, ministers, and kirk-sessions, to use all proper means for reclaiming them; and in case of their obstinacy, to proceed against them with the censures of the church; and especially against the ringleaders, that are traffickers for the seducing of others."

2. John Gillespie, one of the elders of the Presbyterian church at Glasgow, going to the house of George Swan, a Friend, who was an inn-keeper in that city, exhorted and commanded his wife, she being a Presbyterian, that if any of the Quakers should come to their house, she should beat them, and her husband too, if he should encourage them. And in this she proved obedient; for, in my presence, she dragged a Friend of the town, who came to see us, off his seat by the hair of his head upon the floor, and trampled him under her feet, though he had given her no other provocation than by coming into the room where we were, to see us, being strangers among them.

3. The same woman having asked John Pickethlie, another of their elders, whether she might go to the burial of a child of one of our friends; or if it was lawful for her so to do? He replied, "They ought not to be buried, but burnt in the place where they die."

4. The said George Swan, debating some

of innocent and peaceful persons were cruelly imprisoned, and barbarously used, without any regard either to sex or age. Many were starved in jails, and inhumanly beaten and whipped with knotted cords and pitched ropes; others suffered by grievous fines, confiscations, and loss of ears; and three persons, viz: William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyer, were executed on the gallows in 1659, and William Leddra in 1661: none of whom appeared guilty of any fault, but the exercise of their religious duties. Where this hot persecution would have ended is unknown, had not King Charles II. interposed his royal authority, and put an end to it by his letter, dated at Whitehall, the 9th of September, 1661.

principles of Friends with John Hay, another of the elders of the kirk, who inveighed vehemently against Friends, as if holding damnable erroneous doctrines; and having one of Robert Barclay's catechisms, requested the said John Hay to read it, where he might find the principles of Friends illustrated with proofs from Scripture: whereupon the said John Hay answered, "I had rather look the devil in the face, than look upon your books."

5. In further pursuance of the aforesaid Act of Assembly, some of the said ministers of Glasgow, in their pulpits, called us heretics, blasphemers, deluders, possessed with the devil, &c., saying we ought not to be admitted to live among the inhabitants there; charging them not to converse, nor have any dealings, with us; telling them, that we were as dangerous to come near as those who have the plague. And one of them declared in his sermon to the people, that he had rather converse with the devil than with the Quakers.

6. They have read several papers in the places of their worship, charging the people not to converse with the Quakers, nor let them any houses, nor have any dealings with them; and not to come near their meetings, so as to join in any thing with them, upon pain of excommunication from their communion-table.

7. Many, both of the magistrates and commonalty, pursuant to those instructions and directions of their teachers, were in a rage whenever they saw Friends; and the people often threw dirt and stones at them in the streets; frequently crying out, "Stone those Quakers to death, for the ministers have excommunicated them:" and this sometimes in the sight of the magistrates, without any reproof from them; whereby those cruelties were encouraged and established.

8. Some Friends having had occasion to rent houses or rooms in the city or suburbs, the same were violently taken from them by the magistrates, saying, "There shall no Quakers be here;" threatening also to turn such of them out of their houses as had been inhabitants there before this persecution began.

9. And generally, when any Friends from other parts visited those in Scotland, the people were extremely rude and turbulent, abusing them as they lately did two from England, by casting stones and dirt upon them; as likewise, since that, three more from the same nation, who were going with some Friends to their meeting at Glasgow, whom a great company of insolent Presbyterian people followed, casting stones and dirt at them all the way; and afterwards broke the windows of the meeting-house, throwing great stones with so much fury, as if they would have beat it down.



10 Sometimes they have stoned and bedirted our friends in the very time of their prayers to Almighty God; and women have been violently thrown down stone stairs, with their heads foremost.

11. At other times Friends have been dragged down stairs out of their meetings, and their blood shed by the rabble; and often they have been thrown down in the streets, and their mouths filled with dirt: and when they went into houses for shelter, the houses were beset and in danger till they were turned out, and then they were sorely beaten, and otherwise affronted, scoffed and abused by the insolent rabble.

12. At other times, when our friends have been in their own houses, they have thrown stones in at their windows, to the hazard of their limbs, eyes, and lives: and their elders have gone about among the victuallers and ale-houses, forbidding them to sell the Quakers either victuals or drink; intending, as far as in them lay, to starve Friends to death.

Many of these cruel and unreasonable practices being committed by the people in the view of the magistrates, they did not suppress, but encouraged such doings, by smiling upon the actors. So that Friends could look upon the rabble in no other light than as the hands of those magistrates, whereby they persecuted them, and as far as they were permitted, accomplished their own depraved and cruel wills upon them and their poor children, contrary to the true and good end of the institution of magistracy, as a terror to evil-doers, and not to abuse, but protect the innocent.

The conduct of such magistrates was, both in what they acted and were passive, contrary to the commands of God, and to the injunctions and doctrine of the Lord Jesus, and the morality of his gospel; which teacheth us to do unto all men as we would have them do unto us.

It was also contrary to the king's mind and edicts, and destructive of the just liberty of his subjects; so that both priests, magistrates, and people, exalted themselves in the destroying power of antichrist; holding up his kingdom and laws above the laws of God and the king, and of civil society and a Christian life.

All which doings and omissions gave Friends cause to believe and fear, that what they were informed of by some among them more humane and Christian than these, was true, that there was a combination of the priests and magistrates in Glasgow, totally to extirpate our friends out of the city.

A collection of the said contrivances and practices being made, with intent to lay it before the king, the following address was sub-

joined, viz: "All which we humbly offer to the consideration of the king, and entreat such speedy redress therein, as the Lord, by his peaceable wisdom may open in thy mind: and that the God of peace, the Lord and giver of life, may direct thee to that course, which may be most to his honour, conducive to thy own everlasting peace, the present and future help and safety of a few of the oppressed people of God, loyal and dutiful subjects of the king, and the most honourable to those our persecutors; who thus dishonour the Almighty, the king, magistracy, and themselves, by their unchristian doings."

But though the said address was drawn up and designed for the king's view, I do not remember that it was delivered to him; but rather think it was postponed, in hopes that the Lord, in his mercy and time, might convince them of their errors, and reform them; which was all our friends desired, not revenge.

Having finished what relates to this journey in Scotland, I return to Cumberland; where, having visited most of the meetings in the space of about two months, we set forward from thence on the 7th of the tenth month; and that evening went to Jacob Moor's, at Welgill, in Alston-Moor; a wild, mountainous country, and in a time of hard frost and deep snow.

On the 8th we were favoured of the Lord with a very open and comfortable meeting, the Lord's tendering presence being with us; and after the meeting we went about three miles further, to West-Allandale; where, in the evening, came to us several Friends, and among others, our ancient and honourable friend Cuthbert Featherstone. As we were conversing together in that friendship which the Lord begets in those who are his, he drew our minds under the canopy of divine silence; in which, remaining for a time, we had a heavenly visitation of his soul-melting goodness together. Observing the tears to trickle down from the eyes of our ancient Friend, through his long white beard upon his clothes, I was greatly affected with love towards him from the same cause; and had this hope and confidence upon that occasion, that as I then observed the Lord was as near his children in old age, who had served him faithfully from the time of their visitation, as when he first revealed himself, through his Son the Lord Jesus, in their hearts, so he would be with me also in advanced years, if I proved faithful and true to the Lord, and attained that degree.

This encouragement, in the beginning of our journey, by that tender season in the presence of the Lord, is not to be forgotten, but had in lasting remembrance, to the praise of the Lord our God, the giver of every good



and perfect gift, and the life and length of the days of his redeemed and saved people.

On the 9th we went to East-Allandale; where we had a threshing meeting, and got some corn, which made amends for our hard labour. Next day we went to Steele, where we met with our friend Archibald Gillespie, who had been my school-fellow when we were boys, and had embraced the Presbyterian notions in the time of his youth; but being visited of the Lord, had obeyed from the heart, and become a sincere and valuable Friend, adorning his profession by an innocent and upright life and conversation. He went with us about thirteen miles, to Benfieldside, where we lodged at Thomas Hunter's; and the next evening we had a meeting at Iviston, which was but dull and cloudy; but we had learned, in some measure, not only to abound, but also how to be content and subject under a lesser degree; and to do the harder as well as the more easy part of the service of the Lord, our good and righteous Master.

On the 12th we went to Newcastle upon Tyne, and being the seventh-day of the week, we were at the meeting there the next day, and the Lord was with us; and also on the second-day, at their monthly meeting.

Sir Thomas Liddel of Ravensworth-castle, baronet, having taken notice of me, on some account, at his house before I frequented the meetings of Friends, and hearing of my present profession, and being a person of great civility and candour, he had desired a Friend of Newcastle to invite me to Ravensworth to dine with him, when at any time I might happen to come that way. The Friend informing me of this, I went accordingly, accompanied by him and another; and we were kindly and respectfully received and entertained by sir Thomas and his son, with whom we had much conversation, in a very friendly manner, till near night; and among other things, he told us, he had a great respect for us as a people, and liked our way, being sensible of that principle of divine light and truth we professed; but he commonly went to the Presbyterian meeting. And then he asked me whether a man might not serve and worship God in his mind among any sort of people, though he might differ from them in his sentiments in some points, and in his secret judgment, like the way of some other people better?

Thus, perceiving he was convinced of the way of truth in his understanding, and that he stumbled at the cross, and the meanness of the appearance of Friends, I answered, that the Lord Jesus Christ said, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him also will I deny before my Father and the holy angels." And the apostle also saith, "With the heart

man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."

And again, time was when the people and elect of God were intermixed, in outward situation, with the inhabitants of Mystery Babylon, the antichristian church, throughout the world, professing the name of the true God, and Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Saviour of the world. But at length the voice of the angel of God was heard, saying, "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."

Upon the pouring out of the phial by the seventh angel, "the great city was divided into three parts, and the cities of three nations fell," &c. To which the beginning of the reformation, commonly so called, by Martin Luther, John Calvin, and others their contemporaries, may be reasonably compared; since the supposed Christian world was thereupon, and soon after, divided in three general parts or heads, viz: Popery, Prelacy, and Presbyterianism; differing in their several notions and communions each from the other, but all of one persecuting spirit, not only hating and destroying one another, being out of the peaceable Spirit of Christ, but also persecuting all besides who dissent from them, wherever they have had power; and their respective successors, in the same spirit and notions, continue to do the same things, contrary both to the nature and end of the Christian faith and religion, which proclaims peace on earth, and good-will towards all men.

But now, in these latter days, the voice of the angel of the right hand of the Majesty on High is uttered, and going over the nations louder and louder; and the elect of God have heard, and do hear it, and many are gathered, and more are gathering into one body and one spirit. And it is not lawful for them to stay any longer where they have been, but to desert Babylon, the false church thus divided in itself, which cannot stand, but must shortly fall, through the mighty Word of God; and antichrist, who ruleth therein, shall be destroyed by the brightness of the coming and glory of the Son of God.

As for us, who are at this day scornfully nick-named Quakers by the children of Babel, it is remarkable that we became a people by the gathering arm of the Lord, by the convictions of his holy Spirit, and the assent of the understanding to the testimony and baptism of one Spirit, the Spirit of truth and of Christ, which leadeth into all truth; and not by any notions, or faiths, or creeds, or articles contrived by the art and will of man, or by any subscriptions, oaths, or agreements



thereunto; and yet settled, as it were, at once, in one uniformity of doctrine, principle, practice, and discipline, which no other people ever did so fully, since the days of the apostles of Christ.

They heard me with patience; but what I said gave no countenance to the way in which this great and rich man had chosen to conceal himself and his real sentiments from the world. I found it to be my place and duty to be plain with him, according to all that was presented in my mind on that occasion, that I might keep my own peace, which remained in me. He told me he had read some of William Penn's works, and would willingly ride a hundred miles to see him. He had likewise read some of George Keith's books, and said the former wrote in a free, open, natural, and flowing style, and gave him great satisfaction; but the books of the latter were more laboured and artificial, and never afforded him any relish of sweetness, though the matter was, in itself, true, and his reasoning often strong; but as he was fallen away from his principles, he was not to be regarded; though the truths he had written would remain in their own weight, whatever became of the author.

In the evening, when we inclined to return to Newcastle, he took his horse, and accompanied us till we came near the town, and we parted in free and open friendship.

The same evening I visited Dr. Richard Gilpin, formerly mentioned, having still a great respect for him and all his family. He was an eminent physician, and preacher among the Presbyterians at Newcastle; to which place he had removed from Cumberland after the revolution. With him also I had some discourse about matters of religion; in which he discovered more passion and prejudice than became his high profession or years, and could not bear any contradiction; but I advised him to beware of that spirit, for it wanted mortification: and this I did in a calm and respectful mind, which reached the better part in him, and brought it over the evil, and then I left him in a loving temper. For though he was naturally high, and the most eminent and celebrated preacher of that profession in the north, and from his very early days, deeply prejudiced, and almost envious against Friends; yet he heard me with more patience, though that was little, than he ever did any other.

On the 16th day of the tenth month we went to Shields, and had a meeting, where the Lord mercifully favoured us with a glorious tender season of the sweet heavenly virtue from his presence; to whom be renown for ever. Next day we had an evening meet-

ing at Sunderland, which was pretty comfortable; and thence we went by Shotton, to Stockton, and on the 22nd had an evening meeting at Yarm; and thence proceeded by Stoxley, Broughton, Gisborough, and Waterfall, having meetings in divers places, and so on by Rousby and Hinderwell, to Whitby, taking meetings along as we went. From thence we passed forward to Staintondale, and to Scarborough, Burlington, Hastrup, Langtuff and Malton; from whence we went to York, where, on a first-day, we had two meetings, and then went on to Shipwith, Selby, Rowcliff, Thorn, and Lincoln; and on the 13th day of the eleventh month, were at a burial at Waddington, where the Lord was pleased to favour us with his good presence, as at many other times, to our great refreshment and addition of strength.

On the 14th we went to Blocksholm, to William Thornton's; he was not a Friend, but received us with respect, and after dinner we went to Sleaford, and then by Spalding to Lynn, where we were favoured with a comfortable meeting; and from thence to Stoke, Bland, and Edmondsbury, and on the 22nd were at Colchester, where we had several good meetings, through the favour of the Lord, who never fails to comfort and support those who love, fear, and faithfully serve him, his children and people, according to his high and holy calling in Christ. On the 26th we had a meeting at Boxtead, and returned that evening to Colchester, and the next day were at a meeting at Kelden; from whence, on the 28th, we returned to London, with thankful hearts and acknowledgments to the Lord our God, who, by the hand of his good providence, preserved us in this journey, through many exercises and dangers both of body and mind, to his own high praise; to whom be dominion, glory and thanks, now and for ever.

Soon after we arrived at London, I received a letter from an unknown hand, upon subjects of great importance; my answer to which, including the material part of the said letter, was as follows:

"My unknown friend, K. P.

"Since I came to London, about a week ago, I received a letter from thee, by my friend E. F., dated the 5th of December last, occasioned by one of mine to that friend, of which I was glad. I am persuaded of thy sincerity, and that thy intent thereby is good; and not as a busy-body, to be meddling in other men's matters, but to be satisfied in things doubtful to thee: and under that consideration, I find freedom to answer thy request; which I could not well do sooner, by



reason of several interposing concerns. And though this may be lengthened, as well by my transcribing the several parts, or genuine purport of thine, as also by the extensiveness of the subjects treated on; yet, if thereby I can assist thee with better information, I shall think my pains well bestowed, having no end in what I shall write, but the promotion of God's everlasting truth, and the better-being of thy never-dying soul.

"1. Thou sayest in thy letter, that thou, providentially, (for so to be sure it was, since a hair of our head falls not to the ground without a providence) met with a letter of mine to my friend E. F., and was not a little surprised at the reading of it, to find so great a sense of the love of God from one of my persuasion. A people thou always thought to be led away by a spirit of delusion and vain glory; but that thou art now fully convinced, that whatever the authors of these suggestions were, there are many people called by the name of Quakers, really fearing God; and that the person I wrote to, thou really takes to be such an one, and my being so thou wilt not question, my letter being so full of pithy expressions of love to God, and to his Son Jesus Christ.

"2. That Christ so loved mankind, as to die for us, and wash us in his own precious blood.

"3. That he took upon him our nature, that he might know how to pity our infirmities; and from thence knew what need we had of strengthening ordinances, and in love commanded us to commemorate his death till he came, &c.

"4. That Christ was baptised of John, and sent forth his disciples to preach to, and baptize all nations.

"5. That they are accursed that take from, or add to the Scriptures.

"6. That whosoever breaks any of the least of these commandments, viz: the sacraments, the subjects there intended, shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.

"7. That such as tell of God's love, and of rejoicing in it, and obey not his commands, these pretended sacraments, must be accounted of as confessing him with their lips, but denying him in their actions.

"8. That these sacraments are better means of grace than we will make use of.

"9. That God hath set me upon seeking the way to heaven.

"10. Thou advisest me to make use of my reason in searching the Scriptures; and then to tell thee why I neglect those two great ordinances, of baptism and the Lord's supper.

"11. Of a sinless perfection in this life,

and what Scriptures I have to induce me to believe I shall arrive at it; with thy Scriptures cited against such perfection, and thy reasoning therefrom.

"12. That if we had no corruptions to struggle with, we should be for building tabernacles, and abiding here.

"13. That thou lovest all those that love the Lord Jesus Christ, and rely upon him for salvation, by the working of his holy Spirit in their hearts.

"14. That the garb, manners, and conversation of our people, thou greatly likest.

"15. But wouldst gladly know what induces us to the above mentioned errors.

"To all which I answer in order.

"To the 1st; It reminds me of that saying of Nathaniel, concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' a mean despised place it seems; and also of the answer, 'Come and see.' And likewise of what the Lord said to Nathaniel; 'Because I said unto thee, I saw thee under the fig-tree, believest thou? Thou shalt see greater things than these.' So even I, in the name of the Most High God, and Jesus Christ the eternal Son, do write unto thee, that thou who hast thus believed concerning the Lord, and those who are now hated and contemned for his Name's sake, if thou art faithful to the manifestation of the life and light of Jesus in thee, shall see greater things than yet thou seest. Thy light shall then break forth as a morning without clouds, and thy peace shall shine as the sun at noon-day. Then shall the substance take place in the midst of thee, and the shadows of the night shall fly before his glory.

"To the 2nd; That he trod the path of regeneration, died a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, ascended above all heavens, and prepared the way for all that should believe and obey to the end of the world, is true. But that he actually washed us, almost seventeen hundred years before we were polluted, or had any known being in the world, which thy words seem to insinuate, is a thing worth thy further consideration. For though they, who had been great sinners in that day, as we have been in this, though not in the same things, and came to a sense and acknowledgment of them, were washed and purified, he does not say with water, but in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the Spirit of the living God; and these things we believe; yet unless we come to be actually washed and purified from our actual sins, and the old root of them too, by the two-fold operation of the same spirit of judgment and of burning, our belief, though true, of their being washed and sanctified in their age, will not save us now



from the pollutions, power, and reward of our own lusts and corruptions. The Lord open thy understanding by his divine power, and shine therein by his pure light, that thou mayest see all things as they are.

"To the 3rd; The plain sense of this is, that the great end of Christ's taking upon him our nature is, that he might thereby know how to pity our infirmities; and from a knowledge thereof so obtained, was moved with so great compassion, as to give us the sacraments, as the great fruits of his love and tenderness, till he should come again at the end of the world.

"This is a great perversion of the end of his coming, and highly derogates from the glory of it; insinuating that he was not sensible of our infirmities, nor could pity us therein, till he acquired that knowledge by experience; reflecting upon his omniscience as God. For he came that we might have life, not only shadows of it, and that we might have it more abundantly: he came the second time in that generation, according to his promise, to save his people from their sins, and not in them; to save them from their pollutions and corruption, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, the spirit of judgment and of burning, that eternally burns, as an oven, against all corruption, and can never be reconciled to sin; and not to establish a shadow only of cleansing. He came to finish transgression, to put an end to sin, and to bring everlasting righteousness into the soul of man, where it was wanted; and not some shadow of it only.

"For this end likewise was the Son of God made manifest, that he might destroy the works of the devil, which is sin in the hearts of mankind; and not to give some signs of it only. He came to give his life, the quickening spirit, the true bread which comes down from heaven, to revive and preserve dead lost man; and not only as thou imagines, to give them these poor pretended ordinances, in which there is no strength, to strengthen them. The Lord himself, being with his people always, according to his promise, and will be, in his own baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire, to the end of the world, they need not any outward thing to put them in mind of him. And sprinkling of children being an antichristian forgery, is not so much as a pertinent shadow of the one true baptism.

"But if thou wilt apply thine heart to the Lord, in sincerity and truth, and take up his cross daily, to thy own will and natural desires, and embrace those things he makes manifest to thee, to be thy duty to him and to mankind, he will make thee wiser than those who have thus taught and deceived thee: for

great is his compassion and tender regard, as I find by his grace made known in my heart, towards thee at this time.

"That the Lord Christ took a body of the same nature and kind as ours, and was like us in all things, sin excepted, is true. But whether he be come *in us*, is the question? Whether that day be come in and unto us, wherein we have known, "that he is in the Father, and the Father in him, and he in us?" Or that we be yet so clouded, shadowed and benighted, by the god and spirit of this world, as not yet to have seen the Lord Jesus in and for ourselves? If not, we are reprobates, falsely covered with a vain profession of the holy name of Him we do not know. For every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, the same is of God; but every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, the same is antichrist.

"Now, every antichristian spirit in the world, professing Christianity, will confess in words, that Christ is come in that blessed, prepared body, born of the Virgin Mary; yet none can make this true confession of Christ's being come in the flesh, but such only in whom the Spirit of Christ is revealed; who have put on Christ, and are put on of him, and are become members of him, by his life that dwells in them, as bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh; no more than any man can call Christ truly Lord but by the Holy Ghost; though to call him our Lord Jesus Christ, and our Saviour, in words, is a thing very easily acquired, and common amongst most ungodly professors, wallowing on still in all manner of sins and wickedness, and not saved by him. Consider these things fully; and the Lord so shine in upon thy heart in love, and reveal himself in thee, that thou mayest be able to confess him before all thy acquaintance, and the world.

"Again: as to those supposed ordinances of bread and wine, and being sprinkled in the face with water in one's infancy, if there was any thing to boast of in these, I also might glory, having formerly had the administration of both; and the former with great preparation and fear, but know nothing of the latter, but by tradition only, being too young then to know or remember any thing of it; nor do, or ever did, find any effect it had towards salvation.

"In respect to the first, it is true there was something like a commandment; for it being the passover of the Jews, and to be ended in Christ, the substance, he said, 'This do, as often as ye do it, in remembrance of me;' not simply, This do in remembrance of me, but, This do, as often as ye do it, in remembrance



of me. On which the apostle Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, makes this observation, 'That as often as they ate that bread, and drank that cup, they showed forth the Lord's death till he came.' This shows that it was determinable upon a certain contingency, or within a certain limitation of time, viz: till he came. And in that generation he came the second time, without sin unto salvation, in those who believed and obeyed. By which coming, this and all other types, shadows and figures of him, were put to an end, as to any real obligation from that seeming commandment, or any other, of a typical kind.

"And yet, in condescension to some, who had believed in Christ, as to his outward coming, that he is the Messiah and Sent of God, and were yet weak, and not come to the experience of his presence in themselves, being yet in an intermediate state, some eatings and drinkings, I do not say any now in use, might be continued for a time, in some places; though we read of none but Corinth, where they were then in a very carnal state. But that practice did not make it necessary for ages then to come, especially since antichrist hath erected his kingdom of darkness under those shadows, and forged idols under the cover of them, and thereby deceived the nations, though not the elect, who cannot be deceived. Yet that practice in those days, after the spiritual coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, adds no more authority for the continuance or perpetuity of it, than the practice of circumcision, vows, purifications, and the like ceremonies and types under the law of Moses, made these necessary, after his coming both in the flesh and spirit; some of which were not only continued, for the reasons aforesaid, after the revelation of the Spirit of Christ, the Holy Ghost, in them in that age; but some of them are continued, especially in the church and kingdom of antichrist, and among professors of Christianity unto this day, as still being needful, in their judgment.

Breaking bread and drinking wine was a Jewish rite, begun in the time of the captivity at Babylon, and continued till the coming of Christ, and used at the passover and eating of the paschal lamb; which was a type of Christ as the Lamb of God, the true vine and wine of the kingdom, and the antitype of that figure; who made the application of it immediately to himself, as being the real substance. And though he was at that time come, and present with them as born of the Virgin Mary, and the Messiah outwardly, according to the prophets, yet he was then shortly to come, or be revealed, according to the prophecy of

Malachi, the last of the prophets, and of John the Baptist, who prophesied of a divine coming and manifestation of the same Christ and Saviour, that is to say, as the Mediator and Messenger of the new and second covenant of light and life; and he is also that covenant, like a refiner's fire, and fuller's soap, to sit in the hearts of mankind, as a refiner and purifier of silver; to make men pure, and purer than fine gold, seven times tried in the fire; to gather the weighty and solid wheat into the garner of God, to be reserved there for his use, and of which is made the one bread; but to burn up the chaff of pollutions with fire unquenchable, by him who is that fire, the Word of God, who baptiseth with the Holy Ghost, as John did with water, and with that divine and holy fire.

"As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye show forth the Lord's death till he come.' They therefore who are, at this day, exercising themselves in the imitations of these things, with their own additions, diminutions and alterations thereof, are only showing forth his death until now; whereby they are bearing witness against themselves, that they are not yet come to know him as the resurrection and life, by his manifestation in them; that he is not yet revealed in them; that they are yet dead unto the sense of the life of the Word of God, and alienated therefrom, through the ignorance that is in them. Christ is yet crucified in and unto them; being contented with a hear-say of him, pretending to serve him in eating, drinking, touching, tasting and handling, in shows, in imperfect imitations of some outward and typical shadows, once in use in their proper dispensations of time, place, and people; and yet deny or neglect the great everlasting command and ordinance of love. 'Love one another; love your enemies; do good to them that hate you; be perfect: by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another.' Of these they are willingly ignorant. And how little Christendom, falsely so called, hath been in the practice of these things, the heathen world has beheld, and has stumbled at. How little she is in the practice of them still, let her present circumstances demonstrate, to all who have eyes to see the bloodshed and uncharity, and ears to hear the cries of the poor and oppressed, and hearts to lament the misery and judgments now on foot, and swiftly advancing upon all false pretenders; who are not only to be more and more vexed, by the destroying hands one of another, but unless they speedily repent, and turn unto him, the divine substance of all types and shadows, even to that true light which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, they must surely



taste of the eternal judgment of the Son of God, the great Judge of the living and of the dead; who is now hastening upon all the kindreds of the earth.

“‘I am the bread of life,’ said the Lord Jesus Christ, ‘the living bread which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever. And the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.’ Then said the hearers, ‘How can this man give us his flesh to eat!’ Many therefore of his disciples, when they had heard this, said, ‘This is a hard saying, who can hear it?’ And, to explain his sayings, he added, ‘It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.’

“Yet, from that time many of his disciples went back and walked no more with him. Even the twelve apostles themselves seem to have been ready to stagger at his doctrine, so far above the natural capacity of mankind, and of the hearers at that time, as appears by his question to them in private; ‘Will ye also go away?’ When Peter, recounting their experience, replied, ‘Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.’ As it is elsewhere written, ‘It is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven; but to them it is not given.’ Even so it is at this day. It is given unto those who are awakened out of sleep, to walk in the light, and in the day of God, where there is no night or shadow, and to be fed with this living bread and everlasting substance; but those who are asleep, and dreaming, as in the night, that they are eating and drinking, and are satisfied, when they awake in the morning, shall be an hungered. And then shall they know that they have been deluded with an empty dream, and that real bread is wanting unto them, and the true wine of the kingdom they have not tasted.

“‘It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing.’ And notwithstanding any use of any shadows or signs-visible, in the church of Christ, after his descending upon them in spirit, we find the true supper and divine substance explained, and the way to obtain it directed to, by the Spirit of Christ, after his glorification in heaven; and of which we are at this day made partakers, through the infinite mercy of the Father in him; without the use of any ceremony, sign, or shadow,

or of any other means than those of his own directing. That is to say, ‘As many as I love I rebuke and chasten; be zealous therefore and repent. Behold I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me.’ Here the love of God is the first moving cause, and is seen in the rebukes and chastisements of his Holy Spirit, in the hearts of mankind; and we ought to show our zeal and love to him, by a free and hearty repentance, and forsaking of those things we are reprovèd for. He will then stand at the door of such a heart, and call more plainly and powerfully there, and knock by the hammer of his holy Word, which breaketh the rock in pieces; and whosoever shall hear, believe, and obey this voice, and shall open his heart and door, and let in this divine guest, shall sit with him at his heavenly table, and eat of his holy supper, the true bread which comes down, day by day, from heaven, and shall drink of the new wine of his kingdom, even now in this present world; where their peace shall flow as a river, and their joy in him and the Father, as a mighty stream. They shall eat of the hidden manna, and fruit of the Tree of Life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God; and live with and in him, who was dead, and died for them, and liveth for evermore.

In all humility and honour to the sacred name of the Lord be it confessed, I am often made partaker of this supper, with many brethren and sisters, children of one Father, without the use of these means thou talkest of, and without any self-conceitdness, or blasphemous and vain apprehensions of our own wisdom, or being wiser than he; for he is the wisdom of God, and the power of God, and is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption; and by him, the heavenly substance, we are led, directed and redeemed out of all shadows, types, and figures, to serve God in newness of life, in love to God, and to all mankind. Which love is the one great commandment, upon which depend all the rest, and which he, the Lord Jesus, the great Dispenser of it in the hearts of his people, is come to fulfil in us by his eternal power; and we are become, and are more and more becoming, the workmanship of the Father in him, unto good works, such as please him.

Without this new and living commandment, the observation of shadows, though once lawful, or what men may invent to themselves, in imitation or addition thereto, are as surely an abomination to the Lord at this day, as



the observation of things once commanded unto Israel, and in point of dispensation, were then still in force, became as the cutting off a dog's neck, and offering of swine's blood, because of their neglecting righteousness, and greater matters of the law.

"Every type or shadow once instituted, remained as an obligation, and in force, until Christ, who is the antitype and substance of all types and shadows, became that thing to man, which the type did typify or signify. As when Christ was offered upon the cross, the Jewish offerings were ended; when he became the High Priest of the soul, the Jewish high priest's office was fully ended, &c. Even so the Paschal lamb, and the breaking bread and drinking wine at that feast, as part of it, were fully ended, when the true Paschal Lamb, upon whom the saints and saved of the Lord were to feed, was fully come, so as actually and spiritually to become meat and drink to their enlivened souls. And in like manner also, so soon as the heavenly body of the Lord Jesus became, experimentally, that bread of life which came down from heaven, and his blood that new wine of the kingdom, unto the sanctified and redeemed in that day, the breaking of bread outward, and drinking wine fully came to an end, as to any obligation that was on any to retain the practice of it, any more than washing the feet one of another, also a Jewish rite, and a thing more positively commanded, and with great solemnity, and which, nevertheless, hath been little in use in the church of Christ. And as said the apostle Paul, 'I speak as to wise men; judge ye what I say: the cup of blessing, which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? For we being many, are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread.' And blessed be the name of the Lord, so also is it now.

"Great hath been the apostacy of mankind from the heavenly substance, and even from the shadow also; and all has become unto them as one shadow, as the dark night and shadow of the earth: and great idolatry hath been committed by the professors of the name of the Lord Jesus, therein and thereby. And even at this day great is the apostacy from the true substance, and superstition is committed and reigning in the imitation of this shadow, whilst the living substance is still neglected and decried.

"I sought the Lord in this ordinance, as thou mistaking, calls it, but found him not therein; but in a day of deep distress, and hour of bitter affliction, when hell opened her

mouth, and eternal death stood ready to devour, when terrors unspeakable laid hold on my soul, amazed and suddenly arrested for a debt I could not number or pay, and despair encompassed me about; then cried I unto the living Lord with exceeding lamentation, from the depth of affliction, and in true resignation to his holy will, and his mercy sprang in as the dawning of the morning.

"The day dawning, the night retires, and the substance come, the shadow vanishes. My dear, though unknown friend, when the beloved of thy soul appears, if the world and the things and friendship and glory of it, be not thy beloved, thou wilt not then mind his picture, if it were his picture; nor mind his shadow, though he had even said, Look upon this till I come. It is true, thou wilt not then condemn his picture when he is with thee: no more do I; but have a due esteem for all he hath commanded, in their times, dispensations, and ends. Nor do I lightly esteem those who use that in imitation with a good intent and sincere mind, but pity them that they are come no nearer the kingdom; which, though at hand seventeen hundred years ago, is not yet come unto those who are set down contented under the shade of night, and dreaming of things of which they have no knowledge or enjoyment.

"Go into the sun-shine, and turn thy face towards the sun, and the shadow will be behind thee; but turn thy back on the sun, and the shadow will be before thee; and the more thou followest it, the more it will fly thee; and the more thou goest after it, the further from the sun. And this is the state of apostatized Christendom at this day, and hath been for many ages.

"The kingdom of heaven is within, and stands not in eating and drinking, nor comes with outward observation, but in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; to which the only true and living God, through the inward revelation of his eternal Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, bring thy precious soul. And that is the only thing that can truly satisfy, where the soul is alive by the breath of life from God, and hungry and thirsty indeed; though I am willing thus to take a little pains for thy present information.

"4thly, And now as to baptism: to John the Baptist, who was the immediate fore-runner of Christ, came the word of God in the wilderness, commanding him to preach repentance to the Jews, to whom alone he was sent, to proclaim the kingdom of heaven to be then at hand; and to baptize the people in water, directing them to believe in him who was to come after him, who was Christ the Lord, then among them, though not known at



that time to be the Messiah, either by John himself, or any other. But John declared that he baptized with water, and that after him was to come one more worthy and powerful than he, who should baptize them with the Holy Spirit and fire; and that John must decrease, and Christ increase.

"When the Lord Jesus Christ did appear, he likewise preached repentance; as also did his disciples, who baptized with the same water baptism that John did, and at the same time, but not in the name of one to come; testifying that Jesus is the Messiah, sent of God unto Israel. The disciples of Christ being thus in the practice of water baptism, cotemporary with John, and the Lord Christ present with them, they continued in that practice till after his resurrection; and then he declared and established his own proper baptism, so foretold by John as aforesaid, saying, 'Repentance and remission of sins must be preached in his name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And ye shall be witnesses unto me,' said he, 'in Jerusalem, in Samaria, in all the countries round about, and to the uttermost parts of the earth. All power in heaven and in earth is given unto me; go ye therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; teaching them all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.' And to explain what he had thus said, he further added, 'Go into all the earth, and preach the gospel unto every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned. And, behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you; but tarry ye at Jerusalem till ye are endued with power from on high: but ye shall receive power, after the Holy Ghost is come upon you; for John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.'

"By all which Scriptures it is clear that John baptised with water only; that the disciples of Christ, in his presence, baptised with the same, and at the same time; that John had foretold them of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, to be administered by Christ; and that Christ declared and appointed the baptism of the Spirit, and not any water baptism, where he commanded them to teach all nations, baptizing them, &c. And as the terms of their mission were into the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; whenever any water was used, of which we have few instances after the coming of the Holy Spirit, it was not in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, as from that text, but only in the name of the Lord Jesus; which demonstrates it was

John's baptism, and from no new command, but only the continuance of the practice of water baptism they had been in during his time, before the commencement of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which initiates into the divine nature.

"And when the churches became able to bear the mystery and spirituality of the true baptism, the apostle declared that, 'there is one Lord, one faith, and one baptism. For by one Spirit are we all baptised into one body; the church, which is his body, the fullness of him who filleth all in all.' And as John said of his baptism, 'I must decrease;' and of Christ's baptism, 'He must increase;' and that which decreaseth gradually comes to an end, so water baptism came to an end many ages ago; when the church of Rome, by her own wisdom and authority, which is from beneath, without any institution of Christ, and being ignorant of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, invented and imposed rantism, or sprinkling of infants, instead of the baptism of Christ, from which they are departed, and between which there is no resemblance.

As the baptism of Christ must increase, without any determinate time of being full, so that which increaseth indefinitely, never endeth. The baptism of Christ is an initiation into, or beginning of the manifestation of his power and kingdom in the mind of man; which kingdom is not of this world, nor does it stand in any of the elements or powers of it, but is his eternal power manifested in men; and as we began to know this baptism, we began to die to the world, and to all the vain-glory and evils of it, and became hated and persecuted of those who are after the flesh, and are not yet thus baptized or born of the Spirit, but remain in the nature and spirit of this world. Yet we are, by grace, made able to suffer all things, for the sake of him who hath loved us, and into whose name and nature we were baptised by him.

"And as to thy notion, that as Christ was baptised with water by John, so must we also be baptised with the same, by his example. This is not a just consequence, but a common fallacy, invented by the letter mongers and hirelings, who pervert the holy Scriptures for worldly wealth, power and honour, though to their own destruction, and the ruin also of many other souls. For as Christ being born after the flesh among the Jews, submitted to the law of Moses, and was circumcised, and had offerings offered for him as others had, that he might fulfil all the righteousness of the law, and end it; so he was likewise baptised of John, to fulfil the righteousness of that dispensation also; that all righteousness being fulfilled and centered in him, he might



become righteousness, and the dispenser of it to them that believe, through all generations. As it is written, 'Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the mighty God, the everlasting Father, [the Lord our righteousness] the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end. Who of God is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption; for in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. And ye are complete in him, which is the Head of all principality and power. In whom also ye are circumcised, with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ: buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him, through the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him from the dead, &c. Blotting out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us, &c. Let no man therefore judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ, &c. Wherefore, if ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, &c.'

"Now, observe from this doctrine, that circumcision, baptism, with water, and all religious ceremonies, respecting any thing that may be eaten, or drunk, or holy days, or new moons, or sabbath days, and all such like ordinances, are here ended and fulfilled in the Lord Christ, the ever-living substance. So that neither circumcision, nor uncircumcision, baptism with water, or no such baptism, availeth any thing, but a new creature; born of him, the Word of Life, and complete in him, who is the perfection of beauty, and head of all principality and power: so that if we have Christ we have all, and without him there is nothing at all in religion.

"To the 5th I answer, That this is a misapplication of the Scripture suggested in the expression; for the words are these, 'I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, if any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book. And if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city,' &c. Thus it is testified by the Holy Spirit; and the penalty here is great indeed, and so is thy accusation and charge, but it is upon those who hear the words of the prophecy of that book, and shall

add to, or take away from the words of that book. We are not guilty of this charge, of adding any thing to that prophecy, or taking any thing from it, or of doing so to any other part of the holy Scriptures; and so not liable to this curse or penalty. But since actions, importing an addition of any thing to the Christian religion, as an ordinance of Christ, which is not so; or suppressing any thing as an error, which is no error, can be no less within the meaning of this Scripture, in the nature of things, than adding or taking away of words; those are deeply guilty, who have detained many typical things ended by the coming of Christ, and invented and added to religion sprinkling of infants, with many impertinent, superstitious, and idolatrous things, never commanded or ordained of Christ, but forged in their own imaginations, and imposed upon the professors of the faith of Christ as his ordinances, by the violence of grievous antichristian persecutions and murders by fire, sword, and gallows, and all manner of cruel and inhuman tortures and torments. And have detained and taken away the use of all the holy Scriptures from the people, to whom, as Christians, they belong. Then do thou make haste from among them, lest the curse thou art bestowing so blindly upon the innocent, fall upon thy own head among those guilty sinners; who are not citizens of the New Jerusalem, the holy city of God, but of Babel.

"The Lord open their eyes to see, and give them hearts to understand, and power to come out of all their inventions, to the great Baptist and Feeder of souls; that they may be saved from corruption, and enter those mansions, where there is no want, and where no unclean thing can come. And the Lord bless thee, my unknown friend, with the knowledge of his love, and with a right understanding in all things.

To the 6th and 7th; This likewise is a manifest wresting and misapplication of the holy Scripture alluded to in this place; for the Lord Jesus was not then speaking of any thing called sacraments, as commandments of God, but of the moral commandments in the law of Moses. And I know, that while we are breaking the commandments of God, we cannot rejoice in his love; but in that state of disobedience, are under his wrath and reproof. But hast thou seen me break any of the commandments of God? What I wrote in that letter of the love of God, was in truth and righteousness, as it then was manifested in my soul by the Lord Jesus Christ; and whatever it may be accounted of by such as know him not, yet I know it is not accounted an offence before the Lord, to tell of



his goodness, but a duty in all them that are mercifully favoured with the enjoyment of it, when thereunto called by its own virtue. Nor does the Lord, the great Judge of the world, at any time charge me with the breach of any of his commands, either for disusing the bread and wine of the priests, or their rantism, which the Lord never sent them to administer; nor the pope's bread, or his rantism, and other impertinences, which the Lord never commanded.

"And who are they that are thus saying, but doing the contrary? If thou knowest of any that are breaking the moral commands of God, or the new and living command of the Lord Jesus, the Son of God, daily; and teaching men so, either by the example of a sinful conversation, or by pleading and wrangling in words for a necessity of it for term of life; loving God with lip-love only, and serving him only with tongue-service; thou mayest, if free thyself, reprove such as mockers of God, but accuse not the brethren, in whom is revealed the eternal commandment, lest thou offend the Father, and the Judge reprove thee in thy own bosom: but believe in, and follow and obey the light and life of the Son of God, in the way of regeneration, if ever thou thyself expects to enter his kingdom; which thou shalt never see in any invention of the children of men.

"To the 8th; Where dost thou read, or what experience hast thou that these pretended sacraments are means to obtain the love or grace of God? 'The grace of God, that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men, through the Lord Jesus Christ;' and consequently to millions, even the greatest part of all mankind, who never heard of those supposed ordinances. 'Their sound is gone into all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world.' All have heard, but all have not believed or obeyed. And he, by whom this universal grace is come upon all men, in order to heal the universal disease, is the elect Seed of God, and covenant with the nations; even that 'true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;' and is 'ordained of God to be Judge of quick and dead.' By whom in no ways am I condemned for neglecting these thy ordinances as means of his love; but by the mercy of the Father through him, do enjoy it, at times when it pleaseth him, without any other means than his own free will and goodness.

"To the 9th; Time was when I was seeking the living among the dead, and the way to God and his kingdom among the lo-heres and lo-theres of the times; who were severally saying, Lo here, in our liturgy and ordinances; Lo there, in our directory, and the

like ordinances, as we administer them; Lo, in the pools and ponds with us, as we perform with a nicer imitation; and behold yonder in the mass, and glory, and pomp of the world, in the great wilderness of antichristian ordinances of human invention. But within is the kingdom, and there I have found it, through the voice of him who speaketh from heaven; and there is made known the way, and I desire to walk on in Him who is the way, truth, light, life, and love, and leads to the God of love; to whom be renown, dominion, and glory, forever and ever.

"To the 10th: The Scripture saith, 'The things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God, and God hath revealed them by his Spirit; for the Spirit (not the reason of man) searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. By wisdom the world knows not God, nor does the natural man receive the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness to him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But in the Lord Jesus, the Word of God, 'are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge;' by whose breath of divine life, not by reason, is understanding given, and the Scriptures opened.

"None knows the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him; and none can come to the Son unless the Father draw him.' Men, by their reasoning about the things of God in a natural state, ignorant of God, have made the gospel, to themselves, of no effect, as the Jews did the law, by their tradition.

"Whilst I remained reasoning with flesh and blood, I had no true peace or knowledge of God; but when it pleased him to reveal the life of his Son in me, then I denied myself, and the world, with all the vain pleasures and glory of it, and likewise my own wisdom, and became as a fool to the world, that from thenceforth I might be partaker of that wisdom and knowledge dispensed by him, who is the Fountain and Dispenser of all true wisdom, knowledge and understanding; by the opening and manifestation of whose Holy Spirit, the Scriptures were given forth of old; and the matters therein contained being things of God, are rightly to be understood, and truly known, only by the openings and in-shinings of the light of the same divine Word, by which, at first, they were dictated, or the matters therein treated of made known.

"And upon this Word have I ever depended since I was favoured with the knowledge of God, and not upon my own reason as a man only; nor upon any supposed natural parts or acquirements, which, by themselves, ought not to intermeddle with the things of God, how pregnant soever they may be.



“And now dear friend, know that I am not a contemner of the holy Scriptures, but do love them, and have searched them from my youth, and have often been much comforted, and my heart has often glowed within me, whilst the blessed and holy Spirit of Christ, which was in the prophets and apostles, brought the Scriptures to my remembrance, and opened the mysteries thereof in me. And therefore, to the Word of God, which the noble Bereans received with all readiness of mind before they searched the Scriptures, do I refer thee; even to the ingrafted Word, which is able to save thy soul, if thou believest therein, that by the light and power of it, thou mayest read and understand, and have the Scriptures—as well the divine law of God written in thy heart, as the letter of the book—opened unto thee: and then shalt thou know the reason of my disuse of these supposed ordinances; till which, all that can be said by man is not able to inform thy understanding to the full. But in a plain assertion of the innocent truth, these shadows are not of God as they now stand and are used; and being come to the immortal substance, I have no need of them, but have the authority of the Lord and giver of life, and the enjoyment of the divine and everlasting substance, for leaving them behind.

“11th; The enemy of man having deceived him, under pretence of a friend, and wrought sin and iniquity in his heart, and thereby defiled him, and obtained a place in his heart, the Son of God, through the love and mercy of the Father, is made manifest there, to discover unto man the works of the devil, and to destroy them; and to create man anew in the image of God, in righteousness and holiness, and to bring forth in him a new life. And man, being thus the perfect workmanship of the Almighty, created anew unto good works by Jesus Christ, his thoughts, words, actions, and deportment are changed. As it was natural, whilst in his first state in this life, to think, do, and speak evil; so, in his new nature, being born of the Spirit, it is natural to him to think righteously, speak truth without guile, and do good unto all men, and no evil, in thought, word, or action.

“And though the Lord Jesus closed his sermon upon the mount with these words, ‘Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect;’ yet it was not by the letter of the book only that I was first induced to believe this doctrine of sinless perfection in this life, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ, as he is the wisdom and power of God, who condemns sin in mankind; and by the manifest operation of his power within, condemns the man of sin, casts him out,

and spoils his goods. And though we have many temptations, from time to time, to strive against, we find power in the Spirit of Christ whereby to resist and overcome them. For it is not we alone that strive or resist the evil, but first the Spirit of Christ in us is lifted up as a standard and ensign against the enemy, and then we, through him, become as co-workers in effecting our own salvation, by continuing in faith, and obedience in well doing.

“If thou considers only thy own weakness and infirmities, as in the nature and properties of the first Adam in the fall, in whom all die, thou wilt hardly believe the liberty of the sons of God; but coming to the revealed power of Christ, the second Adam, the quickening Spirit, in whom all are made alive, thou wilt not only believe, but through faithfulness to his power, which worketh in thee against all sin, may come to attain that perfection of righteousness and holiness, which thou canst not now conceive.

“And though we are tempted as he was tempted, but sinned not, yet if we do not yield, we are not charged: for it is no sin to be tempted; but to consent, and enter into the temptation, is sin. And how should we know the power of the grace of God, or what degree of virtue we have thereby attained, if we were not tempted? And how should we distinguish the voice of the tempter, if we knew not the voice of the Word of Life? But as God tempteth no man, nor is himself tempted of evil; so he suffers not any of his children, son or daughter, to be tried so as not to escape the evil, if they adhere to his grace.

“By a sinless state in this life, we do not mean such a degree wherein it is not possible for us to commit sin; but such a stability in Christ, in whom there is no sin, that we may resist all the temptations we meet with, after our old sins, in time of ignorance, are pardoned by faith in the blood of Christ, and our whole man sanctified, justified, and strengthened, by his power remaining in us, against the old adversary; who still seeks to regain, by his subtilty, his old place in us as before, by means of any passion or affection unmortified or unsubdued.

“Christ said to the Jews who did not believe, ‘If ye believe not that I am he, ye shall die in your sins. Whither I go, ye cannot come.’ And again, to those who did believe, ‘If ye continue in my word, then are ye my disciples indeed. And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. And if the truth make you free, then are you free indeed.’ In this they did not understand him, as appears by their answer. They thought



he had meant some outward freedom; but he intended their freedom from sin, which is a greater deliverance than out of Egyptian bondage. By this it appears that if we die in our sins, we cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. There is then great need that we come to Him in time, who alone is able to save us: as it is written, 'He shall save his people from their sins;' but not in them.

"The more we obey the discoveries and leadings of the Spirit of truth, the more he sets us free; and the more we are co-workers with Christ, the more perfect we are. Many things which have formerly been temptations to us, being overcome by faith in his grace, given by the word of faith working in our hearts by love, are now no temptations at all; so that the work becomes easier by degrees. I know the Lord is able to carry on his own work, when, and how, and to what degree it pleaseth him. And if the creature resists him not, and quenches not the holy Spirit by wilful or known sinning against him, his work of perfection, as all his works are perfect, can never fail.

"They who are God's workmanship in his Son, are perfect, so far as he hath wrought; and they who have given way, and been co-workers with satan, so far are imperfect. If then, satan, who is a creature, was able, through the subtle working of his power and cunning, which is finite, to deprave innocent man, and betray him into sin and death; much more is God, the Creator of all things, by his infinite power and wisdom revealed in man through Jesus Christ, able to restore mankind to his first innocence and image of God, in righteousness and perfect holiness, to dissolve the chains of death, and fix him for ever in the bounds of eternal love, light, and glory; where no darkness, temptation, or deilement, can approach, nor any fear of falling, can appear for evermore.

"Oh, my unknown friend! great is the mystery of the redemption of poor lost man, who, through his ignorance of the Almightyness of God's saving arm, is ready to fix limits and bounds to the immense God; whose wisdom is past finding out, and incomparably transcends all the imaginations of the thoughts of every creature, men and angels. I could tell thee many things, but thou art not in a condition to hear them; and had much rather thou should come to the knowledge of that power which makes perfect, than write many things to thee concerning it; which, in the state thou art in, might prove a stumbling-block, instead of assistance, to thee.

"But though it was not the Holy Scriptures that first induced me to believe this doctrine, yet I have met with many passages

therein since, which fully prove it, some of which I have before pointed at herein. The great end of the coming of the Son of God, is to save mankind from the power of sin, the cause of eternal death, and separation from God; and that sin being removed, with all its evil effects, which stood as a partition wall, man might again have present fellowship, in measure, with the Lord, and walk with him in newness of life, and finally be crowned with unspeakable glory.

"God is light; sin is darkness; and between these two there can be no fellowship. But sin being pardoned—as declared—by faith in the blood of Christ, and the root thereof done away and destroyed, by the manifestation of his holy Spirit, then men come to dwell in Christ, as he dwells in the Father; and so they have true knowledge of, and fellowship with, the Father and the Son, and with one another in him, who is light, in whom there is no sin, nor darkness, nor shadow at all: which knowledge and fellowship is greatly wanting among the professors of Christ, in this confused age of the world.

"As to that passage thou alludes to in an Epistle of John, where it is said, 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us. The context proves the contrary to thy intention: for in the seventh verse he saith, that 'if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son, cleanseth us from all sin.' And again, 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.'

"The Jews were a people who built much on the works of their law, thinking themselves blameless in a strict performance of them; as 'Paul was circumcised the eighth day,' &c., 'touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless.' And it seems, by the tenor of the apostle John's Epistle, some such there were among the disciples at that time, who were not come rightly to see that they were, or had been, sinners; and so could not see the true reason of the coming of Christ, to make them righteous and just, by his inward work; which could not be till they came to a real sight of their own sinful and degenerate state; and that all the works of their law, which they could work in that natural state, were but as an unclean thing. And that apostle having laboured to convince them, first, that they had sinned, and were sinners, notwithstanding their legal performances, how strictly or exactly soever observed, and though as to these they might be blame-



less; he then proceeds to preach perfect redemption and salvation by Jesus Christ, especially by his inward workings and teachings in their minds, figuratively termed anointing; as it is written concerning himself, simply considered as man, 'That God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost.'

"And what man ever more fully preached the doctrine of perfection in this life, or spoke of higher attainments here, than this apostle doth in that epistle; where he saith, 'Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin: for his seed (that is, the word of God) remaineth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is born of God?' Again, 'I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one.' And their 'fellowship was with the Father and the Son,' in the pure light, where no sin can come: and the apostles were not only there themselves, but were labouring in the spirit and power of Christ, to bring those to whom they preached and wrote, to the same state and fellowship.

"And though what I have already said to this 12th head, and to the former, might be a sufficient answer to the extent of thy meaning therein; yet, being zealous for thy convictionment of the truth and conversion to God, I shall proceed further, and add, that I observe that the children of the flesh and of this world, champions for sin and the kingdom and rule of satan, both by word and practice, commonly wrest several particular Scriptures to support themselves and one another in sin, to the end of their days, to their final destruction: such as this expression of the apostle John, already noted, that 'If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us;' and where the apostle Paul saith, 'That which I do I allow not; for what I would that do I not, but what I hate, that do I. O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!' From these Scriptures some ungodly men perversely contend that those apostles, and consequently all the primitive Christians, were still sinners at the times of writing those Scriptures, and continued in sin during life; upon a false supposition, that all mankind are under an unavoidable necessity, from the weakness of nature and constitution, so to continue to the end of this life. This I oppose, and say, that as the apostles, as well as others, had been sinners, before they believed in Christ and were converted; so it was common with them to use that condescending way of expression, in terms once applicable to themselves as well as to others: as where the apostle James also saith, 'The tongue can no man tame: it is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison; therewith

bless we God, even the Father; and therewith curse we men.' Whereas, at that time, this apostle was not a curser of men, if ever he had so been. No more were the apostles John and Paul then sinners; but had known, not only forgiveness through faith in the blood of Christ, but also a sanctification and cleansing from all unrighteousness and sin, by 'the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost;' and, as thou thyself hast expressed the thing in the thirteenth paragraph, or head, but without knowledge, viz: 'By the working of the holy Spirit in their hearts.'

"And thou mayst see that John writes in that epistle, to three different states in the church at that time, and the same diversity continues still. To little children in religion, though they might be men in nature, that they should not sin: for he knew children in the faith were yet weak, and might offend and fall; but if they should, he instructed them how they might rise again, through the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, declared unto all men, by the blood of his cross shed once for all. To young men in the faith, that they should not sin: Why? Because they were strong, and established in the faith and word of life, and had already thereby overcome the wicked one, with all his temptations; being begotten and born of God, and become his children, though once merely the children of Adam and of this world: and to fathers in Christ, and in the church of God, who were come to a more full and mature knowledge of God and Christ, revealed in them as a light, without the least darkness of any type, figure, or shadow at all; and to a more ample perfection in Him, through whom they were so far from sin at that time, that they were become the light of the world, by the light of Him whose glory shined in them.

"Thy other suggestion, against the power and efficacy of the Christian faith and religion, arises from the words of the apostle Paul, before noted or some other Scriptures misapplied, which thou dost not understand.

"How true is that saying, 'The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life!' Men, falling to work upon the Scriptures in their sinful state, with their own reason and wisdom from beneath—not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God by the work thereof in their hearts—have erred from the truth themselves, and lead astray others also.

"I shall therefore begin with the doctrine of the apostle Paul, in the Epistle to the Romans, and observe the manner of his proceeding in preaching the gospel: he sets forward with mankind, both Jews and Gentiles, as all once concluded under sin and unbelief; where he saith, 'We have before proved, both Jews



and Gentiles, that they are all under sin.' And yet they were not to continue therein, but were dead unto sin by the baptism of the Spirit of Christ: and then proceeds to illustrate his doctrine by way of comparison; 'that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory (or power) of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life:' importing, that as sure as Christ was raised from the dead; so, by the same spirit and power, they who then believed, and had been baptized with the baptism of the spirit, had attained a new life in him. Again: 'For in that he died, he died unto sin once; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.' So, by analogy, 'Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin; but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.' Who then can deny the death and resurrection of Christ, but he that will deny any freedom from sin in this life, through the power of Jesus Christ, our Lord? And further, 'Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid: and shall we sin, because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid.' And since God hath for ever forbidden sin, under both the law and gospel, and offered a free redemption therefrom, with all its dreadful effects, through Jesus Christ, his Son, let us lay hold of it with all readiness. Observing further the doctrine of this apostle in the same chapter, 'Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness; for when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness: but now, being made free from sin, and become the servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life: for the wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.' Read the whole chapter with attention.

"But that which gives occasion to many, who are ignorant of the things of God, and yet full of themselves and of their own dark conceivings, and willing to favour and live in sin, to mistake or pervert this doctrine, and imagine that the apostle contradicts all this in the seventh chapter, is this: he having closed and finished his doctrine under the similitude of Christ's death and resurrection, in the latter end of the sixth chapter, resumes the same doctrine in the beginning of the seventh, under the similitude of marriage under the law; which he directs in a more particular manner to them who were acquainted with the rules and customs of it. And in handling the same doctrine under that other similitude, he personates divers states, wherein men commonly were in a state of nature, and under the law, before they came to the knowledge of the Lord Christ, as if then his own; which to

himself, and the saints cotemporary with him, were then really past and over, and he and they arrived at another degree and dispensation. He was endeavouring to excite them that were yet short, to come further forward in the same way of life and salvation; from state to state; from their initiation into the same, by the baptism of Christ, till they should be perfect in him. And, having spoken of these inferior states as in his own person, for illustration, and to be more intelligible, in the same chapter he cries out, 'O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' And, in the next verse answers his own question, and saith, 'I thank God, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.' and further adds, 'There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit; for the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death.'

"Now, neither the apostle, nor any other, could be both delivered and not delivered, both in bondage and free, in the time of the writing these few verses; which might all be done in half an hour. I conclude, therefore, with understanding that the apostle here personates two opposite states; that of sin under the law, in a natural condition, and that of liberty from sin, by grace through Christ; and that the latter was his own, and of those also who had received and obeyed the gospel. The gospel, and the effects of it, are the same throughout all generations unto this day, in and unto all that believe, receive and obey the same; though they that do not, remain as they were by nature, or degenerate more and more to perdition.

"And seeing the same apostle laboured to present every man perfect in Christ Jesus, he himself was not excluded. And canst thou think that the all-wise and all-powerful God, Lord of heaven and earth, set this great apostle and the rest of them upon labour in vain; which must needs have been, if they laboured to present the believers perfect in Christ, and it had not been attainable.

"And that this blessed freedom and glorious liberty of the sons of God is not attainable in this present world, is only a dream in the night, which is yet over the nations in too general a way, told and propagated by ignorant and inexperienced pretenders in this age, who measure the attainments of the apostles and primitive saints, as also of this present time, by the very unequal measure and false standard of their own corruptions; and the wisdom and power of God, by their weak and carnal knowledge: for which the Most High will shortly rebuke them in judgment,



and call them to account for their great presumption.

“Now, to the 12th head: though what has been said to the 11th, and some parts of the former, might be sufficient also to this; yet, being desirous to do thee all the help and service I may, I proceed upon this likewise in a particular manner: that we have corruptions to struggle with we are very sensible; our own natural corruptions, and a subtle unwearied adversary, lurking and working therein, seeking to entangle us again in the yoke of bondage. But we are likewise sensible that it is one thing to be tempted, but another to remain in sin: for Christ was tempted, yet without sin; tempted of satan with the power, riches, and other glories of this world, by which poor mortals are commonly enticed, yet he overcame the evil one; tempted by weak and cunning men, children of the evil one, by ensnaring questions, false accusations, lies and slanders; by the rude and impudent contradictions of bold and ignorant sinners. Yet he, being the wisdom of the Father, put them all to silence; and finally, by patience and his cross, he overcame the world and all the power and enemies therein. And the holy One, who thus overcame in his own person, prevails also in us, by his own wisdom and power, against all our sins and corruptions; and against the evil one and all his subtleties and power; and over the principalities and powers of this world, and the temptations arising therefrom; and against spiritual wickedness exalted in the high places of the earth; as our eyes are kept open and watchful towards the Lord, and our confidence remaineth in him, and our faith in his power and love.

“As to that Scripture hinted at, ‘in building tabernacles here in this world,’ I observe, that the transfiguration of Christ was a figure of his glorification, and also a representation of the then present dispensation of God and the condition of his church at that and future times: there was Moses, representing the law by him, then not fully ended; Elias, the dispensation of the doctrine and baptism of John, then likewise, in some degree, remaining; with Christ, the only dispenser of the gospel and eternal substance, and Mediator of the new covenant of light, life, and glory. And after the glorification of Christ, neither Moses remained, nor Elias; the law of ceremonies, nor John’s baptism; but Christ alone upon the mount, with his disciples; representing his church, directed by the voice from the excellent glory, to hear him. And the soul-quickening voice of the Son, which brings forth the good pleasure of the Father therein, is his Holy Spirit; as it is written, ‘He that

hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches.’

“It is this great and powerful voice out of heaven, by which the worlds were made, which saith, ‘Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them; and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God.’ The tabernacle of God is his church and people, as say the apostles Peter and Paul: ‘For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens: for we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life.’

“We have no cause therefore to erect tabernacles here of our own inventing, since a far more glorious degree is to be received hereafter, by all those who hold out to the end of the race; which made not only some then, but others also now, desire to be dissolved, that they might be with Christ alone, in the fulness of that love, light, and glory, which our souls have in measure been made partakers of; to the praise of Him who lives for ever and ever; and because he liveth, we live also in and by him.

“Though the true God and his holy name, and this his tabernacle, and those who dwell in heaven, may be blasphemed for a time by the beast and dragon, and the worshippers of them; and by the synagogue of satan, and of his tabernacle, who live in sin and uncleanness, or rather are dead therein, in the darkness of the earth and spirit and life of this world: yet He who tabernacles in his saints, shall shortly wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death unto them, neither sorrow, nor crying, nor pain.

“13th; I can assure thee, if thou canst believe me, that all true Quakers truly love the Lord Jesus Christ, and rely upon him alone for the completion of that salvation which he hath begun in us, by the working of the Holy Spirit in our hearts; but say also, that we must be co-workers with him in our salvation, with fear and trembling. By reason of that trembling, arising from a true dread of his awful presence whilst not fully reconciled, we have received that name of contempt and scorn by such as have seen the effect sometimes, when the cause has been hid from their eyes. And whatever may befall thee for want of obedience to thy convictions in time to come, I can sincerely wish the increase of that love in thee, and that thou mayst testify it before the world in God’s appointed season; remembering that saying



of our Lord Jesus Christ, 'Whosoever therefore shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven. He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.

"14th; The garb, manners, and conversation of our people thou greatly likest. O my beloved friend, the Lord is come near thee, and hast thou considered it? In the love and fear of the Most High I write unto thee, that thy sincerity shall be tried in this very thing; for the Lord God of Sabaoth shall demand thy garb, thy manners, thy conversation, thy crown and thy glory, that he may give thee a garb, manners, and conversation; and upon thy resignation and obedience shall depend thy peace and thy glory, which the Lord God of never changing love shall crown thee with, or not, according to the integrity or deceit of thy inmost soul.

"The Lord God of life, truth, and peace, be merciful to thee in the midst of judgment, and bear up thy mind in the approaching trial, saith the soul of him who is deeply concerned for thee on that account, in the universal love of the Father of mercies, manifested by our Lord Jesus Christ; through whom, unto the invisible, just, merciful, and all-powerful God and Father, be offered and ascribed eternal honour and immortal praise; for he is worthy of all love, obedience and renown, for ever and ever. Amen.

"The 15th head is answered in the whole, and needs no further. Try all; hold the best. Farewell.

THOMAS STORY."

After this, I had an interview and conference with the same person, who was convinced of the way of Truth; but being engaged in marriage, could not decline that, or embrace the cross of Christ and despise the shame, and so fell back, and never made any profession with us.

One first-day about this time, Thomas Kent, preacher to the separate meeting at Harp Lane, London, and Arthur Ismay, another separate preacher out of the country, came to our meeting in Whitehart Court, in Gracechurch Street, and many of the Separates of Harp Lane meeting came with them, with intent, as appeared by their management, to impose themselves and their preachment upon our meeting, which was very large. Ismay being of a large body, and a bold man, with a loud strong voice, began early, before the meeting was half gathered; and went on with abundance of ranting matter, such as he used to vent, and held it till near the time to

break up the meeting. Then Thomas Kent snatched an opportunity to pray; in which he made many protestations to the Almighty of his innocence in things, of which several persons there present knew him to be guilty. His own disciples, and several other weak and inadvertent persons, together with some strangers not of our communion, moved their hats in posture of prayer at the time; though Friends generally kept their hats on, and some reproved Thomas Kent in the mean time, for his imposition on the meeting. Being under a very great concern by reason of this attempt and usurpation, as soon as the meeting was broken up over his head, I called to the people to stay and hear me a few words; which generally they did: and then I said, "That considering the disturbance and confusion which had then happened, where, when one pretended to pray to the Almighty, as if he were the mouth of the assembly in that exercise, some seemed to join with him, some reproved and forbade him, and the greater part rejected him and his performance, as not having any unity with him therein; which might perplex many, and be offensive to several sober persons present, who could not know the reason of such conduct; I therefore put them in mind of the direction of our Lord Jesus Christ, where he saith, 'If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.'

"By this we may observe, that though the gift may in itself be proper to be offered, yet there is a qualification necessary in him that offereth, before he ought to offer; and that is, reconciliation to a brother justly offended by him. You are therefore to know, that this person and his accomplices have given just cause of offence, not only to one brother, but to the community, by setting up and continuing a separate meeting, in opposition and contempt of his brethren; and have thus imposed themselves, and insulted this meeting, where they ought not to have come in this manner. Since then he that offereth an offering unto God, as he who prayeth doth, or pretendeth to do, is not acceptable until he be reconciled, even to a single brother, if justly offended, such an one must needs also be unacceptable to the Almighty, whilst he standeth in opposition to the whole community and body of his brethren, throughout this nation and elsewhere; contrary to the order of Christ, in whose name alone he ought to pray. And this is the reason of the behaviour of them who have thus publicly denied him, and testified against him and his per-



formance, lest by joining with him, as now stated, they should make themselves parties to his sin before the Most High."

This plunged them into a rage, and they began, many at the same time, to bawl out aloud some pretences to a justification of their conduct herein; but the multitude immediately dispersed, and would not hear them, and they were then like madmen. I said no more to any of them, but went immediately into the passage that leads out of the court, in order to face them as they came out of the meeting-house; where Thomas Kent coming towards me in a great rage, said I had charged him with more than I could prove. I looked upon him, and said, "I both could and would prove all that, and much more to his disadvantage, if, by contending, he would make it needful;" then he shrunk, and went off grumbling.

I went to Theodore Ecclestone's, where I was invited to dine, and in great peace in my mind; but soon after that peace withdrew, and a very great uneasiness appeared. This remained but a very short time till my peace returned, and in that my mind settled with great consolation. I observed that the uneasiness and dissatisfaction was the state of those opposers; and my peace confirmed me that I had done my duty; and that it was my present reward for that work the Lord had required and enabled me to perform, for his glory, and the justification of his people.

This had such effect upon Thomas Kent, that he came the next day to the morning meeting, and seeming in a very low and humble mind, desiring to be reconciled to Friends, offered to bring back most of his said meeting. But one of the Friends of the morning meeting asked him if he expected to return as a preacher among us? And he owning that he did, the same Friend then said, that he could not be received as such, till he had given ample satisfaction for his outgoings and what he had done, in testimony of his sincere repentance: which he did not comply with at that time, but never troubled our meetings any more, as I remember.

Continuing in London, my elder brother, who was dean of Limerick, in Ireland, desired my company in a visit to Robert Constable, a justice of peace in Goodman's-Fields, and our near relation; and when we came to his house we met with his brother George, who was likewise a priest, and with him another priest, a stranger to me, and some other company. This strange priest not knowing the relation among us, and looking upon me as a bird of a different feather, began to peck at me by several sour hints, which showed his dislike of my company; which for conversa-

tion's sake, I passed by. But my forbearance and silence encouraging him to be a little bolder, at length he moved a plain accusation, and said, "You deny the ordinances of Christ, water baptism and the Lord's supper."

I replied, "Thou hast not heard me say any thing on these subjects; how dost thou therefore know what I deny or affirm?" Then said he, "I perceive you are one of a sect that does deny them." "What authority hast thou," said I, "for water baptism?" He was ready with that much mistaken text, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising, &c." "This," said I, "was a commandment given by Christ to his apostles; but dost thou think this is a command to thee, for thou seems to be a teacher of the people; hast thou any authority by this text?" Upon this he hesitated a little, and the justice began to smile: the pause being over, the priest answered yes. Then said I, "How many nations hast thou travelled through in this work? how many taught and baptised?" His countenance began a little to alter, and then he replied, "I have never been out of England." My next question was, "In how many counties of England hast thou travelled in this service?" He answered, he had not travelled in any on that account. Then said I, "Thou wicked and unfaithful servant, out of thy own mouth shalt thou be judged: thou hast here affirmed before these witnesses, that the Lord Jesus Christ hath commanded and sent thee to teach and baptise all nations, and thou art set down in a corner, and hast not baptised any one: for thou must understand, friend, that sprinkling an infant is no baptism, either in mode or subject." Upon this the counsellor laughed outright, for so he was as well as a justice, and the other priests smiled. Then said the justice, "Sir, this gentleman is my near relation, a cousin-german, you will get nothing by meddling with him on these subjects." So the matter dropped.

At this time Peter the Great, Czar of Muscovy, being in London, and Gilbert Molleson, Robert Barclay's wife's brother, having heard that a kinsman of his was in the Czar's service, and being desirous to spread the knowledge of the truth, requested me to go with him to the Czar's residence, a large house at the bottom of York Buildings, in order to present his kinsman with some of Robert Barclay's Apologies in Latin; hoping by that means, they might fall under the Czar's notice, and be subservient to the end proposed. When we came to the place, Gilbert inquired after his cousin; but could not hear any thing of him in the lower apartments, but was desired to stay till further inquiry was made in the house; and a servant went up stairs to that



end, and when returned, invited us up. The head of the stair-case on the first floor brought us to the entrance of a long passage, and there stood a single man at a large window, to whom we were directed for intelligence. As we passed along, we observed two men walking in a room on the right-hand; and supposing one of them to be the Czar, of whom I had heard that he was not willing to be looked upon; we went directly to the person standing at the window, of whom Gilbert Molleson inquired after his kinsman, and he told us, that such a person had been in the Czar's service, but was dead.

In the mean time came the Czar and the other to us; the other I suppose was Prince Menzikoff, his general. Our backs were towards them, and our hats on; and when they approached, the person with whom we had conversed looked down upon the floor with profound respect and silence; but we stood in our first posture, with our faces towards the window, as if we had not taken any notice of them. The person we had conversed with was an Englishman, a Muscovy merchant, known to the Czar in his own country, understood his language, and was his interpreter. Then the Czar spoke something to him, which we did not understand. Upon which he asked us, "Why do you not pay respect to great persons when you are in their presence?" I answered, "We do when we are sensible of it, especially to kings and princes: for though we have laid aside and decline all vain and empty shows of respect and duty, and flattering titles, whereby they are generally deceived by insincere and designing men, who seem to admire them for their own ends; yet we yield all due and sincere respect and duty to such, and all in authority under them, by giving ready obedience to all their lawful commands. But when any of them, either through tyranny or ignorance, or ill counsel, command any thing contrary to our duty to the Almighty, and his Son Christ our Lord, then we offer our prayers and tears to God, and humble addresses to such rulers, that their understandings may be opened, and their minds changed towards us."

The Czar gave no reply to this, but talked with his interpreter again, who then asked, "Of what use can you be in any kingdom or government, seeing you will not bear arms and fight?"

To this I replied, "That many of us had borne arms in times past, and been in many battles, and fought with courage and magnanimity, and thought it lawful, and a duty then, in days of ignorance. I myself have worn a sword and other arms, and knew how to use them. But when it pleased God to reveal

in our hearts the life and power of Jesus Christ, his Son, our Lord, who is the Prince of righteousness and peace, whose commandment is love, we were then reconciled unto God, one unto another, to our enemies, and to all men. He that commandeth that we should love our enemies, hath left us no right to fight and destroy, but to convert them. And yet we are of use and helpful in any kingdom or government. For the principle of our religion prohibits idleness, and excites to industry; as it is written, 'They shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks;' and we being husbandmen, concerned in all manner of husbandry and improvements, as likewise in manufactories and merchandizing, with the blessing of heaven upon our labours, do not want, but rather abound. And though we are prohibited arms and fighting as inconsistent with the gospel of Christ, yet we can and do, by his example, readily and cheerfully pay to every government where we happen to be subjects, such sums and assessments as are required of us by the respective laws under which we live. For when a general tax was laid by the Roman Emperor upon his extensive empire, and the time of payment came, the Lord Jesus Christ, whose kingdom is not of this world, demanded of Peter, 'Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? Of their own children, or of strangers? Peter saith unto him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free. Notwithstanding, lest we should offend them, go thou to the sea and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up. And when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money; that take, and give unto them, (the tribute-gatherers) for me and thee.' Thus working a miracle to pay a tax, where yet it was not strictly due; we, by so great an example, do freely pay our taxes."

Upon this the Czar took several turns in the gallery or passage, and then came and looked stedfastly upon us, though we did not seem to mind him, or know that it was he. Then I said to the interpreter, "That we understood there was a person of great dignity and distinction in that place, a stranger, inspecting into the state of affairs and things in general; and no doubt, he might be also inquisitive into the state of religion; and we being a people differing in some points from all others, and so much misunderstood and misrepresented in our own country, that even our neighbours themselves did not know us; lest that great prince should be misinformed and imposed upon concerning us and our religion, we had brought him some books dedicated to the sovereign of our native country, by which he might please



to see a full account of our principles."—We then produced two of the Apologies in Latin.

Then the Czar talked again with the interpreter, who asked us, "Were not these books written by a Jesuit? It is said there are Jesuits among you." To which Gilbert Molleson replied, "That is a calumny, and proves the necessity of our endeavours in that respect, at this time. We have no Jesuits among us. Our religion and theirs differ very widely. This book was written by a near relation of mine, who was not a Jesuit, but sincerely of those principles asserted and maintained in the book, as our whole community is."

The Czar and interpreter talked together again; after which the latter took some gold out of his pocket and offered us for the books. But I told them, "We did not want any thing for the books. They were a present to that great prince and given freely; and all that we desired was, that they might be acceptable, and that in case any of our friends should come into his country, and preach those principles contained in the books, if they should meet with opposition, and be persecuted by any officers or persons in power under him, for the same, he would please to afford them protection and relief." Then they talked together again, and the interpreter kept the books; and the Czar and Prince Menzikoff retired into the room from whence they came.

They being gone, we asked the interpreter if that was the Czar? He said he was. Then we asked him if he had told the Czar the substance of what we had said? And he said he had. We desired that if he asked him any more questions about us and our religion, not to mention to him any of those rude calumnies thrown upon us by ignorant and malicious persons, but the truth, to the best of his observation and information; and he promised he would. He told us, that the Czar did not understand the Latin tongue; but only his own language and High Dutch. Gilbert Molleson gave one of the Apologies to the interpreter, and so we departed in peace and satisfaction.

This was about the beginning of the week, and the next first-day the Czar, the prince, and a great company of his attendants, came in the morning to our meeting in Gracechurch street, and the same interpreter with him. I happened to be there, and the first I knew was Menzikoff. Robert Haddock had begun to preach a little before they came in, upon the subject of Naaman, the captain general of the host of the Assyrians, going to the prophet for cure of his leprosy; who, directing him to dip himself seven times in the river Jordan, the general, despising the

means, as too low a thing, expecting some ceremony or action from the prophet, was about to return without a cure, till, being persuaded by his own servant to make a trial of the means prescribed, he found the end accomplished by happy experience.

From which Robert drew this observation, as from a type of a more excellent and general nature and consequence, saying, "The nations of this world being defiled and distempered, as with a leprosy of sin and uncleanness, no cure or help could be found, until the Almighty, in his infinite goodness, sent his Son Jesus Christ into the world, to die for man, as a propitiation for sin; through whom also he hath sent forth his divine light, spirit, and grace upon all mankind, in order for the completing of that cure; which nothing less can do, and to which all mankind are directed by the servants of Christ; and as many as have believed and made trial of this excellent means, have found the blessed effects thereof; they have been cured and cleansed."

"Now," said he, "if thou wert the greatest king, emperor, or potentate upon earth, thou art not too great to make use of the means offered by the Almighty for thy healing and restoration, if ever thou expect to enter his kingdom, into which no unclean thing can come."

The Czar and his interpreter were often whispering together in the time, though Robert Haddock knew nothing of his being in the meeting; and thus he staid till observing the people crowd up before him to gaze, which he could not endure, he retired on a sudden, with his company, before the meeting was quite over: for some people in the streets had seen him as he came, and had discovered who he was, and crowded after him to see him more perfectly.

After this he went to Deptford, to improve himself in the art of ship-building, and there wrought at it with his own hands. And Gilbert Molleson and I acquainting some Friends how we happened to see him, and had given him some books, and that he understood the High Dutch, William Penn, George Whitehead, and some other Friends went to Deptford and waited on him privately, and presented him with more of the same books in that language; which he accepted, and afterwards was sometimes at our meeting there, behaving as a private person, and very social; changing seats, standing or sitting as occasion might be, to accommodate others as well as himself.

When this great prince had in a good degree furnished himself with the useful knowledge in things necessary for civilizing and improving the barbarous people of his kingdom, he re-



turned thither, accomplished with experience in many particulars, to the great advancement thereof in general.

During my continuance in London, I employed myself in conveyancing, and having more business than I could manage alone, I had several clerks or apprentices offered, both in London and from the north, and considerable sums of money with them; but could not accept of any, lest it should prove too great a confinement from my calling in the Truth. For though I was willing to take pains for my necessary support, and the charges of my travels, yet I suffered much in my mind, by reason of confinement, since the calling of God cannot be rightly and fully answered by any one much entangled in other concerns, though lawful and gainful, and to the view of reason, needful. I staid, attending the city meetings, and sometimes visiting those of the neighbourhood in the country, until the year 1698; when, having a letter from William Penn, then at Bristol, desiring me to meet him and John Everot at Holy Head, in Wales, at a day certain, in order to go for Ireland, I set forward from London on the 28th of the second month, and reaching Conway, I there met with my friends aforesaid, to our mutual satisfaction. From thence we went to Holy Head, in the Isle of Anglesea; and next day, about two in the afternoon, we set sail and arrived in Dublin Bay in about twenty-four hours, for which we were thankful.

At the time of our landing there was a ship in the bay, with a great many friars going for France, being sent out of Ireland by virtue of a law lately made there. John Everot having something to say in some meetings after we landed, against several tenets and practices of the Papists, a report was raised, that William Penn had preached among those monks and friars at our landing, and had converted some of them; one of whom, being more zealous than the rest, was now with William Penn, preaching mightily against the Papists, meaning John Everot.

On the 6th of the third month we went to Dublin, and on the 8th, being the first of the week, was the half-year's meeting there; where we were greatly comforted, not only in the enjoyment of the blessed presence of the Lord, but also in observing the unity, mildness, and order which appeared among Friends in the management of the affairs of the church.

Great was the resort of people of all ranks, qualities, and professions, to our meetings, chiefly on account of our friend William Penn; who was ever furnished by the Truth with matter fully to answer their expectations.

Many of the clergy were there, and the people with one voice, spake well of what they heard. Of the clergy, the dean of Derry was one; who, being there several times, was asked by his bishop, whether he had heard any thing but blasphemy and nonsense; and whether he took off his hat in time of prayer, to join with us? He answered, that he heard no blasphemy or nonsense, but the everlasting truth; and did not only take off his hat at prayer, but his heart said amen to what he heard. Yet he proved like the stony ground, and brought forth no fruit. He said, though he could die for the principles of religion the Quakers professed; yet to lose his living and character for some incidents they are tenacious of, as plain language, plain habits, and other distinguishing particularities, he did not think these of sufficient weight, or reasonable. And so came no further in the way of truth, put proved unfaithful in the day of small things.

In the intervals of meetings William Penn visited the lords justices of Ireland, and chief ministers of government there; in which he was very serviceable to truth and Friends.

But the envy of satan soon began to work against the truth and us, in such tools as he then had; for one John Plympton, a journeyman woolcomber, and teacher among a few General Baptists, soon after we came there, published an abusive paper against Friends in general, and William Penn in particular; wherein he treated him with language much below common civility, calling him a wilful and desperate liar, &c.

Upon this several of us went to the chief elders of that people, and afterwards to their meeting, and inquired whether this work was by their consent; and they, in a very modest manner, and with concern, answered, that it was altogether his own work, in which they had no hand, but disowned him therein. Finding him an impertinent wrangler, of little consequence, we took no further notice of him at that time, but afterwards published a sheet called Gospel Truths; drawn up chiefly by William Penn, and signed by himself and several others, of whom I was one. Plympton also published a paper, which he called, A Quaker no Christian; which William Penn answered by another, entitled, The Quaker a Christian. He also reprinted the 8th and 9th chapters of his Primitive Christianity Revived; which gave the people general satisfaction that Plympton's charges were groundless. As William Penn's travels through the nation at that time, made the envy of the priests to boil against the truth and us, the bishop of Cork wrote a book against the above sheet entitled Gospel Truths; which gave oc-



casion for much controversy, and many other books to be written.

We had several very crowded meetings at Dublin, and the Lord was with us; and many, I believe, were touched by the virtue of truth; especially through the ministry of William Penn, upon whom were the eyes of the people in a more particular manner; and John Everot had also good service: but justly preferring them before myself, my spirit was weakened by bearing too much, and I became very uneasy; but they taking a turn into the country about Wicklow for some days, I had opportunity at Dublin to clear my mind to Friends and others in several meetings.

William Penn returning to Dublin, we went thence on the 27th of the third month towards the county of Wexford, and next day got to our friend John Watson's, where we staid some hours; and from thence to Lambstown, to our friend Thomas Cubage's; and in the mean time John Everot visited some meetings alone in those parts. William Penn and I had a large and good meeting at Lambstown on the 29th, the divine presence being with us, to the praise of His holy name.

On the 1st of the fourth month, [1698] we had a meeting at Wexford, which was very large and open; after which a justice of peace for the county and his wife dined with us, being very near the truth, and loving; and that evening we returned to Lambstown. Next day we wrote the following epistle to the yearly meeting at London, viz:

"Dear friends and brethren,

"It is not the least of our exercises that we are thus far outwardly separated from you at this time of your holy and blessed solemnity; but because we have great reason to believe it is the will of God, we humbly submit to his ordering hand; and with open arms of deep and tender love embrace you, our living and loving brethren; who are given up to serve the Lord in your generation, and that have long preferred Jerusalem and the peace and prosperity of her borders above your chiefest joy. The salutation of our endeared brotherly love in Christ Jesus is unto you, desiring that he may richly appear among you in power, wisdom, and love, to guide your judgments and influence your spirits in this weighty anniversary assembly; that so nothing may appear or have place among you, but what singly seeks the honour of the Lord, the exaltation of his truth, and the peace and edification of his heritage. This, brethren, you and we know has been the aim, end, and practice of those whom the Lord hath made willing to forsake and give up all for his name's sake; and through various ex-

ercises and tribulations, yea, in the way of the daily cross, and through the fight and baptism of manifold afflictions, to have their conversation and sojourning here below in fear and love; looking for their reward in the heavens, that shall never pass away. These have not been lifted up by good report, or cast down by evil report, from their love to the Lord and his precious truth; but held on their way; whose hands being clean of evil things towards all men, have waxed stronger and stronger in the Lord. Wherefore, dear brethren, let us also be found in the same steps and walking the same way; not being high minded, but fearing the Lord, that we may serve him through our generation, in diligence and faithfulness, and so enter into the rest that God hath reserved for his true travellers and labourers in his vineyard.

"And now, dear brethren, know that the Lord hath brought us well into this kingdom of Ireland, and given us many large and blessed opportunities in several parts; meetings being crowded by people of all ranks and persuasions, especially at Dublin; who, for anything we have heard, have given the truth a good report. Indeed the Lord hath mightily appeared for his own name, and owned us with a more than ordinary presence, suitable to the occasions, and made very heavy and hard things easy to us, because of the glory of his power, with which he assisted us in our needful times; for which our souls bow before him, and bless, reverence, and praise his holy and worthy name. So that, dear brethren, we have good tidings to give you of truth's prosperity at large; and more especially in the church, having had the comfort of the general meeting of this nation, consisting of many weighty brethren and sisters from all parts thereof, which was held in the city of Dublin, in much love, peace, and unity, for several days; wherein we had occasion to observe their commendable care for the prosperity of the blessed truth in all the branches of its holy testimony, both in the general and in the particular; improving the good order that is practiced among the churches of Christ in our nation.

"Their simplicity, gravity and coolness, in managing their church affairs; their diligence in meetings, both for worship and business; their despatch in ending differences, and expedients to prevent them; but especially their zeal against covetousness and indifference in truth's service, and an exemplary care to discourage an immoderate concern in the pursuit of the things of this life, and to excite Friends to do good with what they are possessed of, while they have it, and time to do good withal; have



very greatly comforted us. In the sweet and blessed power of Christ Jesus, the meetings ended and Friends departed. The Lord grant that you may also make the same purpose the travail of your souls, and end of your labour and service of love, as not seeking your own things, but the things of Jesus Christ, in this your solemn general meeting. And, dear brethren, we must tell you, here is room enough for true labourers in God's vineyard; and cannot well forbear to recommend the service of truth in this nation to your serious consideration, if haply the Lord may put it into the hearts of any faithful and weighty brethren to visit it in the word of eternal life; for we cannot but say, the harvest appears to us to be great, and the labourers, in comparison, but few.

"So, in that love which many waters cannot quench, nor distance wear out of our remembrance, and in which we desire to be remembered of you to the Lord of our household, we dearly and tenderly salute and embrace you, and remain

"Your loving and faithful brethren,

"WILLIAM PENN,

"JOHN EVEROT,

"THOMAS STORY.

"P. S. Friends here have been very zealous and liberal in printing and re-printing, and freely distributing to very good purpose, great quantities of several books and papers, written in defence of the Truth, and for information of the simple and misinformed; which, we hope, will also fall under your consideration."

Before we departed from Lambstown, I found my mind deeply engaged in some heavy work, and much laden; but as I did not know the cause, I concealed my concern from every one. On the 3rd of the fourth month, being the sixth of the week, we set out for Waterford, where was a meeting appointed to begin at the fifth hour in the afternoon of that day, and my concern continued till we came to Ross, where we dined. After dinner we took a boat to cross the river, in order for Waterford; but as we were about to enter the boat, about half a dozen dragoons stepped in before us and forced off the boat from the shore; which William Penn observing, went to some of their officers and gentlemen standing on the key, reasonably expecting they should so resent the abuse, as at least to reprove the soldiers; which, when they neglected, we perceived it was done by their direction, to prevent our passage. William Penn said to them, with a suitable freedom and resentment, What! are you gentlemen and officers,

and will stand here and suffer such insolence in your open view? Then the load went off my mind, and my spirit was at liberty and over them.

The case was thus: in order to discourage the evil purposes of Papists, the Parliament of Ireland had made a law, that no Papist should be allowed to keep a horse of the value of five pounds five shillings, or upwards; and to make the same take effect, the horse of any Papist being deemed worth so much, any person being a Protestant, might discover, or make information of it upon oath, before two justices of the peace, the mayor, or chief magistrate of any city, or town corporate. The horse was to be brought before such magistrate, and the informer to pay, or tender to the owner or possessor, the sum of five pounds five shillings, and the property of the horse after such tender of the money, was to be vested in the informer, &c. All were to be deemed Papists who refused to take the oaths and subscribe the declarations upon tender thereof, &c. Though this law was not intended against Friends, yet it was put in practice against us.

The chief informers, we then perceived, had seized several of our horses in town by this law, whilst we were at dinner; and these dragoons seized our boat, to detain us there till they could have opportunity to tender the money.

As some of our friends returned from the Key into town, they met the informers in possession of four of our horses, viz: William Penn's, and his son's, and two more. The two last they returned by entreaty, being worth little more than five pounds five shillings each; but the two first they detained, being of much greater value.

William Penn and John Everot in the mean time had got over the river, and several other Friends with them, and took the horses that had been got over before the seizure, and went on to Waterford to answer the meeting; and our friends Joseph Pike, of Cork, and Thomas Cubage, of Lambstown, and some other Friends, staid to settle the matter about the horses which were in custody. They going to the sufferan of the town, who granted the warrant, took out a replevin, whereby they gained possession of the horses; which so disappointed and enraged these covetous and unreasonable officers, that they were upon the point of forcing them again from the Friends by their soldiers; but not adventuring on that method, they stormed, and boasted what they would expend in law to regain them. They were so precipitate and inconsiderate in their seizure, that they had omitted several material points directed by the statute,



which gave us great advantage against them. The replevin being taken out and bond given by Thomas Cubage to proceed therein, we left them and went to Waterford that afternoon to the rest of our friends; but the meeting was over before we arrived, which was all the further hurt they could do us.

These rude disingenuous persons had not their ends of us; for William Penn wrote to the lords justices of Ireland, complaining of the abuse; and they issued an order, whereby they confined these officers to their chambers, and commanded them to decline the suit. They were detained several weeks, till they made application to the governor of Waterford to make way for them by some of our friends at Cork to William Penn, and to entreat him to write again to the lords justices for their release, and that they might not be broken. The first they did not expect, until it should be effected by his means, and the latter they much feared would happen, unless he signified his satisfaction; which they had endeavoured to obtain by paying all charges and discharging the suit at Ross. William Penn, who was not a man of revenge, but of justice and mercy, so soon as he found their request was made in a due sense of their error, delayed not to solicit for them accordingly; upon which they were released and forgiven, for which they appeared very thankful and much humbled.

The meeting at Waterford was very large and well; and it was said the bishop of the place and several of his clergy were in his garden, where they might hear; but we heard of no objection, William Penn having had the whole service of the meeting upon him.

On the 4th of the fourth month we went from Waterford to Clonmell, and the next day being the first of the week, were at the province meeting there, which was very large; and had another next day, on the afternoon of which, the men's and women's meetings were held.

On the 7th we went for Youghall, though not without some danger, of which we were not then aware. For we were told afterwards that the Rapparees usually haunted some waste places we had passed over; and that there had been about fourteen of them in ambush under a hedge, on the side of a mountain in our way, to have set upon us: for they said if they could seize Mr. Penn, they should have a hatful of guineas. But it being a heavy rain, and some of us staying behind, our company was divided into several parties; and several of the Rapparees knowing some of our company belonging to Youghall, they did not attack us, or appear. But whether for fear that some who knew them might es-

cape and make discovery who they were, or that our number, though unarmed, over-awed them, or, which is most likely, the Lord by his power restrained them, I shall not determine; but through his good providence we went all safe to Youghall in the evening. The Lord is good to them that love him, and near to preserve those that trust in him and mean no hurt; and all these can praise his never-failing power.

At Youghall we staid one night, and had a small meeting with Friends there: on the 7th we went into the barony of Imokilly, where lies great part of William Penn's estate in that kingdom, some of which he viewed, and we staid thereabout till the 10th; and being at the castle of Shannigary, belonging to him, a gentlewoman of good sense and character, related to me the following passage, viz:

"That she being in the city of Cork when it was invested by King William's army, and having a little daughter of hers with her, they were sitting together on a squab; and being much concerned in mind about the danger and circumstances they were under, she was seized with a sudden fear and strong impulse to arise from that seat, which she did in a precipitant manner, and hastened to another part of the room; and then was in the like concern for her child, to whom she called with uncommon earnestness to come to her, which she did; immediately after which came a cannon-ball and struck the seat all in pieces, and drove the parts of it about the room, without any hurt to either of them."

From this relation I took occasion to reason with her thus: "That Intelligencer which gave her notice of the danger they were in, must be a spiritual being, having access to her mind—which is likewise of a spiritual nature—when in that state of humiliation; and must also be a good and beneficent Intelligencer, willing to preserve them, and furnished also with knowledge and foresight more than human. He must have known that such a piece would be fired at that time, and that the ball would hit that seat and infallibly destroy you both, if not prevented in due time by a suitable admonition; which he suggested by the passion of fear, the passions being useful when duly subjected, and by that means saved your lives. And seeing that the passions of the mind can be wrought upon for our good, by an invisible, beneficent Intelligencer, in a state of humiliation and stillness, without any exterior medium, is it not reasonable to conclude that an evil intelligencer may have access likewise to the mind, in a state of unwatchfulness, when the passions are moving and the imagination at liberty to form ideas destructive to the mind,



being thereby depraved and wounded? And when so, is it not likewise reasonable to think that the Almighty himself, who is the most pure, merciful, and beneficent Spirit, knowing all events and things, doth sometimes, at his pleasure, visit the minds of mankind through Christ, so as to communicate of his goodness and virtue to a humble and silent mind, to heal and instruct him in things pleasing to himself, and proper for the conduct of man in his pilgrimage through this present world, and lead him to the next in safety?"

This coming immediately upon the instance she had given, took with her and the company; who readily granted it might be so, and some of them knew it; and this conversation seemed agreeable to us all.

On the 10th, in the evening, we went to Cork; and on the 12th, being the first of the week, we had a large meeting there, both of Friends from several parts, and others in great numbers; and the divine truth was over all.

On the 16th, leaving John Everot at Cork, we went to Bandon; and from thence next morning, accompanied by several Friends, into the barony of Ibaune and Barryroe, to view the rest of William Penn's estate in those parts, and spent two days there; and on the 18th came back to Bandon, where next day John Everot came to us with many Friends from Cork, and being the first of the week, we were favoured with a large good meeting, which was much crowded with persons of all ranks, religions, and qualities.

Here we staid that night, and the next day John Everot went west to Skibbereen, and William Penn and I, with several Friends, returned towards Cork, though William Penn turned off to Shannon Park, to visit the lord Shannon.

But whilst we were thus in the service of Truth, according to the several degrees of the dispensation thereof unto every one of us, satan was busy in his evil work at London: for we had letters about this time from thence, importing that some persons professing truth, and setting themselves up in the Society as no small dictators, and some of them in the ministry, being filled with envy, and unwisely emulating that glory and dignity the Lord was pleased to put upon William Penn for the exaltation of his own holy name, had made very unworthy and unchristian attempts against his character in his absence, and even in the yearly meeting, to the great grief of all the right-minded among them: but this was done by a shameless and implacable party. The same week, on the third and sixth days, we had full and edifying meetings at Cork, John Everot being also returned.

On the first-day following we had another very large and much crowded meeting there; and the Lord was mightily with William Penn that day, clothing him with majesty, holy zeal, and divine wisdom, to the great satisfaction of Friends there, and admiration and applause of the people; even increasing that unsought praise which some did much grudge him, whose years and pretences to truth might have shown forth a better state of Christianity and wisdom; and who, by attempting his character unjustly, greatly lost their own.

On the 28th I was at a meeting at Skibbereen, accompanied by our friend George Rooke from Dublin, he having come to us at Cork. The meeting was small, by reason of a fair that happened the same day at that village; yet the promise of the Lord was made good unto us, being met in the virtue of his holy name and presence, which he was pleased to afford us together.

Next day were at Bandon, and were favoured with a good meeting; that evening we returned to Cork, where we had another meeting.

On the 3rd of the fifth month William Penn and John Everot had a large and good meeting at Charleville, which might have been much larger, but the priest there began his sermon sooner than usual, and our meetings there commonly not beginning till others have done, he continued his discourse till our meeting was nearly over; in which he used, as we heard, many invectives against Friends and our principles in general, and against William Penn in particular. Though such was the report which they that heard carried of the meeting, that it soon wiped off all the priest's lies and reproaches; and those of his hearers who had been so imposed upon by his long preaching, when they heard of our good meeting, spoke contemptibly of him; and one who had been at the meeting went to the priest and told him, to his mortification, that Mr. Penn preached much better than he. That evening they had another meeting near that place, where came several persons who had been tendered in the other meeting, and were again well satisfied.

The same day George Rooke and I staid at Cork, where the Lord likewise favoured us with his good presence in a large meeting of Friends and others; and the next day, accompanied by several Friends, we went to Limerick, where we were glad to see William Penn, John Everot, and many other Friends, some of whom had accompanied them from Cork.

On the 5th, being the third-day of the week, we had a great meeting at Limerick of a mixed multitude, over whom was thick darkness that



might be felt. It was a hard meeting; and I came away with a heavy load, not having had any time therein; yet it cleared up towards the end, and some service was done as I believe.

That afternoon we viewed some of the effects of the late siege there, and observed the walls of some houses, as well as of the city, had been much shattered with many large cannon shot, and that great breaches had been made at the late siege by King William's army. We viewed also the ruins of the besieged's out-works and bastions, and many unrepaired desolations and ruins, as so many characters of the indignation of Him who justly gives men up to the destruction one of another in furious wars, when they like not to retain God in their thoughts, nor really to embrace his Son, the Prince of love, peace, and concord; though in words they confess him. Yet we had occasion here to observe the kind and protecting hand of divine Providence over those who love and fear the Lord: for we had a certain account from our friend Thomas Pearce, an apothecary in that city, that in the time of the siege a bomb fell into his yard close by the window, when divers Friends were with him in the house; which, if it had broken, might have destroyed them: but falling into a cistern full of water, the fuse was quenched, and it did not break at all.

The next day we went to Birr, where we staid that night, and next day had a good meeting in the town-hall, which the chief magistrate, at the instance of William Penn, let us have for that purpose. To this meeting came the priest of the parish and several persons of quality thereabout, and were all civil. In the evening came the priest to see William Penn, with whom he had some conversation, praising his good sermon and soundness of doctrine; to whom William Penn gave a little book concerning our principles, which he thankfully received and took a very respectful leave.

Next morning we set forward for Roseanallis, to see our ancient and honourable friend William Edmundson, where we arrived about the second hour in the afternoon, and William Penn and John Everot staid there; and some Friends went on with me to Mount-mellick, and that evening we visited some Friends in town and near it.

On the 10th, being the first of the week, William Penn and his company came to us, and we had a very large meeting at Mount-mellick, and the Lord was with us in general. But as I had greater regard to the services of William Penn and John Everot than my own, and at Limerick, under that consideration

had neglected my own gift till the proper time for the exercise thereof was over, and so had come from thence greatly laden in my mind; fearing to do the like here, and add to my burthen,—too heavy already to bear—I stood up to speak too soon; and that I might not be in the way of those I preferred, I spoke too fast, and thereby went before my right guide; so that my burden remained on that account, though not so heavy as before: for the Lord, who is merciful, knew it was not wilful, but out of weakness.

By this conduct I obtained further, though expensive, experience; that there ought to be neither too much regard nor disregard to any person, neither short nor over, staying behind our true guide nor going before; but in and with the divine and living truth, and the motion and operation of it, in God's time; and then only can men preach the gospel. When he moves his time is to be observed; and that and no other should be our time; though some disappointments there are, not properly our own fault, but occasioned by the unskilfulness and haste of others, taking a wrong time, and intruding where they ought not; in which there is evil, and the gospel of Christ thereby greatly hindered, often out of the view of the unskilful instruments acting or omitting to act therein.

The same afternoon was their meeting for business, where things were managed with a just severity against every appearance of evil, to the great comfort of the upright and discouragement of evil doers. A great instrument of exact discipline was that ancient and worthy friend of truth William Edmundson, who lived within the precincts of that meeting; for whom not they only, but also all Ireland, may give thanks to the Lord, for the due observation of order in the churches of Christ in that kingdom.

Next day we went to Edenderry, where we met our friends Samuel Waldenfield and John Vaughton from London, of whom we had an ample account of the concern moved against William Penn in the yearly meeting at London, in his absence; and by whom, and to what purposes, and on what foundation it was chiefly begun and prosecuted; being only the fruits of emulation and envy in some who wanted that honour the Lord was pleased to put upon him, and could not have it.

Here also we were favoured with a large and full meeting of Friends and others, divers persons of quality being there, and two Episcopal priests; one of whom, an ancient man, was tendered in the meeting by the testimony of truth, to which he confessed. The Lord was good to us that day; and when the meeting was ended we had comfortable society



together in his love, who never fails to be with all those, from age to age, and will be to the end of the world with them, that love one another in him, according to his new and blessed commandment.

In the evening we went along with the London Friends and some others, to John Barcroft's, where we staid that night; and next morning the London Friends went towards Carlow, and we, about thirty-one in company, set forward towards Lurgan in the north; but the greatest part being Dublin Friends, went thither, and William Penn, John Everot, Samuel Randal, Thomas Pearce, Thomas Winsloe, myself, and some young men from about Edenderry, went that night to Ardee, and lodged at an inn.

Our way to Lurgan was through a very wild, mountainous country; but being met by several Friends about eight miles from thence, and well received while there, we were fresh and easy next morning, when we had a very large meeting, about two parts Friends, and of others some were persons of quality. The Lord glorified his own arm that day, to the lasting honour of his name. I had a short concern in the beginning of the meeting, then John Everot much larger; and though slow a considerable time, and of no great appearance, for he made no flourish, yet in the end of his labour truth was over all, in the virtue and power of it, and so remained. By the time he had done William Penn was full, as a new bottle with new wine; and He who filled him therewith, by him dispensed the same liberally to all that were athirst.

Many professors among the sectaries were there, who now understood Friends had been much wronged by false reports concerning our principles, doctrines, and manners. The Lord was good to us, and the meeting ended under a solid sense of his holy presence; and that afternoon we rested, and had the society of Friends. The next morning, about seven, had a select meeting, in great sweetness, among Friends, and then departed towards Dublin.

We lodged that night at Dundalk, where we had opportunity to see the place of the late miserable camps, where such numbers died in great distress. Here we saw many proofs of the misery many souls had endured in time of sickness, in a cold and wet winter season; but that which most of all gave occasion for reflection on the miseries and calamities of war, by men professing, on all hands, the peaceable Saviour, was the skulls and other bones of human bodies, of the same flesh and blood with us, for God made of one blood all nations, who never had received burial; but their flesh had been, no

doubt, rent from their bones by the wild beasts and dogs, and fowls of the air.

In the evening of seventh-day we arrived at Dublin; next day had two large and living meetings, many strangers being there. We rested as privately as could be till the 20th, and then had another meeting there; and that afternoon we went to Kilcock, about twelve miles from Dublin, and next day to Carlow, where, on the 22nd, we had a large meeting.

Thus we travelled through the country, visiting Friends and meetings as we went, till we came towards the south parts, where I left the company and went to Clonmell, in order to see my brother George, then dean of Lime-rick, and met with him at Thomas Osborn's, who had been sent into France for education, and there had embraced the Romish religion.

I found him of a frank and familiar temper, and he desired me to take a turn with him in the garden. Walking there together, he asked me some questions concerning our principles, and more particularly of our silent meetings, and of what advantage they were to us; for he did suppose they were of some use, else we would not continue in the practice of them.

I answered, that we had been as other men, subject to common infirmities and ignorant of God, as to any experience of his presence and divine working in us, till it pleased him, in his own goodness and mercy, to visit us by the Spirit of his Son Christ; through which we had known a time of condemnation and humiliation for sins past, and true repentance and forgiveness; and believing in him, through the work of his Spirit and power in our minds, he, with the light and life of his Son, became the object of our faith; by which also he sanctified our hearts, and reconciled us unto himself. Thus the enmity being slain, and we made temples of the Holy Ghost, we now worshipped the Father through the Spirit of his Son, in a state of faith and obedience; whereby we draw near unto him, even through that blessed Mediator whom he hath appointed, partaking of the nature of man; not of flesh and blood only as the Son of man, but also being clothed with a holy human mind. By him we are made partakers of the divine nature as the sons of God; as it is written, "He shall take of mine, and show it unto you." And the Father being made manifest in him, we have instructions in wisdom, and enjoyments in the divine and blessed presence, of which the world, in a state of nature, is not aware, and never more so than in a state of true silence; where all the passions, affections, and natural desires of the heart are



silenced, by the all-commanding voice and power of the divine Word; who said, "Let the worlds be, and it was so."

He heard me with attention, and replied, that he firmly believed what I had said; that we were such a people, and consequently the happiest in the world; over whom the Almighty hath a particular care. Then he told me a passage concerning himself, saying, that he and some other gentlemen being at Clonmell some time ago, they heard that one of our meetings was appointed there that day, by one of our preachers from the west of England, and they agreed to go to it. After they had been there about half an hour, the rest all tired, and would have had him away with them; but he was so much satisfied with what he felt there, that he could not go with them, but staid the meeting to the end; having never met with the like satisfaction any where else.

By the time this relation was finished, he began to be apprehensive that his priest might miss us out of the company, and be in quest of him, for he kept a Popish priest in his house, under the appearance of a gentleman, and so it proved, for we were but got back into the garden till he came to us. The priest beginning to ask me some questions about religion, he withdrew; for the priests will seldom permit, if they can avoid it, that their people shall hear any debates between them and Protestants, lest they should be infected with what they call heresy; unless where they think they shall have manifestly the advantage in the argument upon the subject.

The first question he asked me was, whether we believed predestination? I answered "No, but that the grace of God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, is universal, and free to all mankind." He said, they were of different opinions on that subject; some one way, and some another: and then asked me what we thought of excommunication, and its effect in the church?

I answered, that it ought to be applied to such as deny the faith in express words; or if not in words, yet by actions, by committing and persisting in any immoral or sinful acts, or declining the common and stated rules of the community, or terms of Christian communion among them: but that excommunication ought not to affect life, liberty, property, or the person of any one, but only to deny him Christian communion till reformed.

This, he said, was not of sufficient force to awe offenders, or to induce their return, where the motives to their offences were strong and cogent.

I replied, that to be denied communion by any real Christian congregation, of which one is a member, is a matter of great weight and

consequence. For certainly God is with and in his own appointments; and whosoever is denied by the church of Christ, is denied by himself. For as she acts in and by his Spirit, which is ever in her, and present with her, it is his act by her; and in that respect, she is called the ground and pillar of truth. Offenders so denied, undergo, even in this life, a burden more sinking than the loss of all they have in the world; whereby life itself becomes a load and tedious. But where any form of excommunication is invented only by the wisdom or policy of men, from secular views, with punishments of their own contriving annexed, the Lord doth not co-operate there, nor own that ordinance; so that the punishments awarded, which are often inadequate, cruel, and unjust, are all that the excommunicated sustain; not for the salvation of the soul, but satisfying the ends of power, pride, covetousness, and envy, to the destruction of the character, estate, body, and family, if not ruin of the soul, by complying, under such grievous temptations, with heterodox errors in opinion, and practices immoral, idolatrous, and antichristian; fruits of the inventions of apostate and fallen spirits, by whom the children of men are deceived.

Being then near the house, we were called to supper; and that being over, he began to introduce other matter of controversy.

He saluted me with some encomiums, that he might cast his net with greater certainty and success. "Sir," said he, "I have heard a very good character of you, both as to your understanding and other qualifications and accomplishments; from which I conclude, it must have been something extraordinary, or very particular, which induced you to embrace a religion and opinions so generally exploded by men of sense and penetration; and as sufficient reasons, to yourself at least, for what you have done on that account, cannot be wanting to a man of your repute, I beg leave to ask you some questions, that I may be better informed than yet I have been concerning the religion you now profess.

"Do you believe there ever was such a man in the world as Jesus Christ?" This question looked scurrilous and smiting; yet, perceiving he meant to lay a foundation for some further superstructure, I answered, "Yes, we believe all that is written in the holy Scriptures concerning our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and upon as good a foundation and evidence, if not better, than any who have pretended to suspect us on that account." Then he went on; "Do you believe that Jesus Christ made choice of twelve persons, called his apostles?" I answered yes. Again said he, "Do you believe that Christ commanded his



apostles to go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?" I answered, "Yes, with some restrictions and observations now to be noted, we do." He continued to interrogate; "Do you believe that the apostles of Christ did go and preach and baptize, according to this command?" I answered, as before, yes. "Then," said he, "how can you be Christians, or disciples of Christ, who deny this baptism, and do not at all practise it?"

Then I asked him if he did believe, and those of his communion, that the Lord Jesus, at that time, thereby instituted water baptism? He answered, they did believe that Christ by these words, at that time, instituted water baptism.

Then I answered, "That if those were not Christians who declined the use of water baptism, I would prove that neither himself, nor the pope, nor any of his communion, are Christians, not being baptized at all in the practice of what Christ commanded or instituted at that time, as followeth:

"John the Baptist being commanded by the Word of God to baptize the Jews in water, foretold them of another Baptizer much preferable to himself, and of a baptism excelling his, being of another nature, and more powerful and efficacious, even with the Holy Ghost and fire. This baptizer is Christ; who, having been circumcised, in obedience to the ordinance of the law of Moses, under which, as man, he was born into this world, and fulfilled, in his own person, all the righteousness thereof, according to the prophets, he was also baptized of John with water; thereby not only submitting to that dispensation, as an ordinance of God for the time being, but also fulfilling all righteousness in his own person; that being declared from heaven to be the Son of God, he might, from thenceforth, through the divine anointing poured upon him above all his brethren, and without measure, be the Dispenser of all righteousness and truth unto all generations. From thenceforth he preached repentance to the Jews, as John did, and by his disciples, but not in his own person, baptized likewise with water, as an intermediate dispensation between the law and the gospel. But with this difference, John baptized for a time without directing the subjects of his baptism to any certain object of faith, saying they must believe in one that was to come after him, for he did not then know that Jesus was the Christ. But the disciples of Christ, as also John, from the time of the baptism of Jesus, having believed in him as he is the Messiah, preached not only repentance, but also that Jesus is the Christ and Saviour promised of God unto Israel; and

consequently directed them unto him as the true object of their faith, and baptised in his name, and by his authority whilst yet present with them. Yet water baptism is but water baptism, whether administered by Christ himself, or by any other he may command; nor did John, or the disciples of Christ, administer water baptism in that day to any but the Jews, or the proselytes among them.

"But after Christ had been crucified and arisen from the dead, a little before he ascended into heaven, he said unto the eleven, 'All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, &c. Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned. And being assembled together with them, he commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem; but wait for the promise of the Father, which ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence. But ye shall receive power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and to the uttermost parts of the earth. And teaching them all things whatsoever I have commanded you. And lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.'

"1st; The Lord Jesus declares his own power, and sufficient authority to institute this baptism; 'All power in heaven and in earth.' 2ndly; The extent of it, 'To all nations; to preach the gospel to all the world, thereby discipling or initiating all that believe and obey, into the divine nature of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The act of baptizing is chiefly by preaching in the power and wisdom of the Spirit of Christ, and sometimes by laying on of the hands of his ministers, as moved thereunto by the same Spirit. 3rdly; The advantage to be reaped by believing their message, and being baptized with this baptism, 'They shall be saved;' which salvation cannot be imputed to water baptism. 4thly; The judgment denounced against such as would not believe the message of his ministers and witnesses, thus qualified and sent; 'They shall be damned.' 5thly; The apostles themselves were not to enter upon that work, nor could they perform it, notwithstanding this verbal command from his own mouth, but under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost, and by his power only; being no other than the Spirit of Christ promised to them before he was crucified. 6thly; It was not water baptism; for that he here contradistin-



guisheth from the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and ascribes it to John, saying, 'John truly baptized with water,' as a thing already over, at least in point of obligation; and then the baptism of the Holy Ghost alone is here appointed; 'but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.' Here water baptism was already over, or near an end, and the Spirit's baptism not yet actually commenced, but only promised; and very soon after took place accordingly. 7thly; This baptism is such as cannot be performed without the immediate power of the Holy Ghost; and accordingly he is here mentioned to that end. It cannot be water baptism, because any man can baptize with water without the Holy Ghost; and all mankind who now use it do so, without any influence at all of the Holy Ghost, or any command from him to that purpose, if at all they have any real knowledge of him. 8thly; And since no power on earth can give this qualification but Christ alone; and no man can be a true witness unto him, be his minister, or preach him and his gospel, but by the power and influence of the Spirit of Christ, immediately upon him in the time of preaching; and that they only who are so qualified by him, have right or power to preach the gospel, and that in all parts of the world, they ought not to be hindered or molested by any earthly power. And such as do obstruct them, are opposers of the work of him who hath all power, and shall surely suffer by that power, in this or another world, or in both, if they do not, in due time repent in this. 9thly; The matter and substance of their teachings, after having borne witness to himself and his sufferings, 'All things whatsoever he had before commanded them.' First, the old commandment, which they had heard from the beginning, viz: the righteousness of the moral law, briefly expressed in these words, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbour as thyself.' And secondly, the new and gospel commandment, that they should love one another, as the true and certain characteristic of their discipleship. 10thly; In this gospel, and this practice, he promised to be with them and all those who should succeed them in this faith and practice, to the end of the world. So that as his true ministers can do nothing without him, yet, as he is always with them, they are, by him enabled to do all things, whatsoever it pleaseth him to work in or by them, or require of them. And whosoever set themselves at work, pretending to exercise any ordinance of Christ, without his Spirit and power sensibly with them, they are antichrists and impostors; and

therefore they have not, nor can they profit the people, but mislead them.

"As to those instances from whence thou seems to collect that the apostles baptized with water after the effusion of the Holy Ghost upon them; that was only a continuance of the same water baptism they had been in the practice of in John's time, and not from that command and mission, Mat. xxviii. 19. And as to the continuance of water baptism in the church unto this day, that is a great mistake: for first, I observe what water baptism is in the act of it; that is, a going into water, and being washed and dipped therein, and not rantised or sprinkled only. And secondly, note also, that the water baptism administered in the apostles' days, was always only in the name of the Lord Jesus, and not in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; which shows it was not from that command, Mat. xxviii. 19, for then they would have pursued these terms of institution; which they never did, by any thing I can find in all the Scriptures.

"I say again, that if those are not Christians who are not under the administration of water baptism, then you yourselves are no Christians, having been out of the practice, even of that water baptism, for many generations; inventing to yourselves sprinkling of infants, never commanded by Christ, nor practised by his apostles, which is no baptism at all, but rantism; and is an error from both the mode and subjects of baptism. And therefore you only profane and take in vain that holy name, in which you exercise this your own invention."

Upon this the priest was totally silent; and knowing him bound, I challenged him three times before the company, to answer me on that subject if he could; and yet he did not, nor said any thing at all on any other subject that night.

This being on the seventh-day night, and now very late, I took leave, and proposing to go to rest, the gentleman of the house would not suffer a servant to attend me to my chamber, but went himself; and when there, he told me, that he had never heard those things so explained before; that he was very glad of the occasion; and that he was of the same mind with me therein; that he would gladly go with me in the morning to hear Mr. Penn, but that my brother and sister had not been at his house before, since their marriage, and it would look as if he neglected them if he should go with me. "Besides," said he, "this person with whom you discoursed, is a priest, whom I keep in my house, and I know he would take it ill if I should go to your meeting, and leave our own devotion."



A relation of mine happening to be there, and knowing the way, we set forward early next morning for Cashel; where we arrived before the meeting was gathered, to which came a great multitude of people of all notions and ranks. The meeting being set, the mayor of the town, with constables, &c., came, by direction of the bishop of the place, and in the king's name, commanded us to disperse, though he could not get into the body of the meeting for the throng.

John Vaughton having been preaching in the meeting, turned to the mayor and said, that he, with some others of our Friends, had been admitted into the king's presence on a certain occasion, before he came from England; and the king was pleased to ask if we had full liberty in all his dominions to exercise our religion, without molestation? And we, not knowing any thing to the contrary, answered, that through the good providence of the Almighty, who had placed the king on the throne, and the king's kind indulgence, we had now more liberty than before; for which we were thankful to God and the king. To which the king was pleased to reply, That if any did disturb us in the exercise of our religious liberties, make it known to him, and he would provide for us therein, and protect us. And here thou disturbs our meeting, and commands us in the king's name, to disperse, as if we were transgressors. But whether we should obey thee without law, or believe the king's word, and accept of his royal protection according to law, let all that hear judge.

The people did not seem to be concerned at the mayor's appearance in this manner, but kept their places. Then I stood up and spoke among them such things as I believed my duty at that time; and in the mean time, the mayor reached over the half space from an entry or passage, where he stood in his accoutrements, with cap and sword, to take me by the arm, to pull me down, or haul me out of the place; but he missed his catch, and I went on. Near the conclusion of what I said, I remarked to the people, that the high priests, scribes and pharisees of old, were the greatest enemies of Christ and his apostles and disciples; and that generally, where mischief appeared in any nation professing religion, that set of men, in every form, were at the bottom of it; and so it is still to this day. They would ever ride mankind, and rule over them as property to themselves, and of them serve their own lusts of self-love, pride, envy, and domination, covetousness, wealth, and power, under a false pretence of serving God; and as if, by divine authority from the Lord, they were appointed to take the care and cure of the souls of other

men, whilst they are in the high-way to ruin and lose their own; but were now made manifest, and would yet be more so, and the people redeemed from under their heavy yoke.

The mayor did not relish this, but could not come at me for the crowd; and William Penn, who was not yet come into the meeting, sending to speak with him in a chamber near by, he went immediately; for I believe he was weary of that office, which had been imposed upon him by the bishop of Cashel against his own inclination.

William Penn treated him with the respect due to his office, but desired him to retire, and let the bishop know that he would see him at his own house after the meeting was over, desiring the bishop's patience till then; and the mayor did so accordingly. Then William Penn came into the meeting, for he had been writing letters of importance whilst the meeting was not fully gathered; which was so large at last that the greatest part could not get in. The Lord favoured us that day with his good presence, fitting every instrument for the work required; and the people were generally satisfied with what they heard and felt, to the honour of God, and the comfort of his people.

The meeting being ended, William Penn took two or three ancient Friends of that country with him, and went to the bishop; and after an interchange of some tokens of civil respect, each in his own mode, he expostulated with him concerning that transaction, in sending the mayor to the meeting in that manner, as above; and told him, it looked a little extraordinary, as the king's dominions and the laws were then stated, and a general liberty granted to all his subjects, and nothing new there that day, being the usual time and place of our meeting, unless it were that he himself was there, which might excite the curiosity of the people to see what sort of a creature he was, since, one way or another, he had been represented as some monster, or uncommon thing, to be gazed at.

The bishop could not maintain what he had done, but treated William Penn friendly, and told him, "That he went that morning to church to perform his office of preaching, as usual, and when there, he had no body to preach to but the mayor, church-wardens, some of the constables, and the walls, the people being all gone to your meeting; which, I confess," said the bishop, "made me a little angry, and I sent the mayor and constables with that message, in hope, by that means, to have a greater auditory; though I have no ill will to you, or those of your profession." After some tokens of mutual respect they parted in seeming friendship; but the bishop



had another design. The Friends present with them at this interview, related to us this passage when they returned to our company.

The bishop recollecting, when the hot fit was over, what noise such an action might make in the nation, that such a meeting should be so disturbed by his command, and which could not be justified, unless the meeting had been attended with some extraordinary and unlawful circumstances, wrote to the earl of Galloway and the other lord justices of Ireland, and informed them, though unduly, "That Mr. Penn and the Quakers had gathered together in that place, that day, such a vast multitude of people, and so many armed Papists, that it struck a terror into him and the town; and not knowing what might be the consequence of such an appearance, he had sent the mayor and other magistrates to disperse them; but seeing they had taken no notice of him, or the civil powers there, he thought it his duty to lay the matter before their lordships, that such remedy might be applied, as in their wisdom they might think proper, to obviate the danger and ill consequences of such assemblies."

From Cashel, William Penn, John Everot, and I, went towards Cork, taking meetings in our way, the other Friends pursuing their visit in other parts of the nation, as it laid before them. When we came there, William Penn went to see the lords justices, who had a very great friendship for him, and were got there before us; and after mutual salutations were interchanged, the earl of Galloway gave the bishop of Cashel's letter to William Penn to read; which, when done, he related all the particulars to them; telling them, that he did not see any armed persons there, unless here and there a gentleman might have a sword, as usual; but knew nothing of what religion they were. And then the earl said of the bishop, "Old dotard! why should he make all this to do on such a common occasion?" And that was all this forward man got for his misrepresentation of us.

We staid at Cork and those parts, having meetings there and in the country, till the 19th day of the sixth month; and then set sail in the *Jane* of London, and landed at Minehead on the 21st day of the same, in good health, and in peace; for which we were thankful to the Lord and giver of all our mercies. That night we lodged at Thomas Holway's, having had a meeting there that evening, and we had another next day; and from thence we went to Bristol, where I lodged at William Penn's, and staid some weeks, till he had finished his answer to the bishop of Cork's book. I assisted in transcribing his sheets, searching the Scriptures, &c.,

which being finished, I returned to London on the 5th of the eighth month, preserved through all dangers, and in peace; to the sole praise of Him who liveth and reigneth, and is worthy of all adoration and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

I now turned my face towards America, and think proper to go back in point of time, in order to relate how my concern for that part of the world began in me and increased.

In the year 1693, towards the latter end of autumn, as I was riding alone in an evening in Cumberland, the power of divine truth moved upon my mind, and my heart was greatly tendered before the Lord; and the Word of the Lord opened in me, saying, "Behold, my visitation cometh over the western parts of the world, towards the sun-setting in the time of winter." And I was greatly comforted in the words of his holiness.

From henceforth I was often tendered in spirit, in remembrance of the western world, in a sense of the love and visitation of God to a people there, whom I had never seen; which was more and more renewed and settled upon my mind, and frequent tenderings and brokenness of heart, under the holy influence of the divine presence, until the year 1695; when at the house of our friend John Whiting, at Wrenton, in the county of Somerset, upon a visit to Friends in those parts with Aaron Atkinson, looking upon a map of the world, especially upon the south-westerly parts from England, the power of the Lord suddenly seized my soul, and his love melted me into a flood of tears. But hitherto I knew not that the call of the Lord was to me to visit those parts; though, from henceforth, I began to be afraid of it.

In the time of the yearly meeting at London, in the Bull and Mouth, Aaron Atkinson being concerned in prayer, among other petitions to the Lord, prayed for the western countries, and places beyond the seas, that the Lord would please to send forth his ministers in the power of his Word, to publish the day of glad tidings more and more among them. Upon which the power of divine life moved sensibly in my heart, and the concern, secretly begotten in my soul, now began to appear; and after that great heaviness and fear came over me.

The same day, after the meeting, several Cumberland Friends and others being together after dinner, some of those countries being mentioned by one of the company, the Word of Life moved powerfully in my soul, with open assurance of the call of the Lord to me to visit some of the American countries. I was exceedingly broken, to the tendering also



of most of the Friends there, yet I was silent as to the particular matter, being willing to conceal it as long as I could, since no time was then fixed when I should move forward therein. And being young and weak in the exercise of the ministry, and having no opinion of my own abilities of any kind, I urged it before the Lord as a reasonable plea, as I thought, against it at that time.

At London I remained for some time, and entered into some writing business for necessary subsistence; but before the year ended I suffered much in spirit, by reason of my confinement thereby. But, though loath to leave all, for it was no less than life, and all that was near and dear in the world, yet, finding my concern remain and increase, I yielded at length, in the secret of my mind, to answer the call of the Lord to that part of the world.

Here it may be regular to mention my companion, Roger Gill, and how we came to be concerned together in this work and service of the gospel. Sometime about the first month in this year, before I went into Ireland, we being together at a meeting at the Park, in Southwark, and each of us having had some service there, I found my mind very free and open towards him, and discovered something of my concern to him for America, as we went together into the city; and asked him if he knew of any ministering Friend concerned for those parts, for I wanted a companion. To which, being silent for some time, he replied, "It is now long since I was first concerned that way, and the last night, in my sleep, was as if making all things ready for my voyage." To which I replied, "Is it no more but a dream yet?" And so we left it for that time.

Afterward, going to a meeting at Enfield, he overtook me in the way; and we having some more discourse on that subject, he told me it would be the seventh month at soonest before he could be ready; for he had his wife and family to put in a way of living, not knowing whether ever he might see them any more. We had not much more discourse of it at that time, and soon after I set forward for Ireland, as before related.

At my return to London from Ireland, Roger Gill was waiting at my lodging for me, and said, he had made some progress for America: for the thing abiding with him, he had acted in all things as though we had fixed the time before I went to Ireland.

After I had visited some meetings in London, I became greatly laden and concerned in spirit, and pressed to move forward on my intended voyage; and hearing of a Friend

that was to sail in a short time for Virginia, viz: William Cant, commander of the Providence of London, my companion and I went together on board, to view the ship and accommodations: at which time, being retired in my mind as we sat in the round-house, the divine love and life of the Lord Jesus moved gently in my soul, and sweetly comforted my heart; whereby I was confirmed in my calling and undertaking: so that for that time all the loads and weights were removed.

Having made our concern known to the brethren at the morning meeting, London, they encouraged us; and provision being made, both by the body of Friends and many particulars, of every thing needful for our voyage and journey, on the 10th day of the ninth month, 1698, in the evening, we went on board near Deptford, in the river Thames, accompanied by several of our dear friends and brethren.

Being together in the great cabin, the good presence of the Lord commanded deep and inward silence before him, and the Comforter of the just brake in upon us by his irresistible power, and greatly tendered us together in his heavenly love, whereby we were melted into many tears. Glorious was his appearance, to the humbling of us all, and the admiration of some there who did not understand it. In this condition we remained for a considerable season, and then William Penn was concerned in prayer, for the good and preservation of all, and more especially for us then about to leave them; with thanksgiving also for all the favours of God, and for that holy and precious enjoyment, as an addition to his many former blessings. When he had finished, the Lord repeated his own holy effusion of divine soul-melting love upon the silent weeping assembly, to the full confirmation of us more immediately concerned, and further evidence to the brethren of the truth of our calling. In this love unfeigned, and tender condition of soul, we embraced each other to our mutual satisfaction; for the same powerful love of truth that makes us loath to depart from the friends and brethren of our native land, drawing us to remote parts of the world, and remaining in our hearts, gives courage and strength to leave all, and follow the Lord wheresoever he will. We looked after them so long as we could see them; not with minds to go backwards, or with any desire now to return, but in the comfort of divine love; which neither distance of place, or number of years, shall ever be able to obstruct or deface, as we keep true to the Lord in ourselves.

We did not arrive at Gravesend till the 12th of the month, and next morning took



coach for Rochester, accompanied by the master of the ship and some other Friends, and there we had a large and comfortable meeting.

Next day we went on board, but did not arrive in the Downs till the 18th; and the wind being contrary, and very high, we remained on board till the 20th, which being the first of the week, and we willing to have a meeting at Deal, the master took the boat and hands, with a sail, to put us on shore. We drove about a mile towards the Goodwin Sands, and then our mast broke; but betaking us to our oars, through the mercy of God, we got safe on shore, about two miles from the town, to which we walked, and had a meeting. But having no opportunity of giving notice of our coming, the meeting was very small, yet the Lord did not despise our little number, but was with us.

Next day we went to Dover, and the day after had a meeting there, which was likewise small; yet several Episcopalians and Presbyterians being there, spoke well of the meeting, as we were informed.

The wind remaining contrary, on the 27th, being the first of the week, we went to Folkestone; where we were favoured of the Lord with a blessed meeting with Friends and some others; and from thence returning to Dover, we had a meeting there, which was larger than the former.

The wind coming fair on the 29th in the morning, we hasted to Deal, and in the evening went on board our ship; and next day set sail from the Downs, and proceeded on our voyage, in which we had various weather. On the 18th of the tenth month, being the first-day of the week, we had a very hard gale of wind at west, which increased to an exceeding great storm; so that all the yards were brought down upon the gunnels, and the helm lashed and made fast, and the ship let drive before the wind. We being met together in the great cabin and steerage, to wait upon the Lord, as at other times, he was pleased to appear in the needful time; for the tempest increased, with thunder and lightning and rain, to that degree, that few there, if any, had ever seen the like.

In waiting upon the Lord, I became concerned in prayer; and wrestling in spirit with the Lord, I received hope that we should not perish; and having concluded for that time, and my concern returning, I prayed again, and then some stout hearts were broken, and the Lord's power was glorified, and we greatly comforted. I prayed unto the Lord, who is God of the seas as well as of the earth and of the winds, the Creator of all things visible and invisible, that he would be pleased to send

forth his Word, and command the winds as of old; and that if there was any opposing spirit that stood in our way, to hinder our progress, the Lord would please to drive him away. And then I was easy, having fully overcome; and my companion and some others were greatly tendered. As soon as I arose I took the Friends by the hands, and some others also, and in full assurance, told them the worst was over for that time; and the words were scarcely out of my mouth, and I set down in the cabin, till the storm abated, and the weather became moderate for some time after. Here we saw the effects of the mighty power of God; how he enrageth, and again at his pleasure, stilleth, the seas; He that createth the winds, and bindeth the ocean as in swaddling bands, and holdeth the deeps as in the hollow of his hand, and worketh in the heavens above, and in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the same, whatsoever he will; the God of truth is his name for ever.

From henceforth the succeeding storms, for we had many, were made easy to what they had been before. But at one time being ready to murmur, that so very many of them should be suffered to rage upon us to such a degree, the answer of God was on this wise: "Though the storms were as great as the seas were able to bear, and the disturbance such as mortals, of themselves, could not endure, yet since I the Lord am present with thee, and proportion my power and strength in thee to the greatest hardships I suffer to come, why should any complaints arise? In the greatest extremity is the might of my power most seen; and in the time of distress my mercy and truth also appear in all those that call upon my name, and obey my will." Thus we see our own weakness as men, our strength in the Lord, and the Lord's great condescension to his poor creatures. And therefore, to the Lord of life, the God of everlasting truth and consolation, be honour and dominion; for he is worthy for ever and ever.

As to the wonders of the deep, what appears to sense is natural and usual; but the depth of the power, wisdom, love, mercy, justice, and goodness of the great God, the creator, upholder, and governor of all things, are truly wonderful, and abundantly manifested both on the land and in the sea; and particularly the last, as we fully experienced in this voyage, which, at land, we could but have had an imperfect notion of.

Having sailed through many and great storms, variable and uncomfortable weather, over most of the great western ocean, under the protection of divine Providence, and all the ship's reckonings being out on the 7th day of



the twelfth month, the next day about four in the evening, we struck ground with the lead at nineteen fathoms water.

This was glad tidings to us all; and being in our latitude we stood in towards the land all night, and the next morning we saw the capes on either side of the bay of Chesapeake, and were standing right in, as we could have desired; and that afternoon we came to an anchor in Mockjack bay, a little above Point Comfort.

On the 11th of the twelfth month we set sail in the long boat for Queen's creek in York river, but the wind coming contrary, we went on shore about two miles below Gloucester, and went up thither on foot, and soon after went on board our friend William Dowell's ship, lying at anchor in that river, to write letters for England; after which he sent some hands with us in his boat to Queen's creek, being about twenty miles; and setting out about eleven in the night, it was troublesome to find the entrance of the creek; and often running upon oyster banks and other shoals, it proved fatiguing and dangerous.

But at length, about five in the morning, we got to the house of our friend Edward Thomas, with some difficulty, for our men not knowing the place, we went to several other plantations in the woods before we found it. When we came to the house and called, Edward arose and came to us, concluding that we were Friends from England, for he had had some apprehension that way in himself a little before, and he and all his family made us kindly welcome; and having a good bed provided, we rested comfortably till about nine in the morning. Our friend Edward being zealous for truth and the good of his neighbours, gave notice of a meeting to be there that day; where the Lord owned us, and gave us a very comfortable season of his goodness with the family and a few of the neighbourhood, several of whom, though not Friends, were much tendered; which was the first fruits of our ministry in that country, and good encouragement.

On the 15th of the month we had a meeting about sixteen miles off, at Daniel Akehurst's, at Warwick river, which was a good meeting, but small, and next day one at Martin's Hundred, in the house of Robert Perkin in James city county, and returned that evening with Edward Thomas.

On the 19th day of the twelfth month we had another meeting at Bangor house, which was large, and many much tendered. A blessed meeting it was, and the people generally satisfied, and on the 21st had an appointed meeting at the house of John Bates, at Skimino in York county, where no meeting

had been before; and though he was not a Friend by profession, yet very forward to provide seats, saying, he feared his house would be too small for the meeting, but had room sufficient in his heart. The people were generally tendered and humbled, and we comforted in a sense of the love and visitation of God towards them. The concluding of the meeting falling upon me, it was upon my mind to say, in the spirit of prayer, that since such as should give a cup of cold water only to any of his, in the name of a disciple, were not to lose their reward; the Lord would be pleased to reward with the knowledge of his blessed Truth, those who had so readily and openly received us and a meeting of his people in their house; and at that instant both John Bates and his wife were convinced of Truth, and from that time professed the same with us.

Next day we had another meeting at the house of Daniel Akehurst, which was large, and many were humbled and tendered by the word and power of Truth, and departed in a solid frame of mind; we having preached to them the free and universal grace of God through Christ, for life and salvation; endeavouring to turn them thereunto, that through faith therein they might come to know the full end of the sacrifice of the blood of Christ shed at Jerusalem of old; and that such as reject the grace and spirit of Christ in their own hearts at this day, have not the benefit of that work and sacrifice of Christ then made manifest; but crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh; with many other things of weight, which the Lord opened in us and by us to the people, to our comfort, their edification, and to his praise.

The next morning we went to Thomas Cary's, who had been lately convinced, but he was not at home. His wife had been likewise lately convinced, and so soon as we entered the house the Lord's power tendered us, and we were much comforted together; and his brother, Miles Cary and his wife coming thither to see us, were made partakers of the same visitation.

By the time this satisfactory visit was finished, three of our friends came, and with some other assistance, set us over James river to Chuckatuck. It was late in the night before we arrived at our desired port, which was at the house of our ancient friend John Copeland, where we were openly and cordially received and entertained.

Upon some discourse with our friend, I found he was one of the first of those who had their ears cut by the Presbyterians or Independents, in New England, for the testimony of Truth, in the first publishing thereof



to that bloody and rebellious generation; and at my request he showed us his right ear, yet bearing the badge of their antichristianity, whose uncircumcised hearts and ears are, to this day hardened, it may be judicially, against the testimony of Jesus, and his holy life, then so much persecuted in his harmless messengers and members.

The wind coming contrary, and rainy weather, the Friends staid with us next day, and in the evening several other Friends coming to see us, it pleased the Lord to visit us together, and we had a tender season of his love.

On the 26th, being the first of the week, we took boat to Chuckatuck meeting, about six miles; but because of the great rain, the meeting was but small. Returning that evening to John Copeland's, we had a meeting on the 28th at Derasoneck, where came several neighbours who had not been at any meeting before, and some of them were tendered; and that evening we returned to John Copeland's.

Next fourth-day, being the 1st day of the first month, 1699, we went again by water to a monthly meeting at Chuckatuck, where came our friend Elizabeth Webb, from Gloucestershire, in England, who had been through all the English colonies on the continent of America, and was now about to depart for England. The meeting was large, and the sheriff of the county, a colonel, and some others of note in that country, were there, and very sober and attentive.

Next day we had a meeting at Western Branch, which was pretty large and tender; the people were solid, and several confessed that what they heard was the truth. On the 3rd we had a meeting at Southern Branch, which was large, considering the short notice, and Elizabeth Webb was also there; the grace of God was plentifully with us, to our great and mutual consolation; and the people were tendered, and the meeting ended in the dominion of Truth.

On the 5th, being the first of the week, we had a meeting at Barbican, being the last meeting in Virginia towards Carolina: it was pretty large, though exceedingly cold weather. The people seemed wholly ignorant of the testimony of Truth, and little acquainted with Holy Scripture; and when the Truth was declared among them some were amazed, others surprised; some afraid, and some a little affected with the invisible power of Truth.

That night we lodged at our friend Nathan Newby's and had some discourse with him concerning the Indians, and what sentiments they have about heaven and heavenly things. He told us, "Many of them came frequently to his house to employ him—being a smith—

to mend their guns, and he had discoursed with them on such subjects: they think there is one Divine Being who made all things, and that he always beholds all the Indians as if they were comprehended together in a small circle; and that all bad Indians, who will lie, steal, cheat, and do other ill things, when they die go to a cold country, where they are always hungry, cold, and in all manner of distress they can imagine: but the good Indians, who will not do such things, go to a warm country, where they have fat pork and roasting ears of Indian corn all the year long; these being the most excellent food they can imagine." But though their notions be low and sensual, yet I do think, that if many thousands who profess the true God and Christ, were to give their sentiments concerning future rewards and punishments, and wherein they do consist, they would not much exceed the Indians therein; since many of them are so far from any sense or relish of the holy and divine taste of the true bread of life, which comes down daily from God out of heaven, and, as manna, is daily rained about the tents and dwellings of the whole Israel of God, that they do not believe it. The Indians are just, loving and courteous in their way, and harmless to all that are so to them; but if wronged or abused, revengeful: but drunkenness, swearing, and the like, they have learned of our own countrymen, who make greater pretences to religion and knowledge, and yet are worse in practice. The God of truth open the eyes of boasting and vain-glorious Christendom, to see how far short she is of true Christianity; and that till her inhabitants experience a change by the workings of the divine nature in them, they are yet but practical heathens, in the nature of the first and fallen Adam, and so esteemed in the sight of the Lord; whose love is surely towards the Indians, which shall be published in them in the fulness of his appointed time.

Next morning we went towards North Carolina through the wilderness, and there being no house in all that way, about the middle of it we made a great fire by the side of a brook, and ate some bread and cheese which Nathan Newby carried in his wallet, and drank of the brook, and were well refreshed and content. Having given our horses some Indian corn, we went towards Gabriel Newby's, at the head of Perquimon's creek, in Carolina, where we arrived that afternoon; and he gave notice of a meeting to be on the fourth-day following; and next day we went to the house of our friend Francis Toms, on the same creek.

Here we had the meeting proposed; which was large, and several persons of note in those parts, of both sexes, were there: but



the noises and elevations of some professing Truth, were hurtful to them; though they had, before that, been very solid and attentive to my companion's testimony, who had the whole public concern in the meeting that day.

On the 9th we went forward, and being accompanied by Francis Toms, who was one of the provincial council, and several other Friends from Virginia, and other parts thereaway, we went with them to court, where we were respectfully received and entertained by the Lieutenant-Governor, and others of the council, I having brought letters to the Governor from England.

In the evening we went over Little river, and lodged that night with our friend Thomas Simons; and next day had a meeting over the creek, at our friend Henry White's, which was small, by reason of the court, which usually holds several days, but well and tender: the Lord was with us.

On the 13th we had a pretty large meeting, where several were tendered, among whom were some negroes. Thomas Simons having several negroes, one of them, as also several belonging to Henry White, had of late come to meetings, and having a sense of Truth, several others thereaway were likewise convinced, and are likely to do well. The morning that we came from Thomas Simons's, my companion speaking some words of truth to his negro woman, she was tendered; and as I passed on horseback by the place where she stood weeping, I gave her my hand; and then she was much more broken. Finding the day of the Lord's tender visitation and mercy upon her, I spoke encouragingly to her, and was glad to find the poor blacks so near the Truth and reachable. She stood there looking after us and weeping, as long as we could see her. I inquired of one of the black men how long they had come to meetings? He said, "They had always been kept in ignorance and disregarded, as persons who were not to expect any thing from the Lord, till Jonathan Taylor, who had been there the year before, discoursing with them, had informed them that the grace of God, through Christ, was given also to them, and that they ought to believe in and be led and taught by it, and so might come to be good Friends, and saved as well as others; of which they were glad. The next occasion was when William Ellis and Aaron Atkinson were there, they went to meetings and several of them were convinced." Thus one planteth, and another watereth, but the Lord giveth the increase.

I called one of the negroes aside after the meeting, and exhorted him to be inward with the Lord; and that he and the rest should

wait to know the work of the power of God in themselves, to change their minds from a state of nature and sin to an heavenly condition. To this he was attentive, and said, he and those other negroes that were convinced had discoursed with others of them, and had told them what they were come to understand and believe; and that some were inquisitive after Truth, but some others of them seemed to take little notice: but, said he, every tub must stand on its own bottom; and the neglect of others, we hope, will not discourage us to press forward in that which we are persuaded is the best.

On the 14th we had a good meeting, where many were tendered, my companion especially being very powerful that day in his testimony; to the praise of the Lord, of whom alone is the power, and to whom be all glory for ever. We passed the Great Sound next morning, and went to a meeting at the widow Anne Wilson's, which consisted, for the most part, of Friends, and was a very tender and open meeting.

The morning following we set forward for Virginia; and alighting at the same brook where we had been as we went into Carolina, we again refreshed ourselves and horses, and accomplished our journey to Dorothy Buskin's about sun-set; and next day had a meeting there.

We rested there the 18th; and on the 19th had a large good meeting at Chuckatuck, both of Friends and others; and the next day we went to Benjamin Small's, and there I had a good season in the meeting, where Friends were comforted and divers of the people tendered, and generally humbled under the testimony of the blessed Truth; which that day reigned both in word and power, to the glory of him that liveth and reigneth, and is worthy for ever and ever.

On the 21st we had a good meeting at Alice Holloway's, near Elizabeth river, but small, by occasion of a member of council to be elected that day in those parts. Next day we had a pretty large meeting at Southern Branch, at the house of Robert Burgess: he was not a Friend by profession, but a justice of peace, and of good account in those parts. There had never been a meeting thereaway before; yet the people were generally solid, and several of them tendered. After the meeting the justice and his wife were very respectful, and would gladly have had us to eat with them and lodge in their house that night; but being otherwise engaged in the course of our service, we departed in much kindness, both on their part and ours.

We returned that evening to Alice Holloway's; and next morning set forward for



Elizabeth-town, about three miles by land and seven more by water. We went by the house of Thomas Hodges, a justice of peace, who lent us his boat and was very courteous; but the wind being contrary, we did not arrive till about the middle of the day. The first thing we did was to view the house where the meeting was to be; and finding no seats in it, we were at a loss on that account: but another Friend and I went to the high sheriff's to acquaint him of the meeting, who being absent, we informed his wife and family; and applying for planks for seats, we readily had them; and she, with several of their daughters, were at meeting, and were civil and tender. There is no meeting of Friends in that place, nor any dwelling there; but a very rude, senseless people, devoid of all relish of truth, and of the fear of God in general; yet many of them came to the meeting: some were civil, others tender; but the bulk of them airy, wanton, and scoffers; sometimes rushing into the meeting and leering under their hats, and then again running out of the house, mocking at what they had heard, to the great disturbance of the few who were sober, and of us who went to visit them in the goodness of God. Many things of great moment were declared unto them, both of the mercy and judgments of God; and the Lord gave us power to clear our consciences to them at that time; and I am persuaded the Lord hath a seed among them.

From the meeting we went to the house of one who kept an ordinary, and I took that opportunity, he having been light, airy, and a scoffer in the meeting, to tell him, that though Ishmael was the first born of Abraham, yet being of the bond woman, he was not to inherit; and scoffing at the birth of Isaac, was excluded from the house of his father; which under that typical dispensation, being a figure of the two seeds now inwardly revealed, there is no scoffer can enter the kingdom of God, unless he be first born of another spirit. Upon which he was ashamed, and fell under; and we left him to think further of what was said. There we took boat and went back to Thomas Hodge's, who entertained six of us that night with good accommodations.

Next morning we came back to Benjamin Small's, and staid there some hours; and being at the creek-side, accompanied by some Friends, and ready to take boat, the good presence of the Lord came upon us and sweetly tendered us together, and my companion first and then I, had some time in prayer; where we parted with those Friends in tender love, and then went to John Copeland's; and next day had a small but heavenly meeting about three miles off, at our

friend Daniel Sandborn's, and returned in the evening to John Copeland's.

The next day we had a meeting at Pagan creek, alias Levy-neck, where we had a large assembly, most of whom were not Friends; and the power of the Lord was gloriously with us, and the truths of the gospel were opened to general satisfaction.

After this meeting my companion returned to John Copeland's, and from thence over James's river, and went up the other side to alarm the people there, and to meet us that day week further up. Richard Gove and I went that night to Levy-neck, and next day had another meeting at Lion's creek, at Robert Lacy's; it was small by reason of the short notice, but otherwise pretty well.

Next morning very early, we went towards Burleigh, on the south side of James's river, and being very hot, and no house of entertainment by the way, and but few others, we alighted at a brook called Stony-run; and having ate some bread we brought with us, and likewise fed our horses with some Indian corn, we remounted and proceeded to James Johns'; where we arrived at three in the afternoon, having rode about thirty-eight miles.

We had not been long in the house till I perceived a concern in my mind in the truth; and seeing two Indian men-servants and a negro woman about the house, I found it was on their account, for the love of God was towards them. Our host being deaf and very talkative, was troublesome in asking many questions, and in commenting upon the Scriptures in his fashion; and interpreted them to us, as he imagined: but as soon as I could, I took an opportunity to retire into the woods for the more free exercise of my mind in the gift of God alone, and to see what might be the issue of my inward concern.

Finding no way for it that night, the next morning I sent for those servants, and had the family and them together in the hall; where I published to them the day of the visitation of God, directing their minds to the light and grace of God in their own hearts; that as it reproved sin in them, and in all men, so it teacheth all that will receive it, "to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world." Thereby men escaping the corruptions that are in this world through lust, are received into everlasting joys in the world to come. But such as are not led and governed by the grace of God here, are to be condemned to everlasting fire, in the great day of the judgment of Almighty God, which is coming upon all the world: and that though men there should desire to die, they could not; neither is there any end of their tor-



ments; with some other things, importing both the judgments and mercies of God. Perceiving them touched in some degree, I did my best, according to that understanding the Lord gave me, to set their minds upon the present truth, as an inward object.

I also exhorted them to wait upon the Lord in stillness; who, being a holy, invisible Spirit, appears in the hearts of men; and that whatsoever things are reprov'd in men's hearts here, in this world, will be condemn'd in the day of judgment; but if they repent of their former evil deeds, and for the time to come, join and unite with the Spirit of Christ, which discovers and condemneth all evil in them, the Lord will not only forgive and forget their former sins, but be their exceeding great comforter in this life; and in the world to come they shall sing everlasting songs of joyful praises to the great God, in the kingdom of his glory, in the sweet company of innumerable angels, and the spirits of just and good men in a state of perfection; where there is divine pleasure unutterable and everlasting. After this I prayed, and Robert Gove having spoken something among them, we concluded, and I had great peace in the Lord.

One of the Indians wept much; and there being a meeting the same day at our friend Thomas Chappel's, about two miles from this, they both came after us thither; and though the meeting was small, it was tender and well.

Next day at our friend Peter Wyke's, we had a small but very comfortable meeting; and the following day we had a like meeting, eight miles off, at our friend James Benford's, in the precincts of Merchants Hope: there were several of the people there, and things opened to their states, and we had a comfortable time with them and Friends; these loving, and those respectful.

The first of the week we were at another meeting there; but it proving very rainy, with a great gust of wind and lightning and thunder till mid-day, the meeting was small; but several of the people seemed solid and tender. On the 2nd of second month, crossing James's river we went to our friend Jane Pleasant's, at Curies, where we were kindly received; and there we met with my companion and several other Friends, to our mutual satisfaction. On the 4th we had a meeting there, which was large and well. My concern therein was, for the most part, about marriage, and the displeasure of God against his own people in the old world and all ages of this, against mixed marriages between them and the world; for I had heard some hints that Jane Pleasant's daughter had married one that was not a Friend, and gone quite off

from the very form of truth; and that her son Joseph was then likewise about to take a wife that did not profess the truth. This concern I bore long in the meeting, under fear lest it should arise from the hearing of the ear only; but at length seeing my way clear, I discharged my conscience in that matter, and the young man was for that time brought to a sense of his error.

On the 6th we had a meeting at our friend William Porter's, a comfortable time; and that evening returning to Jane Pleasant's, we had another meeting there on the 7th; and on the 8th, being the seventh of the week, we went to Black creek, and next day had a large meeting at the meeting house; and the power and goodness of the Lord were plentifully with us, and many were tendered thereby.

On the 10th we set forward for our friend George Wilson's, towards the upper part of Mattapany river, swimming our horses over Pamunky river, two at a time, one on each side of a canoe, and got safely thither about the fourth hour in the evening. It is a wilderness place every way; no meeting settled there, but the Friend and his wife, through the mercy of God, preserved alive in the truth; yet their children are in danger of being lost from it, one of their daughters being married by a priest, neither she nor her husband making any profession now with us. We had a meeting there next day, which was larger than could have been expected; several were tendered, and generally sober. The Friend's daughter and her husband were there; whom we admonished and exhorted, and they were humble and pretty tender. We lodged there that night also, and in the morning set forward for Pamunky-neck, to the plantation of William Clayborn. We had a good passage over the river by the ferry; and on the other side went into a house, for much thunder and rain came on; and there we heard of an Indian town about a mile off, on the side of the river Mattapany, and we went to see the people. They are the Chickahominy Indians; their town consisted of about eleven wigwams, or houses made of the bark of trees, and contained so many families. We were directed to their chief; and when we went to his door he came out and invited us in; and we being set down, several of his people came to look upon us, and among them, one who could speak some English.

After a time of silence the company increased; we asked him if they were all there, for we desired to see as many of them together as we could; which being interpreted to the chief, who was a grave, serious, and wary old man, he seemed to be under some suspicion of us, and what we might mean by



desiring to see them all together, we being wholly strangers to them. Being under some concern in my mind, and observing a fear in them, I informed them by the interpreter, that we did not come among them for any hurt to them or gain to ourselves; but being lately arrived from England, had a desire to see them; for we loved Indians, and had something to say to them concerning the great God who made the heavens, the sun, moon, earth, and all that dwell therein, Englishmen, Indians, and all nations; that he loves all good English and good Indians, and other good people everywhere.

And then they seemed a little more calm and settled in their countenances, and my companion spoke to them concerning the immortality of the soul; and that God hath placed a witness in the heart of every man, which approves that which is good, and reproves that which is evil.

The chief then pointed to his head, and said, that was treacherous, or fallacious; but pointing to his breast, said it was true and sweet there. Then he sent forth his breath as if he had poured out his soul unto death, and signing up towards heaven with his hand, raised a bold, cheerful, and loud hey, as if the soul ascended thither in a triumphant manner; and then pointing to his body, put his hand towards the earth, to demonstrate his opinion that the body remains there when the soul is departed and ascended. I believe we might have had a more satisfactory time with them, but that there came in two young Englishmen who lived somewhere thereabout, and understood the Indian tongue: they undertook to interpret for us, but we found them not quite honest in it; for when my companion spoke further to them, which was concerning the righteousness and impartiality of God; and that he hateth drunkenness, whoredom, lying, cheating, and all evil, as much in an Englishman as in an Indian, the Indians were set into a laughter.

I desired one of the Englishmen to tell the Indians they should not be light, especially on such occasions; that the great God, maker and upholder of all things, hath right to the obedience of all men, and hath placed a law in every heart, and also appointed a time wherein he will bring all men to account for their deeds done in this world; and as he is all-seeing and omnipresent, he always beholds all men's thoughts, words, and deeds, and at last will reward every man as his thoughts, words, and actions have been; the good, whether English or Indians, he will reward with everlasting happiness and unspeakably good things; and the bad, whether Englishmen or

Indians, he will condemn to everlasting fire and torment undeclarable. But instead of telling the Indians these things, he said they had formerly told them some of them, and others he himself did not understand, nor could he find words in the Indian tongue to reach them. They told us also that the Indians had been great idolaters, but since the English inhabited those parts, they were much reformed.

But if the professors of Christ have done the poor Indians any good, they have done them much harm also; for they have taught them, by example, to be drunk, to lie, steal, swear, cheat, and dissemble; and often defraud them in barter for their skins, which is their living. And when an Indian becomes drunk, as some of them will, then swearing, ranting, and blaspheming, he will cry aloud, "I am now all one Englishman." It is reported of this chief, that he was never seen to be drunk but once, and that was when young; which had proved so troublesome to his mind and virtuous inclination, that he always thereafter shunned every occasion of the like evil. We took them by the hands, one by one, beginning at the chief; and they seemed well pleased with our visit.

As to the conversion of the Indians to the Truth, I believe the Lord will call them after the power of antichrist is overthrown; but it seems to me that learning, or the historical part of religion, or their own language, which is very barren of pertinent words, will not be much instrumental in it; but the Word of Life, whose divine and life-giving intellectual speech is more certainly known in the mind, will tender their hearts in a silent state and retirement, by means of some instruments that the Lord will raise up and qualify for that purpose; who shall not confound them with a long fruitless history of needless things. But when the Lord shall send forth his Word, "the Light of the gentiles," the quickening Spirit of Jesus, into and upon any of them in holy silence, or in prayer, their minds shall be directed to the Spirit himself, as the present object of their faith, obedience, and love, and author of their present joy and salvation: and so, believing in the light, shall become children of that light and day of God, and heirs of eternal life in him. And then the histories in the Bible, the prophecies of the prophets of God, and the fulfilling of them; the evangelical account of the conception, birth, life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, ascension, glorification, mediation, intercession, and judgment of Him, who is the substance of all, and that "true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the



world," will be the more clearly received by the Indians, when the Almighty shall think fit to acquaint them therewith.

That evening we arrived at Captain Clayborn's, and next day had a meeting, which was small, but comfortable: and being weary with hard travel, we determined to stay there till after first-day; and intending another meeting, we gave notice of it to the country. We had a meeting accordingly, which was large and well; the people being generally sober, and several tendered, and after the meeting expressed their satisfaction; and some of note among them said, that since we had such good things to publish, they hoped we would not finally leave those parts without more meetings thereaway; several of them adding, that we should be welcome to their houses and the best entertainment they had, though we had laid open their priests to the lowest capacities, and especially their pseudo-baptism.

On the following day we set forward for Queen's creek, but in our way had much thunder and rain; and though it was very dark in the night in the woods, through the good providence of God we got well to that journey's end.

Next day we rested there; and the day after went to Daniel Akehurst's, sixteen miles off, where we had a small but good meeting, and returned that evening with Edward Thomas and his wife to Queen's creek.

On the 21st had a meeting at a place called Hickory-neck, at the house of one Edmund Brewer, not a Friend, nor had ever a meeting been there before. It was pretty large, and some of the people tendered; and though some persons were a little airy, yet, being rebuked by my companion in his testimony, they became more quiet and sedate.

On the 23rd, being the first of the week, we had a meeting at York City, at the house of a preacher among the General Baptists; and it was the first meeting of our Friends that had been there. The people were very rude and senseless of all good, and the testimony of truth was sharp accordingly; especially in my companion, declaring the heavy stroke of the hand of the Lord upon them, if they did not speedily repent and turn unto him; and they were at last brought pretty well under.

On the 25th had a meeting at a place called Pocoson, where there never had been a meeting before: it was large, though the people, till my companion began to speak, did not generally come in, but then crowded much, and a good meeting we had, some being tendered and generally humbled: blessed be the Lord for his power and goodness to us. We

were entertained in much friendship and tender respect by Thomas Nichols and his wife, but by her especially; who, though a mulatto by extraction, yet not too tawny for the divine light of the Lord Jesus Christ, "the light of the gentiles and glory of the whole Israel of God," through all ages of the world. Of this true light and the power and virtue of it, is this poor soul truly begotten, and to a good degree filled with the unfeigned love which ever attends those that believe in, love and obey that "true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world:" the Lord is with her, and hath made her instrumental for the furtherance of his own glory in those parts.

On the 26th we had a meeting at George Walker's, at Kickatan; it was small, yet many things were opened of great moment, and the Lord gave us a good time together. After this meeting I found myself under a particular concern for the restoration, if possible, of the wife of George Walker the younger, who was one of the daughters of that unhappy apostate George Keith. I observed her to have a good natural understanding, but much out of that innocent adorning, both of body and mind, usual among our best Friends, and I spoke to her alone on that subject in much tenderness; and though she was of a quick temper and naturally high-minded, yet I observed the love of truth was toward her, and a time of visitation; and exhorted her therein to be humble and moderate in all things, fearing the Lord. At first, as I thought, she was jealous I had done it reproachfully, or to affront her, considering the circumstances of her father and mother, and would have made excuses and evasions; but nothing appearing in me but true respect, friendship, and tenderness, she began in a short time to change colours, and that was followed with tears; under which I took leave of her, being full of compassion in the love of Truth towards her; and in which also I greatly desired the return of all that had gone out from the truth that way. As I had taken leave of her, came my companion Roger Gill and Daniel Akehurst; and when Roger Gill took her by the hand, she broke out again into a flood of tears; by all which we had some hope that the Lord might restore her from under those prejudices begotten in her mind by the apostacy of her lapsed parents.

In the evening, about six, we took horse and went that night with Daniel Akehurst; and on seventh-day morning toward Remuncock, where we had appointed a meeting to be next day, being the first-day of the week, and in our way called at the house of John Bates at Skimino, formerly mentioned, who,



with his wife, were become professors of truth since our arrival in that country. Though one soweth and another reapeth, yet we are all the servants of one Lord, and therefore to him alone be the glory of his own work, in which the best and strongest of the children of men are only instrumental in him who worketh all in all. One begetteth into the faith through the divine Word; another nourisheth through the virtue of the same; and another confirmeth and establisheth by the same wisdom. The wisdom and power of God is one.

The next day we had a meeting according to appointment, which was large and open. Many persons of note in those parts were there, and all were very sedate, and some broken and generally satisfied; the Lord favouring us with his divine presence and aiding us by his grace. The most noted priests in those parts were one Buckner, and another, Monro, a Scotchman. Buckner had formerly boasted that no Quaker was able to dispute with him; he could run them down at pleasure. And Major Palmer hearing of the meeting, had invited him thither, but he evaded the matter, by telling him, "The Quakers were not worth his while to discourse with, for they deny the resurrection:" though we own the resurrection, but not in his sense. And Monro, though priest of that place, had an errand to the governor at the same time.

That night we rested there, and next day set forward for our friend George Wilson's, in our way to Maryland; and next day arrived at the place we intended, and where we expected a meeting the day following; but some mistake having happened in the notice that had been sent, we could not have one till the 4th of the third month, and then it was a very small, hard, dark, and dull meeting; the people were busy planting tobacco, and those that came to the meeting left their minds behind them in that business; yet the Lord was with us in some comfortable measure, and we departed thence in peace the next morning.

About two in the afternoon we came to the Rappahanock river; and having a ready passage, we called at a house on the other side belonging to a widow woman, of whom we asked some corn for our horses, for which we offered to satisfy her. She replied, corn she had, and we should have sufficient; but she would not sell us any, though it was very scarce at that time; and she likewise gave us such provision for ourselves as she had ready, and would have provided better, if we could have staid for it.

On the 7th a Friend borrowed a flat to set us over the river, for there was not, at that time, any ferry allowed, being between two

governments; and so we passed over the great river Potomac to Cedar-point, about three miles, at that narrow place.

This being the seventh-day of the week, and not knowing of any meeting we could reach the next day, we called at the first plantation we came to, where we inquired if there were any of the people called Quakers in those parts? Being invited to alight and refresh ourselves, we did so, and were told one of our Friends had appointed a meeting at a house about two miles off, who had had several meetings before, and many went to hear him. We asked his name, and where he came from, thinking it might be some Friend from England, and were told his name was William, and that he came from Virginia. Then we apprehended him to be one William Morton, who had been denied by Friends there, and went up and down, under the name of a Quaker.

We lodged there that night, and were kindly entertained; and next day about the tenth hour, with our landlord and most of his family, went to the meeting, where we found a considerable number of people; and in a short time the man stood up and prayed standing: the people pulled off their hats, but sat on their seats, and we sat with our hats on, in testimony against him and his prayer; in which he used a few imperfect scraps of the national common prayer, and some nonsensical expressions, exposing his own gross ignorance.

When he had ended his prayer he began to preach; but affirming that the Lord Jesus Christ is married to the whole world, my companion said it was false, and bid him prove his assertion if he could, before he said any more; but he went on with some more confused sentences, and then said he would not take up all the time, but give way to these strangers. Then my companion stood up, and had a very good time among the people; several of whom were tendered, and all very sober: and when he had done, the man stood up again, and would have made some opposition to what my companion had said, as if he favoured self-righteousness and long prayers, though he had said nothing that might give him ground for such a charge.

Finding my mind engaged by the truth and authority therein, I stood up and bid him be silent; and he gave way.

I began with the universal free grace of God, through Christ, unto all men; and yet, though Christ hath died for all mankind, and the grace of God by him is come upon all, those only are saved who believe in the sufficiency of that grace; and in that faith deny all ungodliness and worldly lusts, and walk



uprightly in this present world. For after Christ had done and suffered all things which are written of him in the holy Scriptures, John, who had the visions of God, even to the last and great day of his judgment, saw every man rewarded according to his works; and that, notwithstanding the offering of our Lord once on the cross, for the sins of the whole world, yet at last Christ will set the sheep on his right hand, and the goats on his left; and will say to the former, "Come ye blessed," and to the latter, "Go ye cursed." But if his dying for the sins of the whole world were sufficient of itself, without men's faith in, and obedience to, the grace come by him, there could not be any room left for such a distinction at the last day; but as all have received grace by him, those who believe therein and obey the dictates thereof, come to be saved; as it is written, "By grace we are saved through faith; it is not of ourselves, it is the gift of God."

Again; "The grace of God which bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching us that denying all ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world;" but those who do not believe in this grace, and the sufficiency of it, cannot be saved by it. For though in words they confess the Lord Jesus Christ, yet in works they deny him; and then that saying becomes true in them, "His servants ye are to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness." So that there is an absolute necessity still of a holy life and due obedience to the law of God; for Christ is not come to give liberty to sin, but to redeem men from sin, and to give us power to do the commands of God; that man being redeemed from the cause of eternal death, which is sin, might also be saved from the effects thereof, that is, eternal condemnation.

Having finished my testimony to the truth, I proceeded to lay that man open to the people as an impostor; that he was not in unity with us, nor received as a minister among our people, being guilty of some things utterly inconsistent with our profession. Then my companion concluded the meeting in prayer, and the divine truth was over all, and the people well satisfied. We departed after good service for the Lord; of whom is the power, and to whom be the glory for ever.

After the meeting we returned with William Herbert to his house, where came to us a trading person from London; and he sitting with us near the river, it came into my mind that he came for dispute, and he and William Herbert and his wife going into the house, we

followed them. As I passed the window I perceived he was reading a passage to them out of a book; and when we went in, I found it was concerning the institution of circumcision; asserting that baptism—he meant sprinkling of infants—was now as necessary as that was then. And he began to allege against my companion, that he had uttered something in the meeting concerning baptism, which he could not maintain by Scripture; that is, "That the baptism now used—he meant by the national church—was never instituted of God by any evidence appearing in Scripture, nor any precedent there for sprinkling infants; nor any water baptism commanded since the baptism of John was at an end."

The first part we owned my companion had spoken, which the stranger oppugning we put him upon his proof; and after a short dispute my companion brought him to confess that he could not defend it by Scripture: and then he went to the second part, viz: "Nor any water baptism commanded since the baptism of John was put to an end."

This we denied to have been spoken by my companion as he stated it; but since he had confessed himself a member of the national church, my companion insisted that he had nothing to do with baptism with water, till he should come into the practice of it.

He replied, "You mentioned the thing in the meeting, and the question is not, whether I or another be of the Baptists' opinion and practice, but whether any water baptism was instituted after John's baptism?" But my companion having put him to silence, as to sprinkling, and denying his charge as to the other part, said little more then to him.

A concern remaining upon me lest this man should go away boasting, I entered into the argument with him upon the subject at large; and since he had asserted that Christ instituted another water baptism than that of John, I put him upon the proof of it.

Then he cited that text in Matt. xxviii. 19; Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, &c.

I replied that this text was not to his purpose, for water was not so much as mentioned in it; and if the Lord Christ had intended water as the instrument of this baptism, he would have expressed it.

To this he alleged that the practice of the apostles, pursuant to this institution, determined that it was water baptism; for from this time they baptized with water in divers instances, and particularly in that of Philip's baptizing the eunuch.

Answer; The practice of the apostles doth not determine it to be water baptism, because



they practised circumcision, vows, shavings, purifications, and other Jewish rites; which, in point of obligation, were all ended by the coming of Christ in the flesh, and suffering for all mankind; and so was water baptism by the coming of the Holy Ghost. But for the better understanding of this command, observe that John the Baptist was commanded by the Word of God to preach repentance unto Israel, and to baptize them in water, directing them to the true object of faith, then about to be made manifest, that is, Christ the Lord, the true Messiah, and sent of God, though not known to John himself at that time; of whom he said, 'I indeed baptize (or have baptized) you with water, but he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.' This shows there was a baptism of a more excellent and efficacious nature then to come, and by an administrator incomparably superior to John, that is, Christ, who, when he appeared in the flesh to Israel his people, preached to them the same doctrine of repentance as John did; and his disciples also preached the same, and baptized them with the same baptism as John did, differing only in this circumstance of administration—John baptized them, saying they should believe in Christ then to come; whereas the disciples of Christ baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, declaring him to be the true Messiah that Moses and the prophets had prophesied of.

"Now, here is water baptism transferred from John to the disciples of Jesus, for Jesus himself baptized not with water, who made and baptized more than John did; and John being soon after martyred, water baptism remained under the administration of the disciples of Christ only; and until the resurrection of Christ, we hear no more of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, as I now remember, foretold by John as aforesaid. Nor was the baptism of the Holy Ghost declared as a dispensation to the believers and disciples of Christ, till a little before his ascension; nor established as such, till the coming of the Spirit of Christ upon them at Jerusalem.

"As to the introduction and terms of this baptism and dispensation, they lie thus in the holy Scriptures: 'All power in heaven and earth is given unto me,' saith the Son of God; 'Repentance and remission of sins must be preached in my name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem; and ye shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, in Samaria, in Judea, in all the regions round about, and to the uttermost parts of the earth: Go ye therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in (or rather into) the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have command-

ed you; and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.'

"To obviate any misapprehension the disciples might be incident to, the Lord adds, 'Go ye into all the earth, and preach the gospel unto every creature: he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned: but tarry ye at Jerusalem till ye have received power from on high. But ye shall receive power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you: for John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.'

"Here is water baptism plainly ascribed to John, and the disciples of Christ already in the practice of it; and the baptism of the Holy Ghost as clearly distinguished from it, as being the permanent dispensation of God unto all who should believe in Christ and the Holy Spirit, to the end of the world, by the preaching of the gospel by his own power; which accordingly began at the city of Jerusalem, at the time of Pentecost, as by the testimony of Holy Writ.

"But to show how little poor mortals understand of the things of God, though ever so plainly told us by the hearing of the ear, without the Spirit of Christ revealed in ourselves, the disciples, who had been so long with him, and heard him speak as never man spake, being yet unconverted, though convinced, replied to all that he had then said on those divine subjects of the highest importance, 'Wilt thou, at this time, restore again the kingdom unto Israel?'

"The words of Christ, though so plain as to the nature of this baptism, that is, with the Holy Ghost; and as to the extent of it, that is, to all nations, to all the earth, and to all mankind; yet the apostles did not understand as to either, but still thought themselves confined to the Jews, till Peter was sent to Cornelius and his household, who were Gentiles.

"It is not to be admired therefore, that the apostles, or some of them, might administer water baptism in some instances, though few plainly to be proved, since it was about eight years after the institution and commencement of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, as a dispensation, before they understood the nature or extent of it; and no man knows any more of the things of God by the Holy Ghost, than he opens or manifests to him.

"It is also observable, that what baptism any of the disciples administered with water, after the coming of the Holy Ghost, was not from that command mentioned, Mat. xxviii. 19, but from their practice of John's baptism before, and in his time, as appears by the manner of administration; for it never was



in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the terms of institution in that text, but only in the name of Lord Jesus, or name of the Lord, being the same.

"But when your priest saith to a child of eight days of age, or the like, 'I baptize thee in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' he uttereth a false proposition; for he doth not baptize, but rantise or sprinkle, and taketh the name of the Lord in vain, using it where the Almighty hath not commanded it to be used or named."

After this my opponent said no more but only this, "That he could not but believe that some water baptism was still necessary." And so this conference ended in a friendly manner, and I said to him as he departed, "May he whose word of wisdom alone can give understanding in the things of God, and speak forth knowledge in the secret of the heart, answer that; for it is not in the power of man." And so he bowed in good manners, in his way, and departed.

The next morning we set forward, taking in our way the Cold Springs, where we found many poor diseased people; and several said they had received benefit by virtue of the waters, by drinking and bathing, (the water is chalybeate) and among these poor people we had a meeting in an old tobacco house, where many of them lodged. My companion had a very open time among them; the Lord favoured us with his comfortable presence, and one blind woman complaining for want of bread, we gave her money to buy some, and departed in peace.

Passing the river Patuxent about a mile over, at Benedict town, we came to the house of our friend Elizabeth Hutchins, and being weary, staid that night. Next morning went towards the Cliffs, and there remained till the 11th; and thence to Patuxent meeting, where was a marriage, and we had some service. On the 14th, being first-day, were at another meeting at Patuxent; after which we returned to the Cliffs, where we remained till the 18th, and in the mean time, had a small but comfortable meeting there,—where came to us our ancient and honourable friend in the truth, Thomas Everndon, from the Eastern Shore.

On the 18th we went to the Ridge, where was a meeting on occasion of a marriage, in which we had good satisfaction; and so to our friend Samuel Galloway's, where we rested that night, and were very easy and well; his wife Anne being the only ministering Friend at that time in all those parts; a very honest, innocent, lively, and honourable Friend in the truth, and every where acceptable in her services. Next day being the first of the week,

we had a large meeting there, but the hardest and most shut up that we had been at in America.

The yearly meeting for the Western Shore approaching, in the mean time we visited some families of Friends in those parts. Meeting with our friends Dr. Griffith Owen, from Philadelphia and Aaron Atkinson, from England, we all went to Samuel Galloway's, near which place the yearly meeting was to begin, [the 27th of third month.]

On the first and second-days it was very full and peaceable, and the good presence of the Lord was with us; but on the third-day, came one Henry Hall, a priest of the church of England, and with others of his notions, evesdropped the meeting, but came not in; and after the forenoon meeting, we being gone into an upper room, he was heard to mutter something among the people, by way of exception to some part of what Aaron Atkinson had said in the meeting concerning predestination. Some of them sent word to us, that the priest desired to speak with him, or all of us, about it, and we went down to him among the people. At first he was a little surprised, and seemed to deny that he had any thing against us; but regaining his courage a little, owned he had something to object about predestination. We invited him into the house and into the gallery with us, that he might have like advantage of being heard; and the house was quickly filled with people, many of whom were his own hearers. The matter of his objection was, that Aaron Atkinson had preached against the doctrine of election, as held by the church of England; and he said he would defend that doctrine against us, and show us to be erroneous in holding the contrary. But the priest not being in the meeting-house when Aaron Atkinson had spoken there, had mistaken what he said, and so brought a wrong charge, for Aaron Atkinson did not speak of election alone as held by the church of England, but against election and reprobation, as taught by the Independents and Presbyterians of New England, where he had lately travelled, and that their doctrine touching that point, was erroneous; and rehearsed to the people the substance of what he had said in the meeting upon that subject. Upon which I observed to the people, "That the priest's charge at first was, that we deny predestination; which, by the common acception of the word, includes both election and reprobation; though now shifting his terms, he restricts it to election only. And whoever accuseth us of error for opposing predestination, doth himself thereby assert that doctrine, and must prove it if he can;" which he would not attempt.



The priest was then silent as to that point, and in an angry manner affirmed, that we, as a people, deny Christ, and pretended he could prove it, being furnished, as we perceived, with his pretended proof out of that lying, perverting, scandalous book, called *The Snake in the Grass*; which, as we were informed, he used to read often among his people. His pretended proof amounting to no more than false accusation, we rejected and exposed it as such. Then his last shift was, to call upon us for a confession of our own faith, and directed his demand to our friend Richard Johns in particular, with whom he was acquainted.

We denied that he had any authority to make such a demand from us, nor should we, on his own account, take any notice of him therein, he appearing as an adversary and a perverter; but for the sake of the people, were willing to say what might be sufficient to satisfy such as were not prepossessed or prejudiced against us: and then Richard Johns began, and proceeded after this manner; "We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, being conceived by the power and influence of the Holy Ghost, is the true Messiah and Saviour—that he died upon the cross, at Jerusalem, a propitiation and sacrifice for the sins of all mankind—that he rose from the dead the third day, ascended, and sitteth on the right hand of the Majesty on high, making intercession for us; and in the fulness of time, shall come to judge both the living and the dead, and reward all according to their works." All which being more fully spoken to by Roger Gill, we asked the people, if they were satisfied with that confession? and they generally, from all quarters, answered, "Yea, yea, yea; it is full, no man can deny it."

The priest being disappointed in his expectations, and his wicked purpose of exposing us as no Christians frustrated, the next day he came again, and brought one of his brethren with him; and they again evesdropped the meeting. But my companion being in his testimony, and apprehending they were within hearing, cried aloud to them to come forth out of their holes and corners and appear openly like men, and if they had any thing to say, after the meeting was over they should be heard; and a little after, they came into the meeting-house, one at one door, and the other at the other, and many crowded in after them.

My companion having done, it fell to my lot to speak next; and having opened several things concerning the coming of Christ in the flesh, I said something also concerning water baptism, as used by John the Baptist; which,

though once a dispensation of God to the Jews, and then of use to them, yet is long since abolished. In the conclusion whereof I informed the auditory, that as for sprinkling infants, it is foreign to Scripture, and I could look upon it to be no other than a Popish relic; and since the national church had espoused it, and asserted it as an ordinance of Christ by practice, and some of her ministers were there present, I requested them to make it appear, if they could, when the meeting was ended, that Christ ever instituted or commanded that baptism, or pretended baptism, which they now use. Aaron Atkinson concluded the meeting by prayer; and the blessed Truth was over all to general satisfaction, especially to Friends, who were filled with divine consolation.

The meeting, as to Friends, ending in peace that passeth the understanding of all priests who preach for hire; one of them, viz., Henry Hall, stood up, and pretended to prove sprinkling of infants, as used by the church of England, to be an ordinance of Christ. Many justices of peace, and others of note of both sexes, were present, and he began with a preamble, in which he so rambled from the matter proposed, that he ended in a pretence to prove the right of the priests to tithes, or some other legal maintenance; as if that were the sum of their religion, and all they meant by their profession. Which impertinence I noting to the people, the priest was justly interrupted, and called back to make good his first proposition, which he evaded, saying, he did not propose to do it then, but would another time.

We appealed to the people, many of them having come that day far and near, and great part of them the hearers of those priests, concerning the state of the matter, and whether the priest had proved what he had undertaken; and they generally granting he had not, we held him to it, as most reasonable and profitable to be done, if he could, in the same auditory. But he utterly evading it, fell under the censure of the people, who, seeing their weakness, generally contemned them.

When the invincible truth came thus over their lofty and self-confident heads, and their spirits were fallen under their own party and hearers, I put them to prove their call to the ministry; which they taking upon them to do, only told us, that Christ called apostles, and they ordained others, and they again others, in succession to that time.

Then I called for their proof, who they were that the apostles ordained, and who, from age to age successively, were so ordained; wherein if they failed, they were justly to be rejected as no ministers of Christ, since



they had rested the matter on such a succession and credentials. One of them repeating the same assertion only as before, I returned it upon him as his own proofless say-so only. Many of that people then, seeing their ignorance, said, "We'll pay you the tobacco, being obliged thereto by law, (that is, forty pounds of tobacco for every negro slave) but we will never hear you more."

While we were yet in the gallery, one of their hearers, who climbed up into a window, cried out with a loud voice to Henry Hall, "Sir, you have broken a canon of the church: you have baptized several negroes, who being infidels, baptism ought not to have been administered to them."

At this the priest was enraged, but made no answer to the charge, only frowned, fretted, and threatened the man to trounce him. Then I observed to the people, that if those negroes were made Christians in their sense, and members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, received into the body of the church of Christ, as their language is at the time of sprinkling, how could they now detain them any longer as slaves?

Several of the justices of the peace being ashamed of their priests, slid out of the meeting as unobservable as might be, and the people in general openly contemned them as such, who behind the backs of the Quakers had greatly reproached and belied them, but face to face were utterly baffled and subdued by them. That night several of the justices lodging with our friend Samuel Chew, expressed their sentiments altogether in our favour, and that their priests were really ignorant men in matters of religion.

The next day being the meeting for discipline and business, abundance of people came, and finding no public meeting for worship, many remained till they saw no hopes of any: the following day likewise came many, the meeting continuing a day longer than was expected, who remaining till the business was over, we had a comfortable time together in the presence and love of God, in which our meeting concluded, to our great satisfaction, and the praise of the Lord, who alone is worthy.

We went that afternoon to the bay of Chesapeake, and many Friends and some of the people with us, to see us embark. We were all that night upon the water, viz: Griffith Owen, Aaron Atkinson, my companion and myself, and went home about the break of day, with our friend William Sharp, in whose vessel we had come over. On the 4th day of fourth month, being the first of the week, we had a large and good meeting near the place, where we had the company of many people

besides Friends; and after the meeting went with a Friend, whose house was on our way.

We went on next morning, and the day proving wet it was a little uncomfortable; but the rain ceasing about noon, we alighted in the woods near a rivulet, and made a fire, and some of us having biscuit and neats tongue, we eat to satisfaction. We went that evening to the house of a Friend, a widow, where finding the Son of Peace, we were well entertained and refreshed next morning with her and the family, in a comfortable season in the truth.

The following morning Griffith Owen, my companion and I set forward for Newcastle upon Delaware; but Aaron Atkinson remained in order to visit some meetings thereaway.

At Newcastle we met with our good friend Samuel Carpenter and other Friends of Philadelphia, and [proceeding to that city] were kindly received to lodging with him. The fifth of the week we had a large meeting there, and were much comforted in the blessed Truth among Friends, staying over the first-day meeting and the third-day following; we had a meeting at Merion, with the Welsh Friends, on the 15th, among whom I was much satisfied. Several of them appeared in testimony in the British tongue, which I did not understand; yet being from the word of Truth in them, as instruments moved thereby, I was as much refreshed as if it had been in my own language. This confirmed me in what I had thought before, that where the Spirit is the same in the preacher and hearer, and is the truth, the refreshment is chiefly thereby, rather than by the form of words or language, to all that are in the same spirit at the same time. This is the universal language of the Spirit, known and understood in all tongues and nations to them that are born of him. In order to the conviction of such as know not the truth—for the begetting of faith in such as do not yet believe therein—for the opening of the understanding by the form of doctrine, and declaration of the necessary truths of the gospel and kingdom of God, intelligible language, uttered under the immediate influence of the Spirit of Truth, is indispensably necessary; as also for the edifying of the church, the body of Christ, in general.

That evening we returned to Philadelphia, where we staid till the 17th of the month, and then went to Burlington, in West New Jersey, and lodged with our well known, and very hospitable friend, and able minister of the gospel, Samuel Jennings, and the next day being the first of the week, had a large and good meeting there.

On the 19th we had a meeting at Crosswicks, in Jersey, about fifteen miles towards New York; next day travelled through the woods



about thirty miles, to an inn, and next day in the afternoon we arrived at Elizabeth-town, in East Jersey, where we took boat about eleven at night, and landed at New York about four in the morning. The day following had a small meeting there, and on the 24th, being the seventh of the week, we went thence by water to Long island.

Passing over the sound to West-Chester, upon the main, we fell in opportunely with a yearly meeting, about twenty miles from New York, and on the 26th set forward for Rhode Island, about two hundred miles. At Stamford, in the colony of Connecticut, a considerable village, we inclined to have a meeting, and acquainted our landlady with our intention, and desired of her the liberty of her house for that purpose, which she readily granted, so far as it was in her power; for their laws and magistrates were very strict and severe against Friends, of whom there was not one in all that country. To secure the good woman from any hurt by her good will toward us, we went to a justice of the peace, and informed him of our intention. He was an ancient man, and moderate in his natural temper, but worse for his religion. He questioned the sufficiency of our calling to that service. "What call," said we, "dost thou think is necessary in that case?" "The call of the people," said he. "Our calling is of God," said we; "and if the people hear us, let the Truth in their hearts, to which we desire to be made manifest, judge whether we be called of God; and any other calling we do not regard." "Then," said he, "I will not tolerate you." "We do not come for thy toleration," said I, "but only to acquaint thee with our purpose, as thou art a magistrate, and we being strangers, there might be no surprise by such a concourse of people." Then he gave us a hint that he would use means to deter them from coming to hear us; and so we returned to our inn.

When there, we met with some people come in as though to refresh themselves, but rather to see us: for generally they are either afraid of us, as if we were deluders and deceivers, or they are so much under their priests and laws, that they dare not be seen with a Friend. Their dead faith and religion depend so much upon their priests, that they scarcely dare look toward the truth, or hear any but them. That evening we had conversation with some of them concerning the occasion of the coming of their ancestors out of England into that country, then a wilderness, upon account of religion, for which they had been persecuted there; which seemed a new thing to several of them. And supper being ready, I had something in prayer before we

ate, and the people were still and attentive, and seemed pleased to find the false accounts they had received, refuted, viz: That Quakers receive the mercies of God as the brutes, never craving a blessing, nor returning the Lord thanks. And we informing them of our intention of having a meeting there next morning at the ninth hour, they departed friendly.

The time came, and many of the people; and whilst we sat in silence, came a constable, and another to assist him, with a warrant from one John Sillick, the mayor of the town; in which were several invectives and false charges against us, as heretics, blasphemers, deniers of Christ, and the like; dictated, as we conjectured from some circumstances, by their priest, who went out of the town and left his flock.

The warrant being read, I stood up and acquainted the people with the law of toleration in England, the moderation of the king, and temper of the government and people there towards us; and that they of Connecticut ought not by their charter to have any law there to the contrary. But the constable and his rude assistant replied, they did not depend upon the laws of England, but stood upon their own foundation, and they had a law that no Quakers should have any meeting among them, and none there should be, and then commanded us to be gone.

My companion being filled with zeal, stood up and spake to the people, and the constable commanded him to be silent, of which he took no notice, but went on. Then the constable came close up to his face in an angry manner, repeating his command; but my companion in continuing his speech, recounted to the people the wickedness of that antichristian spirit in New England, where they had whipped, and many ways abused and persecuted our friends, cutting off the ears of some, and hanging others, because they were Quakers, and came into their country, though they came in love, as the peaceable messengers of God to them; that the same spirit was yet alive among them in Connecticut, and would be at the same cruel work still, but was overruled by a better power.

The constables not being able to effect their purpose upon us, commanded the people to disperse, some of whom still remaining, they at last commanded our hostess to forbid us her house; which she did with trembling, and then we went into the streets, and through them, my companion crying with a loud voice all along, "Wo, wo, wo, to the inhabitants of this place, who profess God and Christ, without the knowledge of God, and void of his fear;" with some such other words, in a power and dread that amazed



many of the people; and we going back towards the inn, and standing before the door in the street, many came about us, and there he had a pretty full and good time among them.

When this was over we went into the inn, where several of their elders came to dispute with us. The first matter pitched upon was the universal free grace of God to all men, through our Lord Jesus Christ; which we asserted and fully maintained over them, which being contrary to their beloved and false doctrine of personal predestination, it occasioned a discourse on that subject; which they asserted, and we opposed. An unlikely disputant came and placed himself at the head of the table and espoused their cause; and the proof being incumbent upon them, he, with great confidence, asserted, that God said, "before Jacob and Esau were born, that he loved Jacob and hated Esau; and that it was the pleasure and decree of God from everlasting so to do, without any cause in either of them, being before they had done good or evil."

Then I called for one of their Bibles, and told him, "He and they all were in a great mistake concerning that Scripture; for God did not say, before the children were born, 'Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated;' but said, 'Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger. Here the answer of God being a prediction, had no respect to the persons of Jacob and Esau; nor was it ever fulfilled personally in them. For Esau, who was the elder, never served Jacob in person; but on the contrary, Jacob did obeisance to Esau, and called him his lord, Gen. xxxii. 4, 18, 20.

"This prediction then was written concerning the differing posterity of Esau and Jacob, and not their persons; and was fulfilled in the Edomites of Mount Seir, who came of Esau; and Israel, who came of Jacob: and the displeasure of God against the Edomites was not from any fore-hatred or decree of God from eternity, as ye suppose; but the moral cause of his displeasure and their ruin was, their great sins and wickedness, as declared by the prophets of God; and first by Ezekiel, 'Behold, O Mount Seir, I am against thee, because thou hast had a perpetual hatred, and hast shed the blood of the children of Israel by the force of the sword, in the time of their calamity,' &c. And likewise by Amos, 'Because he did pursue his brother with the sword, and did cast off all pity, and his anger did tear perpetually, and keep his wrath for ever.' And

also by Obadiah, against Esau, that is, Edom, 'For the pride of thine heart, for thy violence against thy brother Jacob, shame shall cover thee, and thou shalt be cut off for ever.'

And last of all by Malachi, who hath it thus, 'Was not Esau Jacob's brother, saith the Lord; yet I loved Jacob, and hated Esau, and laid his mountains and his heritage waste.' &c., which was for his pride, obstinacy, and opposition, persisting in final rebellion, impenitence and contradiction. All which is still concerning Edom and Israel, and not the persons of Jacob and Esau, the last of those prophets having wrote about one thousand four hundred and forty-one years after the prediction of God to Rebecca, concerning their posterity.

"The apostle in his epistle to the Romans, where he saith, 'as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated,' refers to that of Malachi, as above, about four hundred and fifty-seven years after Malachi wrote that prophecy. In that chapter the apostle was labouring to convince the Jews, that they are not the true seed, or elect of God, as they seem to have imagined, because they were the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, after the flesh. But Esau, being a rough, wild, hairy man, was a figure of the first birth of man after the flesh, as a son of the first Adam in the fall, who, in that state, cannot inherit the kingdom of God; and Jacob, a figure of the second birth, or regenerate state of man, in Christ the second Adam; who never fell, nor could fall. For saith the apostle, 'they are not all Israel, who are of Israel; neither, because they are of the seed of Abraham, are they all children; but in Isaac shall thy seed be called: that is, they who are the children of the flesh,' are not the children of God; 'but the children of the promise are counted for the seed.'

"The promise is Christ, the Messiah, the elect and promised seed of God; of whom it is written, 'I and the children which thou hast given me:' which children are all that believe in him, as he is the man Christ Jesus, the Son and Word of God, and light of the Gentiles, and are born of him, by the influence of his holy Spirit working in them.

"And as the Edomites hated and persecuted Israel, and took all occasions and advantages against them to do them hurt, till, for so doing they were cut off; and for their other sins, when full; so likewise the Jews, hated, rejected, and persecuted Christ, the elect of God, for which they also were cut off, and remain infidels to this day. Those also now, as in all ages, who are born only after the flesh, and not after the Spirit, do hate, persecute, and as much as they can, destroy them who are born



of the elect seed of God, after the Spirit, for which, if they repent not in time, they will likewise be cut off, and perish everlastingly."

This weakened one of our opponents, and his spirit fell, and the better part came a little up; but another foolish disputant, in a precipitant, ungovernable, furious zeal, said, "I affirm that all the sins Esau ever committed, were the effects of the eternal decree of God, and hatred against him, before he was created, and not the cause of that wrath and fore-hatred." And so, in a rage, would have run away, but I kept close to the table, he being behind it, and hindered him; and looking him in the face, replied, "I affirm! Who art thou?" looking upon him till his lofty spirit fell under, and then repeating the assertion, I demanded his proof from the Scriptures, but none could be had.

Then I returned it upon him as a false, blasphemous, and unjust charge against the Almighty, under which he remained silent; and the other asking me a question, to be informed concerning the light of Christ in man, which he confessed he knew nothing of, he slunk away in the mean time through the crowd of people on the other side of the table, and made off out of the house. The Truth came over all, and I believe several understandings were in some degree opened on that subject, and some other points; for we had no further dispute, but the other opponent and the people parted with us in a friendly manner, the better part being sensibly reached and above. We departed in the peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be the praise of all; for of him is the understanding and power now and for ever.

That evening we went forward to Fairfield, about twenty miles, and lodged at the house of one Philip Lewis. He told us there was to be a great meeting of their people, and a quarterly lecture, in that place next day, to the inhabitants of seven townships and all their ministers. We took notice of it, but said nothing; in the morning my companion told me he thought he could not go clear from thence, if he did not go to the lecture; at which I was well pleased, for I had likewise a secret inclination to be at the meeting, but not having seen clearly a sufficient warrant in myself for such an undertaking, I was not forward to engage or speak of it. Walking into a field, I sat down upon a stone on the top of a little hill, and the word of Truth began to work in me more fully and clearly; and then I received not only free will, but likewise power, yet still kept the thing to myself. Returning to my companion at the inn, thither came the priest of Stanford, before mentioned, to inquire privately of our land-

lord whether we intended to appear at their lecture; which he not knowing, told him he would inquire of us, and then we were free to tell him it might so fall out—which he told the priest, who took it for granted, and returned to the rest.

We went to the meeting-house, and they had begun their prayer, which we perceiving as we approached the door, did not then enter, lest we should offend them with our hats, for we did not intend to interrupt them in their worship; but going aside, we sat down upon the green, where we could hear the voice of him that prayed, though not distinguish his words. He made a very long prayer, which being ended, they sang a Psalm of David, and we staid till that was over, and then entered as the preacher was giving out his text, which was from the first three verses of the fifty-fifth chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah, in these words, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread; and your labour for that which satisfieth not? Hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear and come unto me; hear and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David." This text we were well pleased with, for he could hardly have taken one more apt against himself, and all others, whose ground of preaching is their own gain and livelihood, and for their own honour, interest, and advancement in the world. He divided his text into four heads, and then into several branches and subdivisions. His sermon would be too tedious to recite, nor can I, *verbatim*; but in the handling of the matter, he asserted, the universal free grace of God in Jesus Christ, and that he is offered to all, but many reject him for the trifles of this life, and consequently their damnation is of themselves, &c.

The sermon being over, the minister went to prayer; which being finished, the priests and people began to move away, which was scarcely discernible till Roger Gill, my companion, stood up on a form and began to speak, saying, "We have patiently heard what hath been declared, and having something likewise to say, we expect the like moderation from you." Upon which the people halted and would have heard; but in a moment, five of the preachers who were in a gallery, descended from thence, and the other two arose from their seats and called to the people to depart, and some of them cried aloud for



the powers. He that had preached took Roger Gill by the hand as he stood on the form, and prayed him to come down; and Roger urging the reasonableness of our liberty to speak, since they had done, the priest of Stanford cried out, "Sir, you are not qualified, you have no call from the people as we have." To which Roger replied, "Have you your qualifications and call only from the people? Our call is from God, and we recommend our testimony to the consciences of the people: through the grace of God we call them to the faith and obedience of Christ, and not they us."

Then the priest rejoined, that their qualifications to preach were of God, but the call of the people was also necessary; and then cried out, "Where are the powers?" Upon which, Nathaniel Gould, their justice, commanded the constables to take us into custody, one of whom arising from his seat, his next neighbour pulled him down, many being desirous to hear us; but soon after several of them came and haled us away. Then I called to the people, and told them, they were not from thenceforth to pay any thing to their ministers for preaching, since they had made open proclamation, that all was now to be without money or price; at which many of them smiled. I had not said any thing before. The constables took us out from among them, to the further side of a large street; and then I demanded a sight of their warrant, and they confessed they had none but the justice's command. Then I took their names in writing, and admonished them to beware of false imprisonment, for they themselves knew that I had neither done nor said any thing against any law. They replied, we were not in prison. "But," said I, "custody is imprisonment by the law of England." Then they were a little surprised, and my companion went from them back to the people, most of whom were remaining about the meeting-house, and there he had a good opportunity to clear himself.

While he was speaking, a predestinarian, for he spake against that tenet, came to interrupt him; but another of their own party pulled him away, and said, "The man spake truth." I also kept several of them off by giving them soft words, and desiring them to be patient till he had done, and then to object if they had any thing against him; but he met with no opposition in the end, for after a while they were generally very sober, and some tender.

When he had finished, I did not find any thing upon me for the people, but asked them where their ministers were, for I had a mind to see them; and several were forward to

show us they were gone to the house of the minister of the town, and we went thither. When we came, we understood they were at dinner, and the master of the house coming to us, I told him, we desired to speak with them, but seeing it was then unseasonable, we would call after they had dined. He kindly invited us to eat with them, and said we should be as welcome as any there; but we returned to our inn, and after refreshment went back to them.

When we entered the room they generally arose from their seats to tender their civilities, only the preacher, being old, and weary with the work of the day, and lying upon the bed, did not arise, but spake kindly to us. Seats being set, I sat down upon the bed's foot, at the feet of the preacher, and some of them urging me to take a chair, as a better seat, I told them I took that seat for the better advantage of seeing them all at once. Being a short time silent, I began to expostulate matters with them, about their treatment of us in their meeting-house, reminding them of our behaviour and patience, adding, that we came not to disturb them, but in Christian love and good will to them and the people, urging their duty to us as strangers, and the order of the gospel. I recounted also to them the occasion of the coming of their ancestors, if not of some of themselves, being ancient men, into those parts of the world, then a desolate wilderness, viz: for conscience sake, as dissenters from the national worship of England. That it looked unaccountable, that they who had been hated, imprisoned, plundered, and divers ways persecuted for that which was, or seemed to be, matter of conscience to them, should now use the like practices, against such as for conscience sake were appearing against some things yet unreformed among them and their people, both in doctrine and practice, among which, a necessity of being called by the people to minister to them, is one.

This brought that point again into question, and John Davenport being, as we supposed, the most learned and best orator among them, undertook it, and asserted, that Christ called and ordained twelve apostles, and they ordained others, and those again others successively unto this day.

That Christ ordained twelve apostles, we granted; but denied that any at this day were in a lineal succession from the apostles so ordained, and put him upon his proof, and that they themselves were so ordained by such succession, but he could make nothing of it. All he could say for proof amounting to no more than his say-so, or a repetition of the assertion. And he also slunk from the ques-



tion about the call of the people to their ministers.

Then said I, "But if it were possible to prove such a succession, who are ye? How like are you to the apostles? How doth it appear that you are such? How and what do you succeed them in? You greatly err in your practice from the apostles of Christ. For where do you find that ever they sat down in little corners of the world, and received maintenance from the people for themselves and families? And of such too as were not able or willing to pay them? As your case is; (for some of them had, by a law, taken the very wearing apparel of some poor people that could not pay them) to take from them their goods and apparel!"

Then their champion being in a rage, spluttered out a mouthful or two of Greek, signifying, that Paul the apostle had robbed other churches, taking wages of them to supply the wants of the Corinthians, to whom he then wrote; and, "thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn."

To which I replied, that their sect, as well as others, had justly blamed the Papists for having their service in an unknown tongue; and I suspected that the using of it then was for the like end, that the auditory might not understand; (for there were many people, and of the greater sort among them, present) so that they might have an opportunity, after we were departed, to say they had overcome us. I then bid him repeat those Scriptures in English, that the people might hear they were nothing to his purpose; which, after several evasions he did, first saying after a scoffing manner, "If you be a minister of Christ, inspired of the Holy Ghost, surely you know the tongues."

I replied, "It is not a sentence or two of Greek, or of any other language, that renders a man knowing in those tongues; nor is that an essential qualification to a minister of Christ. The prophets of God, of old, spake to the people by the spirit of Christ, but in their own language; and so did the apostles too, notwithstanding the gift of tongues, which every minister had not; and that gift was also to cease, and is ceased, though inspiration remains, and no man is either a minister of Christ, or a Christian, without it. 'He that hath not the spirit of Christ, is none of his.' And where a minister speaks in a language understood by the people to whom he is sent, it answers the end of speech, to all intents, though neither he nor they understand any other. And I am of the mind of the apostle, who said, 'I had rather speak five words with the spirit and understanding, than five thousand in an unknown tongue;' yet thou

dost not know what I understand of Greek, or any other than that in which I now speak. But, to invert thy own terms, Art thou a minister of Christ? And hast thou thy tongues by inspiration? Or art thou a scoffer at inspiration, and a minister of Christ, without it?" To which he was silent, and I went on to show to the people, that the texts he had cited were nothing to his purpose, and that he and his brethren had nothing to do with them. For in the first place, they could not prove their succession as ministers of Christ, as they had proposed; and failing in that, they had no right to claim advantages due only to such. In the second place, what the apostle there received, was not for the maintenance of himself and family, but for the service of the congregation in a time of general want.

And as to the treading out of the corn, he had not yet proved that he or they were of those oxen, or that they trod out that corn; and therefore the Scriptures which might be applicable to the apostles and ministers of Christ, were but wrested, as applied to him and them, and their case: for the apostles never had such maintenance as theirs, but wrought with their hands for their support, and the help of others also, which was not their practice.

He then betook himself to railing and abuse, and gave us scurrilous language and names, calling us grasshoppers, schismatics, heretics, deceivers, and the like; and pretended to prove his rude charge by a syllogism, which he formed thus:

"What people soever deny the Lord Jesus Christ and his ordinances, and set up the light of the devil in themselves for a Saviour, are heretics. But the Quakers, ever since George Fox preached up that light in themselves for the Saviour of the world, have denied the true Christ and his ordinances, therefore the Quakers are heretics and blasphemers."

Then I looked upon the people round about, and said, "Do you think that this man behaves like a minister of Christ? Is this language becoming such a one? What spirit do you think, is he of? And from whom proceeds this behaviour?" Upon which some smiled, and others blushed. Then I proceeded to answer him, "That we do not, nor ever did, deny the Lord Jesus Christ, nor any of his ordinances, in their various and proper dispensations and seasons; but say, God is light, and so likewise is Jesus Christ the Son of God, the eternal emanation of the Father's glory. He is the Word, Wisdom, and Power of God; the Word that was made flesh, born of the Virgin Mary, and dwelt among his people, the Jews, under the name of Jesus Christ, which is also that true Light, which



lighteth every man that cometh into the world. And neither George Fox, nor any other minister of Christ among us, nor we, ever preached any other Christ or light but this, which one of your ministers here calls the devil. Let him therefore look at his own heresy and blasphemy, and repent."

I then observed to the people, that their ministers were utterly unable to prove any call they had to a gospel ministry, as they might plainly perceive by what had then passed between us. And my companion was all this time keeping the rest in order, that they should not break in upon us with other matter, till that was discussed, as they often attempted.

"As to the other pretended proof, that we are heretics, it is, he saith, because we deny the ordinances of Christ, as he calls them; and by the ordinances of Christ, he and they mean water baptism, and bread and wine, and by baptism they mean the sprinkling of infants in the face with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as by their frequent practice is evident to the world." I told them they had deceived the people, in administering that to them for an ordinance of Christ which he never commanded; and that whoever set up and administer for ordinances of Christ what he hath not commanded, are liable to the curse. For if God will add the plagues written in the book, to such as shall add to or take away from the words of the book, and if their part shall be taken out of the book of life, how much more may not the Lord one day inflict his judgments and condemnation upon such as presume to add any thing, or take away from any of his ordinances, or any thing commanded by him?

"You say, in your catechism, that baptism with water is an ordinance of Christ, necessary to salvation; and what you mean thereby is plain as before. I therefore demand your proof, that sprinkling infants is an ordinance of Christ, necessary to salvation, and that they are heretics who decline the practice of it." This gave all the priests very much disturbance, but the people were grave and silent, and they earnestly pressed, first to prove water baptism an ordinance of Christ, and then they pretended to prove the other: but we insisted that they had nothing to do with baptism, but to prove the sprinkling of infants, as they used it, to be an ordinance of Christ; for this is a day wherein every man, and sect too, must be judged according to their works, and not by the works of other men. Then we observed to the people, that their pretended proof of water baptism was only a subtilty to alter the state of the question, and introduce another thing, which they

have no right to maintain till they practice it. Let them first be baptized themselves, and then we may reason with them on that subject. For when we talk with Baptists we know what to say, and to them too, if it were proper, but sprinkling is their point to prove, or nothing.

Then John Davenport arising from his seat, turned his back upon the people and pretended to prove infant baptism an ordinance of Christ; but we still insisted on sprinkling, not baptizing, of infants, as their proper task, and at length he undertook it, and began thus:

1st; That Christ said, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not." 2ndly; That the jailer's family, as we read in Scripture, were all baptized, and there might be children among them. 3rdly; And that the commission was to baptize the whole world, and surely there were children there.

To this I replied, that what he had advanced for a proof was altogether fallacious; for first, the end the people had in bringing their children to Christ was, not to sprinkle or baptize them, for he baptized none, but that he might lay his hands upon them, and bless them; in which he answered the faith and expectation of the people, saying, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." The Son of God therefore having thus blessed them, and declared their innocence, being yet neither baptized nor sprinkled, let us leave them safe in his holy arms, and under his care, protection, and blessing, where they are fully happy, without any thing you can add to their condition.

2ndly; As there might be children in that jailer's family, so likewise there might be none, and where the Scripture is silent as to facts, we ought not to presume to speak, and from a bare possibility to assert a fact, especially in a thing of this moment, is not good reasoning. Besides, it is plain there were no children in the jailer's family, for they all believed, which children cannot do; and to keep to the point, those believers were baptized, not sprinkled.

And 3rdly; As to that text alluded to, with other concomitant Scriptures, they lie thus: "Repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem:" That "all power is given unto" him, "in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore," said he, "and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you, &c. Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but



he that believeth not shall be damned:" and that they "should be witnesses unto him of these things;" of his life, doctrine, miracles, sufferings to death on the cross, resurrection and ascension, "both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth."

The subjects of this baptism, not rantism, are such as have sinned, and are capable of being taught or disciplined—of believing—of repentance—of observing all his commands to do them—of receiving their testimony and doctrines of the gospel in all these particulars, on pain of damnation; of which children are not capable, and therefore not included in the intent and nature of this commission, though living in the world.

The word *ΒΑΠΤΩ*, of which comes *βαπτίζω*, in the Greek language, signifies to drown, or sink in water; to dip; to overwhelm; to plunge; to thrust in, or to go into water; to steep, or infuse; to dye, or colour; to tincture, or, as it were, to impregnate one thing with the nature of another; as if the subject of baptism, which is dipped, should be impregnated with the qualities of the instrument of baptism, into which it is dipped, or washed. But when the Greeks would express sprinkling, which is a different act from washing or baptizing, they do it by the word *ῥαντίζω*; which, in its various modes, is always used, as Heb. ix. 19, where it is, *ῥεπάντισε*; and Heb. x. 22—xii. 24, 1 Pet. i. 2, *ῥαντισμὸν αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, and *asperionem sanguinis Jesu Christi*, and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ. See Heb. ix. 21. *ῥεπάντισε*, *aspersit*, he sprinkled, &c. So that rantizing, or sprinkling of infants, is an ordinance of Christ, and that they are heretics, schismatics, who decline it, are yet to be proved, and is a false and unchristian charge.

He was loath to yield the point before the people, being a matter of great importance to their function, and therefore rejoined thus; "The reason of things in this, as in all other matters, ought to have some consideration and sway in this case: the baptizing or dipping of children in cold countries, might hazard their lives; and for that reason, may be indulged with sprinkling only, as thereby rendering the ordinance more safe and commodious."

To this I replied, "That though this was sufficiently answered in what had passed before, yet I would give it a more particular return: that the greatest part of the habitable world lies in the torrid and two temperate zones. In the first it is sufficiently warm at all times, without any hazard of infants taking cold by baptism, or washing; so that if they

were the subjects of baptism, as they are not, the mode need not be altered from washing to sprinkling on that pretence; and in each temperate zone it is likewise sufficiently warm great part of the year, and never so cold as to hazard the life or health of a child by dipping in cold water, and they are not forbid to warm it; for the common practice of the Indians upon their children, in the coldest parts of the habitable world, proves it; where they wash their children in cold water immediately upon their being born into the world, the better to harden them to the climate they are in, without any such effects: on the contrary, it renders them more hardy and healthy.

"And besides, the Lord Jesus knowing all objections, makes no exceptions; which infinite goodness and wisdom would have done, if proper in his sight, and wanted no assistance in the manner or extent of his ordinances, from the ignorant, and weak, yet too bold and presumptuous reasonings of poor mortals, how high, lofty, and conceited soever they may be in their own earthly wisdom and imaginations. And thus erring from the truth, in mode, subject, and instrument of baptism, you have none at all; but are deceived yourselves, and have deceived the people." And thus, being tied down to their own practice, by the secret invisible power of Truth, he was totally silent, and they did not offer any further argument upon it.

Then I addressed myself more particularly to the people, and told them again, "They had no baptism, but were only in the practice of a relic of Popery, instead of an ordinance of Christ: for the antichristian church of Rome, imagining children to have original sin, and that something should be done to clear them of it, they thought upon water baptism as the effectual means; which accordingly they administered. But afterwards they declined baptism, and substituted rantism, or sprinkling, first to sick or weakly children, and afterwards extended their new invention to all children: so that water baptism was wholly dropped, and John the Baptist's prediction fulfilled, 'I must decrease,' that is, his baptism, 'but he,' that is, Christ, and his baptism with the Holy Ghost, 'must increase.'

"To their new invention, they added several superstitious and ridiculous actions and ceremonies: they appointed god-fathers and god-mothers; the priest breathes in the child's face, signs him on the breast and forehead with the sign of the cross, but without any remaining mark; puts salt in his mouth, and spittle upon his ears and nostrils, and asks him, though he understands nothing, if he will renounce the devil and all his pomps;



anoints him with oil on the head, shoulders and breast, and gives him a white chrysom, and puts a hallowed candle in his hand.

"The effects they ascribe to all this are, 1st; It makes the subjects thereof children of God, and remits both original and actual sin. 2ndly; It infuseth justifying grace into the soul, with habits of faith, hope, and charity, and all supernatural gifts and virtues. 3rdly; It makes a spiritual mark or character in the soul, which shall remain for ever, either to their great joy in heaven, or confusion in hell.

"But when the Lutherans and Episcopalians in England reformed a little from Rome, they laid aside the superstitious part, except god-fathers, god-mothers, and the sign of the cross on the forehead, which they still retain; and ascribe the like effects to their act of sprinkling, and the ceremonies and prayers they use on that occasion. And when your predecessors, the Presbyterians and Independents in England, reformed and dissented from them, they rejected the sign of the cross, god-fathers, god-mothers, and forms of prayer used by the church of England, as Popery and superstition: but their eyes being but once touched, they saw men as trees; not perceiving that sprinkling of infants is Popery, an antichristian invention as well as the other; which remaining unreformed by your first reformers, has passed to you of this present age by tradition, unexamined and unreformed. And so ignorant, or wilfully blind are your ministers, that we are here branded before you as heretics, schismatics, and deniers of the ordinances of Christ, for testifying against Popish inventions and relics."

While I was upon this, several of the priests, very willing to cover themselves from their people, started up; and every one had something else to offer. But my companion, being a bold man in the cause, kept them back and told them, their several somethings else being foreign to the present subject, ought not to be admitted, till this should be settled; which concluding as above, he then challenged all the seven ministers, that if they would call a meeting of all the people of their seven townships to that place, we would stay, if it were some days, and discourse with them on what points they pleased, openly before them; but they refused, and so their somethings else came to nothing.

In the mean time, while he was thus challenging them, I sat down again on the bed's foot by the old minister, and the rest of them; and the people being in motion, he arose and came to me, and took me by the hand, and whispering, said, "Pray sir, cannot you pass quietly along, and let those things alone; for

though there is little in them, the people have a belief therein; they think well of them; they are innocent things, and do them no harm."

To which I answered, "That they and their forefathers said, and do say, they were conscientious in discovering and rejecting the errors and superstition of the Papists and Episcopalians, in this and other points, and in exposing them to the people; so are we, in our time, conscientiously concerned for the love of truth and souls, without any other consideration, to expose to the view of mankind such errors as yet remain among them, as we are enabled by divine grace to do it. This matter of sprinkling infants, though of little account in itself; yet, as it is set up as an ordinance of Christ, which it is not, is no indifferent matter, but hath been, and is of pernicious consequence to the Christian religion, the people being taught to believe they have Christian baptism, when in truth, they have none at all; and therefore sit down short and secure in a false rest, and seek no further for the true baptism of Christ; which is only by the Holy Spirit, and without the knowledge whereof no soul can be saved." And so we concluded.

I exhorted them all not to be averse or ashamed to reform, though late, from those things wherein they could not justly deny that they were amiss. And finding my antagonist, Davenport, very calm, and in a better mind than in the beginning, I took him by the hand, and bid him beware for the future how he boasted beforehand over strangers, for he had greatly vaunted, and insulted us before the people when we began this contest, and how he would prove us heretics; and I advised him not to boast till he had put off his armour, adding, that I now found a better part in him, and was glad it was so. The invisible power of the everlasting truth of God being over all, we took them kindly by the hand, and they us, with mutual good wishes on both sides; and so we parted with them in friendship, and in great peace in the Lord, to whom be the honour now and for ever.

As we went along the street from the house, there came aside of us a justice of peace; who, smiling, said, "Gentlemen, you have had a whole body of divinity to encounter to-day." I answered, "That if we had met with more humanity, it would have been more satisfactory to us." And walking a little further, another justice on horseback overtook us; who, saluting us with respect, said, he understood we were going his way, and if we pleased to stay a little at our inn he would call upon us; to which we assented. At our inn we found some of the people, to whom we



further improved the text, Isa. lv. 1, 2, 3, to the advantage of Truth.

The justice came, and we went together several miles, and had much discourse about points wherein they and we differ, viz: baptism, the supper, the Word of God, &c., concerning the two first I took some pains with him; but being under great prepossessions and prejudices, and long accustomed to a carnal way of thinking on spiritual subjects, he could not readily apprehend the force of my arguments; though he was willing to be informed. As to the latter, we acknowledged that the Holy Scriptures, being given by divine inspiration, are of divine authority; yet not the prime, but secondary rule, nor properly the Word of God. In which my companion satisfied him after this manner:

“‘In the beginning was the Word;’ but the Scriptures were not in the beginning: ‘and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;’ but the Scriptures are not God: ‘and the Word was made flesh;’ but the Scriptures were never made flesh.” And this he could see, and was satisfied.

He invited us to his house; and at our first entrance, his wife was shy of our company, not being at all acquainted with our unmodish behaviour; but observing the respect of her husband towards us, she likewise altered her conduct, became more social, and asked some questions about baptism, the light of Christ in man, and that wild and foolish sect aptly called Ranters; a meeting of them being at that time remaining in Long island; and some of them had, from time to time, gone into Connecticut, under the name of Friends, and by their wild and unaccountable behaviour, had scandalized the Truth, and brought reproach upon Friends; the people in that colony, till we went that way, generally thinking all Friends were the same with those Ranters, though they had a law of an old date, distinguishing them.

As to the light of Christ being in all men, I advanced several Scriptures, proving, that God is light, and Christ is likewise light, the Word and manifestor of the Father; the same light that is the Word, is God manifested in the flesh, and the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world; with which she was satisfied.

As to baptism, I observed to her, “That when John the Baptist baptized the people with water, he told them of another baptizer and baptism, more excellent than himself and his, and that was Christ, whose baptism is not with water, but the Holy Spirit; and that is the one only true baptism, by which men are inwardly washed, purified and initiated into one body, and one mind; the church of

Christ, which is his body, the fulness of him who filleth all in all.” And informing her that sprinkling of infants is no baptism at all, she was satisfied in this likewise.

Of the Ranters, I observed, “That they held absurd and blasphemous opinions; and frequently came into our meetings, and rant, sing, and dance, and act like madmen, throwing dust in the faces of our ministers when preaching. Though they are called Quakers, and have meetings of their own as we have, yet they have no discipline or order among them, but deny all that as carnal and formal, leaving every one to do as he pleases, without any reproof, restraint, or account to the society in any thing, how inconsistent soever with civility, morality, and religion; and are in mere anarchy. And therefore we bear witness against them in word, writing, and practice; we being settled under the most concise, regular, and reasonable constitution of discipline that ever was established in the world.”

This gave the justice and his wife full satisfaction as to the great difference between the ranters and us, as quite opposites in principle and practice; though the world includes us both under one denomination.

We staid as long as the time would allow, having several miles to go to the inn to which we intended that night, and departed in peace, and left them in love and respect to us.

We went to Stratford, and next day by Milford to New Haven; where, alighting for refreshment, I had a concern to pray before we ate; which several persons in the house took notice of, to the advantage of our profession, they, as many others, having been misinformed, that we never prayed, or gave thanks on such occasions. Being desirous to have a meeting there, I made request to our landlord for the liberty of his house for that purpose; to which he replied, that without leave of the magistrates he could not. Then we went to speak with the next justice of peace about it, but he was not at home; and neither we, nor the innkeeper himself, could have the liberty of his house for a meeting.

As we were going away, at the other end of the town, we called at the mayor’s house, and told him the innkeeper would let us have a meeting in his house, provided we had the assent of a magistrate. And though he was very smooth at first, he soon after told us, he would not give way to any such thing, since they had already a ministry of their own, and did not want any thing of us; for they understood we denied Christ, and were heretical; with some other opprobrious language, and false accusations.

I replied, “That we own Christ, and believe him to be the Saviour of the world; and



would gladly have an opportunity to undeceive people concerning Christ, and those things wherein they are in error about the Lord and us;" but by no means would he consent. Such is the great bondage and slavery that people are in to their hired preachers; who had got a law made, destructive of the liberty of their consciences and civil rights: so that neither magistrates nor people durst do any thing, but according to the will of the priest.

From New Haven we went to Killingsworth, about twenty-eight miles, and that night at the inn had some dispute with our landlord, and others, concerning freedom from sin in this life; which we maintained against them, by the sixth and eighth chapters to the Romans, and first Epistle of John, where it is written, "What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid: how shall we, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?" "For in that he (Christ) died, he died unto sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord." "Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness." "For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness." "But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness; and the end, everlasting life." "For the law of the Spirit of life, in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death." "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." "If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." "If we confess our sins, (that is, unto the Lord who convinceth us of them) he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." "But if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son, (that is the Son of God) cleanseth us from all sin." "I have written unto you, young men, because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one." "And every man that hath this hope, (that is, to be like him, and see him as he is) purifieth himself, even as he is pure." "Whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not: whosoever sinneth, hath not seen him, neither known him." "He that committeth sin, is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed (that is, the word Christ)

remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God."

Having thus, and with other arguments deduced from these and other Scriptures, maintained the doctrine of truth against their false and pernicious doctrine of sin for term of life; we then sent the priest of the town word, that if he would summon his people, (for they had boasted that their minister could have said great things, and answered all if he had been there) by such a time in the morning, and give us notice, we would meet him and them in conference, about this and other controversial points; but no answer came.

We departed next morning, and rode about forty miles; and on the following day set forward for Rhode Island, and in our way called at a little ordinary, where there was an Indian woman spinning; and after a while I found a concern for her in my mind, and made her stop her wheel, and spake to her of the witness of God in her, which discovered to her good and evil, that dictates the former, and reproves the latter. To which she confessed, and said, with tears in her eyes, that she knew better than she practised, and was very humble. We went forward to the house of Rowland Robinson in Narraganset, where we were kindly received, and then to Joseph Mory's in Conanicut, from whence we sent notice that evening to Newport on Rhode Island, of our coming. Next day, being the first of the week, were at their meeting, which was not very large, because of a new monthly meeting for worship that day begun in Narraganset, to which many Friends in those parts were gone. We staid till third-day, and had a meeting at Conanicut island, and returned that evening to Rhode Island; and next day had a large meeting at Newport, and the day after another some miles off. Next morning we set forward for Boston, and that night lodged at a poor inn in Braintree.

Near Boston, on a green, we observed a gallows; and being told that was the place where several of our friends had suffered death for the Truth, and had been there thrown into a hole, we rode a little out of the way to see it; which was a kind of pit near the gallows, and full of water, but two posts at each end, which had been set there by means of Edward Shippen of Philadelphia, a reputable Friend, formerly of Boston; who would have erected some more lasting monument there, but the magistrates were not willing, since it would too frequently bring to remembrance that great error of their ancestors, which could not now be repaired.

While we sat on horseback by the pit, we were drawn into right silence, by the awful, yet



life-giving presence of the Lord, which there graciously and unexpectedly visited us together, and tendered us; and so raised our minds, though in deep humility before the Lord, over that evil spirit which murdered our friends, that for my own part the inhabitants were no more than as the dust in the streets as we rode among them.

But though I rode into the town in this holy triumph, yet, in a short time I was so inwardly weak and cast down, that I was as the dirt under the feet of all; so that I could not look even their children in the face. But being raised again by the Truth into my former condition, I perceived that the state of triumph I had been in, represented to me the state of glory, which the Lord Jesus and his saints, with those our friends, and others, are now in; and that low state represented the condition of the Seed of life in that people still suffering under all. We lodged with our friend Daniel Zachary, and had a small meeting next day, the first of the week, there being few Friends in the town, or near it; but in the evening we had one much larger, the house being crowded, and the Lord favoured us with his good presence, and things were well and comfortable. The meeting-house being in a narrow thoroughfare-lane, many of the people came as if passing that way occasionally, and seeing some persons in the meeting, stopped, as if it had been to look upon us but at a distance; yet standing a while, they at length came in, and were very sober.

On second-day we went to Lynn, where, hearing of a meeting appointed by our friend Jedediah Allan, about two miles thence, we went to it, and lodged that night with our friend Richard Estis, at Lynn, and had a meeting the next day at Salem: proceeded next day to Hampton, forty miles, and had a meeting there on the 13th, being the fifth of the week, among a considerable number of young convinced Friends, who had embraced the Truth, for the most part, by the gospel ministry of Jonathan Taylor, who had been in those parts some time before us; and the Lord gave us a comfortable season among them.

On the 14th we went to Dover, and next day had a small meeting at Cachecha, about three miles further, at the house of our friend Thomas Hanson. This was the furthest we went in that country; for we were informed that the country for above one hundred miles further north-east, formerly inhabited by the English, was at this time laid waste by the Indians; one of whom, in these last wars, was able to chase several English; whereas, formerly, it was much the contrary. Many houses

had been laid waste and ruined, and the owners were at this time beginning to return, but many were not yet bold enough to lodge out of some garrison.

I did not hear of any of our friends who carried arms when abroad, or in their business, but two, and these the Indians killed; but most went into garrisons to lodge in the nights, and some did not, but trusted in the Lord; and we kept clear of all garrisons, always lodging without their bounds. The people in those parts were willing to hear us; then, if ever, are they apt to receive the Lord and his truth, when their minds are humbled by his judgments.

On the 16th, being the first of the week, we had a large open meeting at Dover, and things were well; and next day returned to Hampton, and on the 18th had a meeting at Joseph Chase's, where we had the company of many of the people. My companion comparing their priests to the serpent, who, by some things true, and some false, beguiled Eve; for these men preach to the people, sin term of life, and heaven in the end; not regarding the holy Scripture, where it is said, "He that commits sin is the servant of sin; and his servants ye are to whom ye obey, whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness." He was opposed by a rude person, who called him a liar; but my companion being over him, bid him be silent till he had done, and he would answer any objection; but before the time was half over, he slipped away, and the meeting ended well, and in peace.

On the 19th we had a meeting at Salisbury; and there having been a report that the minister of the place, one Major Pike, and Joseph Ring, all great opposers, intended to be there, it was very large; yet none of them came but Ring, who did not oppose, but slunk off towards the conclusion; and the meeting was held and concluded in peace, and the blessed Truth was over all.

That night we returned to Hampton, and next day to Salem, about forty miles, and got to their week-day meeting; and the day after to Lynn, where we likewise had a meeting, and from thence to Boston, where we had two meetings the next day, the latter whereof being in the evening, and the first of the week, was large.

Having an inclination to return towards Hampton and Dover, and to have some meetings where we had not yet had any; I went back from Boston, and my companion intending to go to a yearly meeting at Providence, went towards Scituate. That day I went to Lynn, and the next day had a meeting with Friends at Salem, where part of my testi-



mony was against a sleepy state in some, and a wandering spirit in others; which I perceived infested and hurt that meeting, and hindered the growth of several. It was a tender, comfortable meeting, and I was told afterwards there was great need of such a testimony: one ancient Friend confessed, with tears, that he had received great hurt in meetings by a wandering spirit, which draws away the mind from a true and sincere waiting upon God, and hinders its progress in the truth, and in the true worship.

On the 26th I went towards Hampton, accompanied by my kind friend Samuel Collins, of Lynn, and as we were near Ipswich, one of his acquaintance, not a Friend, overtook and invited us to his house. Meat being set before us, I was concerned in prayer before we ate, and they were well affected with it; and before we parted I had much discourse with them concerning the things of God, and opened many things to them, as the Lord revealed them in me; in which they were well satisfied, and very loving.

On the 27th had a pretty large meeting at Hampton; the sum of my testimony being, as in the meeting at Salem, against a drowsy, lukewarm, indifferent spirit which had overtaken some; with an exhortation to the old convinced, not to rest in that condition, lest they might lose their crowns, and become stumbling blocks in the way of the weak then under conviction. And to the young, that they should mind the Lord alone, and that if they should see any thing amiss in any one who professed the Truth, either in conversation, or in meetings, whether in the vanity of the one, or indifference of the other, or in not coming to meetings, or negligence when in them, they should not look at the failings of others, but to the Lord for help; to whom we must all stand or fall, and answer for ourselves, and not for another. Though at first my concern was a little hard, we had a tender time in the melting Truth, several, both old and young, being broken, and I went away well and easy: blessed be the Lord for ever.

Next day we went to Cachecah, to Thomas Hanson's, where I remained till the 30th, which being the first of the week, I went to the meeting at Dover; and among other things, exhorted Friends to re-establish and continue their week-day meetings, in which they had been deficient; and to be watchful against an indifferent, easy, and lukewarm spirit and state: several, both Friends and others, were tendered in the divine presence; which was mercifully with us that day, to his own praise.

The 1st of the sixth month I had a large

good meeting at Aimsbury, in the house of one Samuel Weed, a friendly man, and many things were opened, through the grace of God, to the satisfaction of the people in general; but some were not pleased, because the testimony of Truth was against their ways and sentiments; the priest's son and other opposers being there.

But that which occasioned the meeting to be so large, was this: there was one Joseph Ring, formerly mentioned, a bold, confident adversary, who, from time to time, had challenged Friends, not only in those parts, but also travelling Friends, to dispute with him; but being of no good fame, they had generally declined it; upon which he had boasted greatly, and had done much hurt to some weak persons, who had been at our meetings, and under conviction, by perverting the Scriptures, and by unlearned questions; which, in their weak state, they could not answer.

When I was at Hampton, as before, the Friends told me, that this man had greatly boasted, that we durst not give him a meeting, lest our errors should appear to the people; and so was going on in his former course, when he thought we were gone out of the country: therefore they desired me if I was free, to give him a meeting, for they thought it might be of service; to which, after some consideration, I yielded, and had sent him word of this meeting to be at Aimsbury, so that he had full time to prepare; and into the meeting he came accordingly. After it was ended, and before I sat down, I inquired if there was one Joseph Ring in the place? He started up, seeming to be surprised, and said, "Here am I." Then I called him in to the place where I stood, and he came with his hat off, and his hands trembling. I looked steadily upon him, but he could not look upon me.

Then I asked him, "Art thou he that wrote to one of our friends, purporting thy dissatisfaction about some things we hold in religion?" He answered, "I am." "What are thy objections?" Upon which he pulled out a paper, and read them: "1st; Your preachers, as you say, have an infallible spirit. 2ndly; That Christ doth dwell in them: and of these things I want to be satisfied." "What satisfaction wouldst thou have?" "I would have you demonstrate to me, and prove these things to be true, if you can; for I deny them." "What demonstration or proof wouldst thou have?" "From plain Scripture;" said he, "which I think you cannot do."

Seeing I had to deal with one who was not a conscientious inquirer, but a bitter, opposer of the Truth, I further asked him, "Art thou a member of any society of people professing Christ? Art thou a Papist, or



Episcopalian, or Presbyterian, Independent, or Baptist; or dost thou represent any of these in what thou dost?" "No; but I can hear all these, and the Quakers too, and object against any thing I like not in any of them."

"But I suspect thou art put upon this by some others, who would not be seen in it themselves; be plain, tell me the truth, is it so?" "No; it is only of myself, to be satisfied."

Then I proceeded thus: "I now perceive I have one to deal with who is ignorant of Christianity, though as a seeming inquirer; I therefore begin with that point of infallibility. People, it is necessary, in this case, that you should clearly understand what is intended by an infallible spirit. We do not mean a spirit, whereby to know what weather it will be to-morrow, or the good or ill fortunes of mankind in this world, or the like; but mean only the Spirit of Truth; that is, the Spirit of Christ, who is the Truth, and infallibly discovers sin in men, good and evil, right and wrong, in matters of religion; and infallibly leads into all truth, and out of all error, in all things respecting our own salvation, as the same is received, believed in, and obeyed. Those who are made ministers of this spirit, by its powerful working in them, may thereby, but not otherwise, infallibly declare the mind of God to the people, being themselves perfectly assured by the Spirit, of the truth of what they deliver; and yet do not pretend to impose their own sense, though infallible to themselves, upon any others, but as they also are satisfied of the same truths by the same Spirit. And as sure as men can distinguish and be certain of outward objects, by the eye and light of the sun in the firmament of heaven, so sure men may be in matters of a spiritual nature, by the inshining of the light of the Spirit of Christ into the understanding. But if mankind will not fully believe and obey, and attentively wait upon the Spirit in their hearts, they may, and do err, both in doctrine and practice; and this is the cause why so many and great errors are in the world." And then I turned to my opponent, and queried, "Dost thou believe that the Spirit of Christ is an infallible spirit?"

He answered, yea. "Well then, since thou hast agreed to be determined in these points by the Holy Scriptures, I prove the Spirit of Christ is in all Christians: and first, in his ministers; 'At that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you.' And secondly, in all others; 'Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his: and if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin.' These

words, 'any man,' in the text, are indefinite terms, signifying every man, male and female; I, thou, he, she, they, (pointing to the people all around) all people. And since thou hast confessed this is an infallible Spirit, and the Scriptures say every man hath it, as it is written, 'The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal,' then thou and I both have the Spirit of Christ, or once had it; and if we are not infallibly led by it in the way of Truth, we have not profited, and it is our own fault and loss."

This much weakened him as to that point, for he could not get over these Scriptures, yet would have been at another argument, which he could not form, for the disorder and confusion he was in. It was this: "None who deny the ordinances of Christ can be led by the Spirit of Christ: but the Quakers deny the ordinances of Christ; that is, they do not baptize with water, therefore are not guided by his Spirit." This not being fairly stated by him, but by myself, in order to an answer before the people, I presently followed it with this: "That what he meant by baptism was sprinkling of infants, which Christ never instituted; therefore we may omit it, and yet be led by the Spirit of Christ into that omission, as a testimony for him against it. And that he would unchristian all the people there, and himself too, and likewise nearly all who profess Christ at this day throughout the world; for none are in the practice of water baptism but a few called Baptists; who only imitate John's baptism as nearly as they can, and that by their own assumption and authority, without any mission by Christ on that account. The sprinkling of infants I maintained to be only a Popish innovation and institution, and no ordinance of Christ, as I had before more fully opened it in the meeting; and added, that we do not deny, but believe that water baptism was commanded of God to John the Baptist, and practised upon the Jews only, as an ordinance of God, in its dispensation of time, place, and subjects; but that it is superceded, and in point of obligation, ended, by the institution and introduction of Christ's spiritual baptism with the Holy Ghost: and there is now remaining in the church of Christ only 'one Lord, one faith, and one baptism;' for by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, and have all been made to drink into one spirit. For the body is not one member but many. The church, which is his body; the fulness of him that filleth all in all. And therefore his imagination, that we could not be led by the Spirit of Christ, for omitting the sprinkling of infants, is unreasonable, and not a just consequence."

By this time he was weary of his under-



taking, and silent as to any further argument on the first point; and so we proceeded to the other, viz: That Christ dwells in his people.

To prove the absurdity, as he thought, of this, he brought that Scripture where Thomas and the apostles doubting of the bodily appearance of Christ after his resurrection, the Lord said to them, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." "Now," said he, "since Christ hath flesh and bones, as we have, how can he be in every one of you?"

Upon this I desired the people to be still, and told them, "This man's imagination, concerning Christ's being in his people is very gross, carnal, and foolish, and not at all as we understand it; for we speak of the light and spirit of Christ in the sense mentioned in the other argument, and not of his human body. But as the body of the sun is at a great distance, in the open firmament, yet his light and influence shines over and affects all the earth, and into many thousands of houses and places at the same time; and in what proportion the light shineth into any house, by the same proportion is the virtue, influence, and power of the sun there dispensed; so, and infinitely more, it is with Christ; whose holy body, though far remote from us, yet his Spirit is every where, in all hearts; and he is the "Word of God," and "true light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." The mystery which hath been hid from ages and generations, but now is made manifest to his saints: to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles, (whose offspring we are) which is, "Christ in you, the hope of glory."

"But I have something more to say of Christ's being in men. It is no new thing for perverse men to oppose the Truth; and no wonder it falls thus to our lot now, since the like objection was moved to the apostle Paul, and by such too as had sinned, seeking a proof of Christ's speaking in him; and all the proof he thought fit to give them was, to bid them examine themselves whether they were in the faith; prove your own selves: know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates."

My adversary quickly turned to the place, and I bid him read it to the people, and then said to him, "Thou art the man seeking a proof of Christ being in us. Hast thou examined thyself on that account?" "Yea. Hast thou proved thyself? Yes. What hast thou found?" Then he, perceiving what the conclusion was like to be, would have evaded and shuffled. "No, but," said I,

"give me a plain and positive answer; hast thou found Christ in thee?" But he would not answer. Then I observed to the people, "He confesseth, you see, that he hath examined and proved himself, but dares not say he hath found Christ in him, therefore the text is conclusive upon him, he is a reprobate; and as such, I set him aside, as not worthy to be talked with any more in matters of Christianity." He said no more, but soon after slunk away out of the company. This struck an awe upon the people; for the Lord was with me, and was my director, to his own glory; and presently came to me a young man, in a consternation, and said, "Ah, sir! I would not have been before you to-day, as that man was, for the whole world."

Immediately upon this came another sober young man to me, and said, "I have heard what you said this day in the meeting; and many things I liked, which you explained beyond what I ever heard from any of your persuasion; but one thing I am not satisfied in; that which you call spiritual, I call natural." "What is that?" said I. "You said, that which reproveth sin in mankind is sufficient for salvation, provided it be believed in and obeyed; which I cannot receive. For that Scripture which you mentioned will be against you; where you said, 'When the Gentiles, which have not a law, do, by nature, the things contained in the law; these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves; which show the work of the law written in their hearts.' Now," said he, "that which reproveth sin, the Gentiles had before Christ came, even from the beginning: how then can that be the Spirit of Christ, but only the law, the same that reproveth men now? It is the remains of that righteousness that was in Adam, in his state of creation, before he fell."

I answered, "That if he rightly considered that righteousness which was in Adam before he fell, it is the same that the saints and people of God now have, after they are restored out of the fall. The better to understand this, let us observe what John the Evangelist saith concerning Christ the Word of God: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not. That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and (we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth. And of his fulness have we all received,



and grace for grace. For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ."

The Word, Wisdom and Power of God therefore, clothed and veiled with a reasonable soul and human flesh, is Jesus Christ, born into this world by the blessed Virgin Mary. This Word is the righteousness of God, which was light and wisdom in Adam before he fell; and by whom God judged and condemned Adam for sin, in disobeying and departing from this Word, light and life, through unbelief and actual transgression. It was by the light and life of this Word, that God, the Father of all, strove with the old world to reclaim them, as by a law written in them, and against which they likewise rebelled; whereby the Almighty was provoked at length to destroy them by the flood, save righteous Noah, who had not offended, and his family.

"And after the flood the same law of light and life was still with and in the posterity of Noah and his family, by which they had the knowledge of God, of the creation, and of moral righteousness; and being obedient, they were ruled and governed thereby for a time. It was by this divine nature in their hearts, and not by their own fallen and corrupt nature, that they did the things contained in the moral law; but by degrees they likewise degenerated, as the old world did, and departed from the law of light which gave them that knowledge; 'Because, that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God; neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and (departing from that light) their foolish hearts were darkened;' and they became darkness.

"Departing from the wisdom of this divine Word, they became fools and vile idolators; and therefore God departed from them, and 'gave them up to their own hearts' lusts, and to believe and follow lies, and vile affections. And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them up to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient; being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness, full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity, whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, spiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful.' And though they knew at the same time, by that law of light, that the judgment of God was against them for these things; yet they did them, and took pleasure one in another therein. And therefore God left them under the power of their own sins, in this miserable state, for many ages.

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"In the mean time, God made choice of Abraham and his posterity, in whom to restore this law of light and life. For the children of Israel being in bondage, and a state of slavery in Egypt, were also degenerated and become transgressors; and therefore God added the law of moral righteousness, by the mediation of Moses, his servant, written on tables of stone by the finger of God; which, for the transgressions of the people, were broken by the mediator of that law, on the side of the mountain before which they were. But the mercy of God returned unto them, and he commanded Moses to prepare other tables of stone, on which to write the same law: which thing, though matter of fact, is also an allegory. For the law of light and life being written in the hearts of men from the beginning, was broken and blotted out by their sins; but the Most High, in love and mercy to lost and degenerate mankind, provided a more excellent mediator than Moses, and of a better and more powerful law, which I may further speak of in the sequel. Though this law was given by Moses, by the command of God, and the people received it as reasonable and good, yet, being inwardly departed from the light and life of the divine Word, that outward law could not give them life, but condemnation; for they could not keep it in the state they were in: and therefore the Almighty, in justice and mercy, restored to them a manifestation of the same Word, and light and life in him. This is the eternal Word and commandment of God preached by Moses in that day unto Israel in the wilderness, of whom he saith, 'This commandment which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee; neither is it far off: it is not in heaven, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say, Who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? But the Word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.'

"In this manner was Christ preached by Moses many ages before he came in the flesh; and after he did so come, was preached in the same way by the apostle Paul; for the same that Moses preached as the Commandment, and the Word, the apostle calleth Christ, and the Word of faith, whom they preached, and whom they knew no more after the flesh, after they had thoroughly preached him come in the flesh; but consequently, as he is the 'Word of God, Light of the world, divine Truth, and quickening Spirit.'

"And again, 'All Israel did eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same



spiritual drink, for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ.' And this is also the same of which he speaketh, where he saith, 'Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him, shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him, shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.'

"And to make this necessary point yet plainer, observe, 'In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given; because that Jesus was not yet glorified.'

"But the Jews also rebelled against the Light, Spirit and Word of God, so preached unto them by Moses aforesaid; and therefore the law without could not save them: yet the righteous and most merciful Creator did not forsake them for ever, but opened a door of hope, by his gracious promises aforehand, that they might believe and obey when they came to pass; and therefore saith, 'Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; but this shall be the covenant, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people.' Again; I will put my fear in their hearts, that they shall not depart from me.

"The Almighty, of his abounding mercy and kindness, remembered likewise the apostate and benighted Gentiles, promising unto them also the same law and covenant of Light, by the same Mediator; 'I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles.' And he said, 'It is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel; I will also give thee for a light of the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth.'

"This covenant, and the messenger thereof is the same, whom the Most High describes aforehand; 'to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile.' To the Jew he saith, 'Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel.' And to both Jews and Gentiles he saith, 'Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth. I have put my Spirit upon him, he shall bring forth judgment to

the Gentiles.' This is he, of whom it was said, seven hundred and forty years before he came, 'Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder.' This is he who spake unto the Father in Spirit, saying, 'Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not; but a body hast thou prepared me.' This is he who received that holy body of human flesh, with a reasonable soul, the complete nature of man. This is the Lord Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary; who, by command of the Father, wrought all those wonders attributed to him in the holy Scriptures.

"This is he who offered himself upon the cross, at Jerusalem of old, 'a propitiation for the sins of the whole world.' This is the Light of the Gentiles, in whom they are to believe and trust. The Mediator of the new covenant, not of works, but of light and life from God; not that which is natural, but eternal. This is the true witness of God; the finger and power of God, by which he writeth and restoreth the law of righteousness; the law of the Spirit of life, which makes free from the law of sin and death, and which the law without, given by Moses, could not do. This is the Law and Word of Life that was in Adam before he fell.

"This is the divine, immortal, and unchangeable truth of God, which 'reproves the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment;' that reproves and manifests sin in all mankind: and for want of faith, love, and obedience to this divine Law, Light, and Word of God, the faithless and disobedient world remains in condemnation by that Word. For, till they do so, both Jews and Gentiles remain and are concluded under sin: as saith the Son of God, 'He that believeth on him is not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.'

"As the mystery of iniquity began to work in the days of the apostles, so there were many antichrists, even then, in the world, who were neither Jews nor heathens, but professors of the name of the true God, and of Jesus Christ the Son of God, and Saviour of the world; and they went out from the apostles and their doctrine, and from the teaching of the grace and Spirit of God; the holy anointing which teacheth all things. They turned their ears from the Truth, and gave ear to



fables; heaping to themselves teachers after their hearts' lusts, having itching ears: they went back under the law of types, which was ended by the law of liberty, through Christ Jesus our Lord.

"And as great is the mystery of iniquity, it hath so wrought in the Christian world, that the same that is so called, is degenerated as the old world, and as the old Gentiles, the heathen and apostate Jews, and become antichristian, and in utter darkness and confusion. They once, in the days of old, spake one language from the one Word and voice of God, speaking divine wisdom, and the knowledge of the one true God, and of Jesus Christ the Son of God, in every living soul. But, by their apostacy from the divine light and Spirit of God, and from his wisdom, grace, and power, they followed their own spirit and wisdom, which is darkness, into many evil inventions; and multiplied their superstitions, and became miserable idolators, worshipping a piece of bread for their God, and wallowing in all the sins of the Gentiles and heathens of old. So that their language, as at Babel, is confounded, and they are no more one, but scattered, and shall unite no more, till they return by him from whom they are fallen; to the covenant of God, even that true light of his Son, 'which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;' of whose fullness, all those who now believe in him, and behold his glory, as of the only and first begotten Son of God, have now received, as they did of old, and grace for grace. 'This grace bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world. By this grace we are saved, through faith, and that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God.' From all which proofs it is plain, that the same that reproves sin in man is the Spirit of Christ, the Word of God, which in the beginning was the light of men; and it is not natural, but spiritual, and the mystery that lay hid in the Gentiles from the foundation of the world, though they were darkness, and this light had not been comprehended by them."

During the time that passed on these subjects, the people were very sober, and the young man, being deeply under the effects of a wrong education and tradition, replied, "faith in this light cannot be sufficient; 'for, except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of heaven.'"

"That is true; but seeing we must be born again, we cannot do that of ourselves; there is none can do it for us but God. And he doth that great work by the word of his wisdom and power, which is Christ, the light of

the intellectual world; the Sun of righteousness, and glorious luminary of the mind. And we are to believe in him, that we may be born again of him, who is the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit; as it is written, 'While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be children of the light.' 'And if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ.' But it reasonably followeth, that if no faith in this divine light, then no children of God through him who is that light, and elect seed of God; and if not children, then not heirs of God, nor of his promises, which are all unto this divine Seed, and all true in him. And if we do not believe in the Word of God, we cannot please him, or be created anew unto good works by him; which are indispensable to every child of God, as the evidence of that faith, and work of regeneration in the mind; 'and to be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

"Christ testifieth of himself, that he is 'the light of the world;' and the apostles of Christ were sent by him, to testify that God is light, and to turn mankind 'from darkness to that light; from the power of satan unto God;' from that darkness and ignorance which had covered the earth, and from that gross darkness which had covered the people, unto the Son of God, and unto the Father by him.

"So then, in order to our being born from above, there must first be faith in Christ, as he is the divine Light, and second covenant of God: and the first work of this light in man toward that faith, is the manifestation, reproof, and condemnation of sin in the heart, mind, and understanding of man: 'For all things that are reprov'd are made manifest by the light; for (after the manner of men) whatsoever doth make manifest is light.'

"Thus the testimony of the holy Scriptures concur clearly to the proof of this most needful doctrine, That the reprov'r of sin in the mind and understanding of man, is not man himself; neither is it the evil one, who tempts man to sin. For then he would be both tempter and reprov'r, and divided against himself; and even that way, his kingdom and power could not stand. But it is the divine light and spirit of Christ, that sin may be manifested, reprov'd, become exceeding sinful and be condemned, and through faith in the Manifester and Reprov'r, be forsaken, pardoned, remitted, and by the work of the Holy Spirit of Christ, fully removed, and the minds of mankind purified, and made lucid as the day, and formed into light in the Lord."

In the conclusion of this I felt the weight removed from off my spirit, and the love and



goodness of Truth to arise towards the young man, and he took me kindly by the hand, and said, he had other points to discourse, but would now leave them. But I believe the main objection was removed, and the mark hit, for he departed cheerful; and some others also who seemed to have had something to say, when they had heard these things, were silent, and all ended in peace, to the glory of the Lord, whose service and honour, and common good of mankind, through the grace of God, we only aim at in all these things.

The meeting being over, there came a woman, being introduced by some women Friends, and told me she was much troubled with a spirit of blasphemy, which often uttered in her blasphemies against God; and that she was vexed with it, and abhorred herself because thereof; though she no way, in her desires, assented thereto. I replied, that the Lord often suffered such to be tempted, in whom he purposed to make known his power; but it is no sin to be tempted, for Christ was tempted, and yet without sin; but satan's end in these great blasphemies, which were of his own uttering in her imagination, was this, that when he had wearied and weakened her, he would try to make her believe she had sinned against God, and so bring her to despair. But I exhorted her to be still, resist him in faith towards Christ, and not join with him, and he would vanish; and she went away easy.

It being late before all these things were ended, I went only one mile from the place that evening, and next day had a meeting at the house of Joseph Paisley, in Haverhill. It was not large, by reason of the throng of harvest; but a very good time the Lord afforded us, and we were comforted together in him, several of the young convinced, and some of the elder Friends from Salisbury being there; and next day, being the fifth of the week, I went to Lynn, and lodged with Samuel Collins, where I was kindly entertained.

I heard in this country, that one part of the scheme of religion invented by the preachers among the Presbyterians and Independents, is, That a preacher, unprovided with a living, or wanting a better, goes and preaches a sermon, or more, to the people he would beget into a good opinion of himself; and if they like him, he must first have a call from that people to whom he has preached, before he can be their settled minister. The meaning of which is, that he may have an opportunity to bargain for so much a year as they can agree upon, before he will obey their call, so as to be their settled preacher; and when the price is fixed, the leading elders give him security

for payment, and they raise it by subscription. But the preachers in that country being dry and formal, and the people cold in their love, many townships were silent, and no voice of calling was heard from them; so that the preachers multiplying, and many of them wanting employment and maintenance, they and their friends influenced the Legislature to make a law, "That the inhabitants of each town within that province should be provided with at least one able, learned, orthodox minister, to dispense the word of God to them; which minister shall be suitably encouraged, and sufficiently supported and maintained by the inhabitants of such town; with provision for levying proportionable rates upon such as should refuse to pay," &c.

Pursuant to this law, the towns which had no ministers, made choice of some by votes of the inhabitants; yet others looking upon it as an imposition on them, contrary to their religious liberty, in calling or not calling any minister, eluded the force of it, by nominating several of our ministering Friends, and returning their names as the choice of the people. They were answered, "These were not ministers in the intent of the law." It was replied, "They were the people's choice, and such as the law required; they were able, learned, and orthodox ministers of the gospel, and would appear to be so upon proper examination; and they could not return any other." The Friends thus chosen by the people, did some times visit them, and had meetings among them, as they found liberty in the Truth, and were very acceptable in that service; which they did freely, without any view to maintenance or filthy lucre. By this law, Friends fell under sufferings, their goods being distrained and forced from them to maintain a false ministry they could not own; the testimony of God bearing witness against them in their enlightened understandings. And several Friends being under sufferings at this time on that account, Samuel Collins went with me to Boston, where we made application to Lord Belmont, then governor of the country, for relief, and were very favourably received, and our request granted; so far as it was in his power we had relief, by discouraging that practice.

I had a pretty large meeting at Lynn, and the next day went to Boston, where, notice being given, I had two meetings on the first of the week; the former of which was small, but the latter, being in the evening, was very large, and the truths of the gospel opened clearly, the Lord's power being with me. Some were tendered, though but a few Friends inhabited there at that time. On the 7th I went to Scituate, and on the 10th had a pretty large meeting; the day following I rode thirty



miles, near to Sandwich, and hearing that my companion was to have a meeting next day at Dartmouth, about thirty-five miles off, after some concern and consideration, I resolved to go thither. Accordingly, in the morning, about the break of day we set forward, and arrived at John Tucker's, three miles from the meeting-house, about half an hour after the ninth hour. Here we rested a little, and then went to the meeting, and were there before my companion; who, when he came, was glad to see me, for the meeting was large, and he had almost lost his voice by a great cold. The beginning of the meeting fell to my lot, and my companion afterwards had a good time; though at first his voice could scarcely be heard over the meeting, yet mended by exercise, and the Lord favoured us with a good season.

On the 10th we went to Gideon Freeborn's, on Rhode Island, where we met with Samuel Jennings, and there lodged that night. The next day being the first of the week, I went to the meeting at Portsmouth, in that island, and they went to Seconet, to a meeting they had appointed some days before. The meeting I was at was large; but during the forepart thereof, I was much burthened by the unconcernedness of many. The generality of people in those parts come to meetings, there being no others near, and being persuaded notionally of the truth of our doctrines, and yet not living in the life of Truth, are rather worse to meet among than such as never heard the testimony of Truth; but having these two points, baptism and the supper, given me to speak to, I had a good meeting, though it was some time before I got through that idle, drowsy, lukewarm spirit, by exposing and reproving it in the forepart of the meeting. But things ended well.

On the 12th went to Newport, and had a large and good meeting there, and tarried in town till the next morning, and then took boat for Conanicut island. But the wind being high, the waves were great in the channel; so that the vessel pitching against them, some of them broke over us, and one of our horses was thrown down, and the rest much disordered; and the water coming over the side of the vessel, the man at the helm bore away to the leeward, and presently we were in a safer condition, taking another landing than at first we aimed at.

Being on the shore we took horse, and went to our friend John Hull's; and the wind continuing high, and the sea raging, we went to see what we could do to get over the water to a meeting, which had been appointed for us at Greenwich, in Narraganset, about five miles on the other side. I came to a con-

clusion to go, and my companion and Samuel Jennings staid behind, and though the waves ran high, which gave us great difficulty to get our horses into the boat; yet we had a good passage about four miles over, and went to the meeting, the public service of which falling to my lot, the Lord opened many things in me for the information of the people, about the fall of man in the first Adam, and rising again by faith and obedience to Christ, the second Adam, and about baptism, church fellowship, &c., and I heard of nothing but a general satisfaction.

On the 14th my companion and Samuel Jennings coming to us, we had a large meeting at William Gardner's, at Kingston; from whence we went on our way to Narraganset, and next morning set forward on a long journey, through the colony of Connecticut, in which there was not one Friend. That evening we reached New London, and lodged at an inn: and soon after we alighted we asked the landlord whether he would let us have a room for a meeting the next day; which he readily granted in words; and told us that he and his servant should assist us in any thing that might facilitate it, but he proved deceitful. The governor of the colony having his residence there, and hearing of us, sent for one of us in the morning to speak with him, and we all went to wait upon him; and after he had saluted us in his way, with much civility, he began and told us, he had been at our meetings in the city of London, and observed how peaceably they were held, and that none molested them; and that he thought it was not well for any one sort of people to disturb another in their worship, &c. By which we perceived he, and the preacher of the place and inhabitants, suspected that we purposed to be at their meeting the first-day following, having, we conjectured, heard what we had done before at Fairfield; but in this he mistook. When I perceived what he aimed at, I said, "It might seem strange and unreasonable to such as could see no otherwise than by the common and natural faculties of men, for any to come into the assemblies of others, and interrupt them in the act of their worship, or what they called so; and we were always cautious to give as little offence that way as might be. But to go to hear any, and be still till they have done, and then make reasonable and Christian objections, if any arise, cannot be hurtful, if the objectors are conscientious in what they do, and do not oppose out of humour, or for opposition's sake, but for the information of mankind, in any thing wherein they have been in an error. The apostles, in their day, though charged as turners of the world upside down, usually went to the synagogues



of the Jews, and some public places of others, and both disputed and taught, contrary to both Jews and heathens; and the Lord is the same still, and may influence his servants now to the like practice, when and where it may please him."

Then Samuel Jennings gave him a hint that we purposed to stay in town till after the first-day, in order to clear the truth of those false suggestions which had been cast upon it and us, as well here as in other places. But though we had no intention to go to their meeting, yet not knowing how we might afterwards be engaged, we did not resolve him in that point, or lay ourselves under any restriction; but departed with civil respect on all sides, according to our different ways of expressing it.

Our deceitful landlord tarried behind with the governor, and we saw him no more that day; and notwithstanding his promises, we could not have so much favour from him as a boy to give notice in the town of a meeting at our quarters, but sent our friend, Rowland Robinson, who came with us from Narraganset.

About the fourth hour in the evening came John Rogers and his disciples, and some other people; but the meeting was small, the people being extremely in bondage in those parts to the ministers of their own calling and maintaining; and yet pretty many came to the windows and doors in the dusk of the evening, and the blessed power of the Lord was with us; and John Rogers and his friends were well satisfied, and parted friendly with us, declaring their sense of the divine presence among us; some of them having been tendered in the meeting. After all was over, our landlord came fawning again, having as many fair and deceitful words as before; but we took little notice of him.

The next day we went on to Killingsworth; where I and my companion had had discourse with some persons as we went into New England; and were scarcely now alighted till our landlord began to tell us, "That he had reported to their minister what had then been discoursed; and that he inclined to confer with us on the same things, if we should happen to return that way; and asked if we were willing to go speak with him on that account?"

We gave our landlord this answer, "That we were then weary; but if their minister would call his people together in the morning to their meeting-house, we would there meet him at the ninth hour:" which, when he heard, he began to flag, and said, "He would not send him that word unless we would write it:" and accordingly I wrote to their minister thus, viz:

"Killingsworth, 21st Sixth month, 1699.

"FRIEND ABRAHAM PEARSON,

"Forasmuch as some of us, the people called in scorn, Quakers, passing this way some time ago, and lodging at the sign of the Hart, here in Killingsworth, the landlord, with other persons, perceiving what we were, moved some discourse concerning certain points respecting the Christian religion, viz: freedom from sin in this life, and baptism; and they not being able, as we thought, to resist the Scriptures and arguments we urged against them, in defence of what we hold therein, I think our landlord, if not also some of the rest, told us, that though they could not, yet their minister—meaning thyself—was able to confute the errors, as they called them, which we hold therein. Whereupon we, or one of us replied, that if their minister would convene his people, or a competent number of the more discreet of them, we would meet him, to hear and answer his arguments against us in those points wherein we differ from him and them. And we returning this way this evening, lodge at the same inn, and are willing to defend the principles and doctrines we hold, and to meet thee to-morrow morning, about the ninth hour, at thy meeting-house, provided thy sober neighbours and people be there convened. In the mean time, desiring thy speedy answer, we remain thy loving friends.

"Signed on behalf of myself and the other two, by

THOMAS STORY."

This being sent him, he returned this verbal answer: "That we should be welcome to his house, or he would come to our inn; but thought the meeting-house not convenient." In the morning, about the eighth hour, he came to our quarters; and being seated in a chair when we were absent, I coming in before my companion, sat down by him; and after an interchange of some civilities, in our different ways of expression, and a pause of silence, he took out the letter and began to move about the contents of it, viz: freedom from sin in this life, and baptism; the points proposed to be conferred upon.

In the first place I asked him a previous question, viz: "Whether he appeared there as a minister of Christ, or only as a minister to a particular people there?" Perceiving I would put him upon his proof if he came as a minister of Christ, he evaded that and moved the other, about a sinless state in this life; and in the mean time came in Samuel Jennings and my companion Roger Gill, the Presbyterian minister having several of his hearers with him; and all the people in those



parts were generally of that sect. Then I moved for a statement of the first question in writing; which was settled thus:

“Whether it be an error from the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, to believe that mankind may be free from sin whilst living in this world, or on this side the grave?”

“Abraham Pearson assumes to prove it is an error, from the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, to believe that men may be free from sin whilst living in this world, or on this side the grave.”

The first question thus stated and agreed upon, he began his proof after this manner: “That which God hath not, at any time, promised unto man, we have no ground to believe is attainable by man; but God hath not, at any time, promised that men shall be free from sin in this life; therefore we ought not to look for it.”

I replied, “The question is not what God hath promised, or not promised; but whether it be an error, from the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, to believe that mankind can be free from sin in this life, or on this side the grave? And thou hast assumed upon thyself to prove that it is such an error so to believe; which thy assertion, viz: that God hath not so promised, &c., doth not at all prove.”

“No, said he, but you shall not draw me from my argument, and run away to other things, as your manner is; I will hold to my point, till you prove that ever God promised to make men free from sin in this life.”

I returned, “I am not going from any point in question; nor have I said that God never promised so. But thou hast assumed, in the first place, to prove it is an error to believe as is stated in the question; and now, in the second place, asserted negatively, that God never promised such a freedom. I insist therefore upon thy proof of thy assumption in the question, and of thy assertion that God never so promised: for thy asserting the same thing twice over in different terms is no proof; so that thou art still to be held to thy first point.”

Then he brought forth his Scriptures for sin term of life, viz: “For there is not a just man upon the earth that doth good and sinneth not.”

I answered, “This was written in the time of the law, and must intend a legal justice, as by the ‘Works of the law shall no flesh be justified.’ But to be evangelically just is another thing; they are sanctified through faith in Christ Jesus, and by him also they are justified and saved from their sins, ‘by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.’”

Then he advanced their common plea for

sin term of life, as being written in the time of the gospel, viz: “If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us;” and there he stopped.

I replied, “That the apostle began there with men in their natural state, as children of the first Adam, and saith, ‘If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.’ But though we have sinned, must we continue therein? No; for ‘if we confess our sins,’ to Him who convinceth us of them in our own hearts, ‘he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.’ ‘And if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, (that is, in God, ver. 5.) we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God cleanseth us from all sin. And he that saith he abideth in him, ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked;’ which cannot be in sin: for he never sinned, nor was ever any sin in him; and he is separate from sinners. The sins of the little children are forgiven for his name’s sake. The fathers have known him who is from the beginning: And the young men are strong, and the word of God abideth in them, and they have overcome the wicked one. ‘Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not; whosoever sinneth, hath not seen him, neither known him. He that committeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.’

“‘Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God: and whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin; for his seed (the word of God) remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.’ And as he is, so are we in this world; and if so, then not in sin.

“Again, the apostle Paul in his Epistle to the Romans, preacheth the same doctrine: he first proves both Jews and Gentiles all under sin once, and if they had not sinned, there had not been any need of a Saviour to save them from their sins; and then preacheth salvation both to Jews and Gentiles by Christ, and freedom from sin by him, even in this life; where he saith, ‘What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid: How shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein? Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness; for when ye were servants of sin ye were free from righteousness, but now being made free from sin and become servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting



life.' 'But if we go on in sin, we shall die in our sins; and if we die in our sins, whither he is gone we cannot come.' 'But the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus,' saith the apostle, personating every true member of the church of Christ, 'hath made me free from the law of sin and death.' A glorious liberty indeed!"

Then said the priest, "Yea, that is true, we are to be made free from sin, but not in this life." Then Samuel Jennings asked the priest, since he had acknowledged a freedom from sin, but not in this life, "When, where, and how must it be effected, since 'no unclean thing can enter the kingdom?'"

To which he replied, "We are driven to a necessity to confess, it is not done in heaven, and in this life it cannot be; therefore it must be at the very point of death, as the soul departeth from the body."

"Well then," said I, "let us see thee split a hair, and show what distance there is between the utmost point of time and the beginning of eternity. For if done in the last point of time, it is in this life; and if not till its entrance into eternity, then the unclean thing enters the kingdom, which is already granted cannot be. Where then is this freedom?" Which question Samuel Jennings pressing upon him, he then affirmed, "The soul is cleansed from sin in its way between earth and heaven; for there is," said he, "a considerable space between."

Then said Samuel Jennings, "This is such a purgatory as I never heard of before." And though the preacher had hitherto seemed to have command of his passion, yet upon this he grew very angry; for we then exposed him to his own people.

If the soul is freed from sin after it departs from the body, in its ascending from earth to heaven, speaking in an outward sense according to his apprehension, it is still in time. Being reduced to this condition before his people, he then began to accuse us falsely; and having his members now pretty well fitted to his evil purpose, to laugh, setting his rustics to mock us, and said he would tell us a story of a merchant in London, intending thereby to raise levity, and so take off all sense of what had been said, for there were several of the people very sober and attentive all the time. But I sharply reproved him, and said, that he manifested himself, to all that had eyes, in a thing ill becoming his grey hairs, and much worse his profession, and least of all the matter in hand, touching the everlasting life or death of mankind. This utterly suppressed his jest; and then I summed up the whole matter in short, and noted

to the people, "That touching this point he had undertaken to prove, viz: that freedom from sin in this life is inconsistent with the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, but could not; and we had adduced several plain, applicable, and unanswerable texts of Scripture, proving that freedom from sin in this life, is the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, and had left the truth over his head."

By this time it was about mid-day, and we were willing to depart, and our antagonist as desirous we should, for he sweated much, and often sighed deeply; which gave me occasion to think he argued against his own understanding. Yet we had a short touch on baptism, or rather rantism, for I held him to sprinkling infants; which, though no baptism, yet being their practice instead of baptism, they must be determined by it.

The next day we went on to Milford, Stratford, and Fairfield, and there we alighted at an inn, the house of one Burr; where, after some refreshment, we requested the liberty of his house for a meeting-place, but could not obtain it, he being an old, zealous, or cowardly Independent or Presbyterian; for in those parts, though many could be willing to hear Friends, yet such is the bondage they are in to their ministers, elders, magistrates, and one to another, that they dare not attempt it in the day-time.

We took horse on that evening, and went again to Norwalk and lodged. As we went to this place, we fell in with a neighbouring man, who told us that many of the people were much dissatisfied with the measure we met with at Fairfield, in being hindered to speak to them, seeing we had not interrupted their minister, nor offered to speak till their service was over: that the priest of Fairfield, next sabbath day, as he called it, took his text in 2 Tim. iii. 5, From such turn away; upon which some of the people said among themselves, their minister could now talk much against the Quakers behind their backs, but face to face, had very little to say. And some of them told him, that the Quakers made seven of them together say and own what they pleased; and that some of the people had been wishing our return.

In the morning we went on to Horseneck, where we arrived about noon, when it began to rain heavily, and continued till near night; so that we lodged there, and some of the inhabitants came to see us.

The next day we went forward, and in our way, heard of a quarterly meeting to be the day after, at Westbury, in Long Island, and therefore we went that evening, over the sound, to Samuel Bowne's, and had a com-



fortable lodging after so long a journey, where our accommodations had not been extraordinary.

On the 26th we went to Westbury and had a good meeting with Friends, and next day, being the first of the week, had another very large meeting there.

On the 28th we had a meeting on occasion of a marriage, about nine miles from thence. To this meeting came some of the Ranters of Oyster Bay; and during the greatest part of the time, were pretty still, save only an old man, who sometimes hooted like an owl, and made a ridiculous noise, as their manner is. The marriage being solemnized, he stood up, and bare his testimony, as he called it, against our set forms, and cried for liberty to the oppressed seed; "Which," said he, "is oppressed with your forms," meaning the manner of the celebration of our marriages, generally approved by mankind as the most decent.

Those Ranters would have liberty to all who profess Truth to do what they list, without being reproved, or accountable to any person or people. For they say, to be accountable to man is bondage; and for man to judge is vain, since those actions he may censure may be done in the motion of the holy Seed and Spirit of Christ; under which pretence they would cover many vile practices, by reason whereof we had sometimes been upbraided and reproached in Connecticut, where some of them, in times past, had appeared, in their extravagant ravings, under the name of Quakers. We said not much to them, Truth being over them, and the meeting ended well. That evening we went to Jericho, eight miles, and lodged at the widow Mary Willis'.

We went from Jericho to Jerusalem, and had a pretty good meeting at Benjamin Seaman's; and next day had a meeting at Hempstead, where came a priest, or teacher of a sect, and some people with him, and he began to write after my companion; who, in a short time, fell so exposingly and heavily upon the sort he was of, that the teacher ceased from writing, and departed the place, without offering to defend his profession.

But one among ourselves, who had professed the Truth about twenty years, took exception against something Roger said concerning the resurrection of the body; for in his testimony he said, "He had once believed, that if the body of a man were burnt to ashes, and those ashes sifted through a sieve over all the earth, sea and air, yet, at the last day, the same dust should come together again, and the same body should then arise; but," said he, "I now believe otherwise:" and then cited the words of the apostle to the too curious

and captious inquirer, "Thou fool, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain," &c. And this man coming into the friend's house after the meeting, made objections in public, saying, "He believed in the resurrection of the very same body; for, said he, the apostle saith, 'It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body,' &c." And Roger discoursed with him on the subject, and adduced arguments sufficient to have satisfied any sober inquirer, and yet he continued to cavil. Then for the sake of the people and others that might be weak among us, I called for the Bible and read that part to them, viz: "That which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body which shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat," &c. "Therefore the same body doth not arise; but as the grain of wheat dies to its present form of being, by sending forth a blade, being no other than the one grain expanded, and that blade a stalk, and often many; and that stalk, or stalks, an ear, or many, with other grains, but not the same individual grain, of the same nature, shape, and kind; so argues the apostle for the resurrection of the body, that that which is sown ariseth no more, but God gives it a body as it pleaseth him; though no comparison will hold in every circumstance." Upon this he was silent; and so the matter ended. But upon our inquiry what this man was, he appeared to be one of those the people call wet Quakers: no wonder then he remained so carnally minded, though so long a professor of the truth; for it is not profession only, nor confession alone, that the Almighty regards, but faith, which works by love, to the conversion of the mind to the will of God, through the sanctification of the Spirit.

Now, though we fully believe the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust, yet we take not upon us to determine the mode of existence in that state, or with what bodies they shall come; but leave it with the Almighty to give unto us bodies as may best please him. But there is a wonderful mystery in this thing, far out of the sight of the natural man; but "blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power." And the Son of God hath said, "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die." So then they who are truly in him, and he in them, are arisen with him, and live in and with him, to the praise of his own arm; who reigneth in glory for ever and ever.

After this we went with Samuel Bowne and his wife to Flushing, where we had a glorious meeting next day; and the day after had a



pretty large meeting at Jamaica, about four miles from thence; and that evening we returned to Flushing. The next day I went over the Sound, accompanied by several Friends, to West Chester; and the day following, being the first of the week, had a large open meeting there, many Friends coming from Long Island, and abundance of people from all quarters round, and some as far as Horseneck: the people were very still, and many affected with the testimony of truth. After the meeting we returned over the Sound in a canoe, and lodged that night at Thomas Stevenson's.

The next day we had a meeting at Newtown, three miles off, to which came John Rodman and my companion from York: the meeting was not large, but much affected with trouble at the account Roger Gill published in his testimony, of many being taken away at Philadelphia, by a pestilential fever then greatly prevalent, ten being buried in one day, and four died on the same; several of them being good Friends. His testimony was by way of warning to Friends in that meeting, to be prepared to meet the Lord, if peradventure the stroke of his hand might reach those parts. Then Samuel Jennings reminded the meeting, that it was no new or strange thing for the people of God to suffer in common calamities; but the love and favour of God being assured to them, whether life or death ensued, as it might best please the Lord, there was no occasion of fear, or to be dismayed at such things, especially to those who were prepared, as the apostle, when he said, "For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." And since a translation through death to life is the exceeding great gain of the saints, we have no ground to repine at the loss of their society here, though most grateful, but rather patiently and diligently wait upon the Lord, till it may become our lot.

From this time my companion could never fully settle his mind to stay any longer in those parts; but said if he had wings he could fly to Philadelphia to the distressed Friends: but I kept to our settled purpose, stipulated before we heard of their condition and exercise.

That night Samuel Jennings and I lodged with Robert Field, and Roger Gill and John Rodman returned to New York; where, next day we had a meeting, and each of us a good opportunity therein among the people; who seemed to have good understandings generally as men; and Friends were well satisfied, there being pretty many from the island.

My spirit was heavy and sorrowful all night; and the next morning we took boat, and in the evening came to anchor in the en-

trance of the river that goes up to Elizabethtown, and went to an inn at Elizabeth Point about one in the morning, where all the beds were taken up; so that we had little rest that night. As soon as it was light we set forward, got to Woodbridge, and had a meeting there that afternoon; in which, though small, I was refreshed; to the praise of Him whose presence is life, and at whose right hand is fulness of joy for evermore.

That evening we set forward, but when we came to the inn all was full, and no attendance could be had but a superannuated negro, who could do but little for us; so that we were obliged to take care of our own horses, and fetch them hay a considerable way off. That night I lay with my clothes on in the entry, and slept very well: for where the Lord subjects the mind and makes it content, all things are easy. Next day we went about thirty-five miles to Crosswicks, and had very good accommodations with our friend Francis Davenport.

The day following we went to Burlington, being met in the way by some Friends from thence, and lodged with Samuel Jennings; where we heard more of the sad effects of the pestilential distemper still prevailing at Philadelphia; and the next day being the first of the week, in the morning my companion fell under a great concern to go to the meeting that day at Philadelphia, and asked my thoughts upon it: I answered, that it was a case too difficult for me to advise in, as things were then circumstanced; but for my own part, I did not see any cause to recede from the plan of proceeding formerly settled, but left him to the concern and liberty of his own mind; and that since notice had gone abroad of our intention of being that day at Burlington, I thought it my place to stay there; which I did accordingly, and he hastened to Philadelphia; where he arrived, as he said, before the morning meeting was ended, though twenty miles off, and he had the great river Delaware to cross by a ferry.

The meeting at Burlington was very large, but not so open as in some other places, for which I knew no particular reason. Next day I rested there, and on the 12th went over the river into Pennsylvania, to a meeting appointed at the Falls, and the presence of the Lord was tenderly with us; and that night I lodged with our honourable friend in the truth, Phineas Pemberton, and rested there next day.

On the 14th of seventh month [1699] we had a pretty large meeting at Neshaminy, and very tender, the Lord being good to us. The next day I had a good meeting at Poquessink, but not very broken: I came away in peace, and



rode very hard, being late, to Philadelphia that evening; where my soul for some time had desired to be, and where I found my companion well, but many Friends on their sick and dying pillows; and yet the settled presence of the Lord was with them at that time: such is the goodness of God to his own people, that in their bodily, or any other afflictions, his holy presence greatly abates the exercises of nature by its divine consolation. O the love that flowed in my soul to several in the times of my visits to them! in which I was lifted over all fear of the contagion, and yet not without an awful regard toward the Lord therein.

The first I visited was Aaron Atkinson, then at Edward Shippen's; of whose recovery I was glad, both from personal respect and for the sake likewise of his services in the churches; and Edward and his wife were also well recovered. In this distemper had died six, seven, and sometimes eight a day, for several weeks together; and the yearly meeting being to begin there next day, we had some exercise and consultation about it, arising from the prevalency of the distemper in the city at that time, and yet not much in the country.

Some Friends had written from Burlington to Friends at Philadelphia, proposals to adjourn the meeting till a cooler time; to which it was answered, that till the meeting was come together, they had no power to adjourn; but thought it might do well to discourage, in all places, the great numbers of young people and servants that usually come to town on those occasions; and such only to come as were necessarily concerned in the service of the meetings, because of the great infection, and incapacity of Friends and inns in town, at such a juncture, to lodge and entertain them, there being few, if any, houses free of the sickness.

In the morning meeting of ministers and elders, on the seventh-day of the week at Philadelphia, we were under great concern about holding the meeting in the usual time, or whether it were better to suspend it; and as we waited on the Lord for counsel, the testimony of truth went generally against the adjournment, or suspension; and the Lord's presence was greatly with us to the end, though some opposition we met with from the prudentially wise men present, who consulted their own reason, but not the Truth; who hath all power, and can do and prevent what He pleaseth.

Accordingly the next day, being the first of the week, the meeting was held, and was large, all circumstances considered; and the Lord so evidently appeared with us, that there

was no room left for doubt, but that it was his will we should hold our meeting and serve God therein, as well in times of adversity and affliction, as in prosperity and less seeming danger. Friends were generally comforted in the divine truth, and the fear of the contagion was much taken away, and the testimony of truth was exceedingly glorious in several instruments, and over the meeting in general, and so continued to the end; which was the first, second, and third days for worship, and the fourth for business; which was managed in wisdom and unanimity, and ended in sweetness and concord; as becomes all meetings of the people of God everywhere.

But that which was very remarkable, was, that though the distemper was very raging and prevalent all the week before, yet there was not one taken ill during the whole time of the meeting, either of those who came there on that account, or of the people of the town, that could be remembered by such Friends as made the observation; and yet presently after there were many taken ill thereof in town, and several died, but few in comparison to what had died before; and a little after that it was finally stopped by the good hand of divine Providence.

My companion and I both remained in town till the 23rd of the seventh month, visiting the sick Friends from time to time, as we found necessary or expedient. Great was the presence of the love of God with his people, in the midst of this trying visitation; which gave us occasion to say, Good is the Lord, and greatly to be feared, loved and obeyed; for though he suffers afflictions to come upon his own chosen people, in common with other men, yet that which otherwise would be intolerable, is made as nothing, by how much the sense thereof is swallowed up in his divine love. O the melting love! O the sweetness I enjoyed with several, as they lay under the disease, being unspeakably comforted in the Lord: let my soul remember it, and wait low before the Lord to the end of my days! Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord! Great was the fear that fell upon all flesh! I saw no lofty or airy countenance, nor heard any vain jesting to move men to laughter; nor witty repartee, to raise mirth; nor extravagant feasting, to excite the lusts and desires of the flesh above measure; but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as those who waited every moment to be summoned to the bar and numbered to the grave.

But the just appeared with open face, and walked upright in the streets, and rejoiced in secret, in that perfect love that casteth out all fear; and sang praises to Him who liveth and



reigneth, and is worthy for ever, being resigned unto his holy will in all things; saying, Let it be as thou wilt, in time, and in eternity, now and for evermore. No love of the world, nor fear of death, hindered their resignation, abridged their confidence, or clouded their enjoyments in the Lord.

On the 23rd my companion went to Burlington, to be at the meeting there next day, having passed it as we went to Philadelphia; where notice was given, and some meetings appointed for me the same week on that side the river. He returned on the 25th to Philadelphia; and the same evening he appeared to be under symptoms of the common distemper. We discoursed together concerning our further proceedings in our service, but he told me he did not see his way any further to any meeting at all.

That night we lodged together, and he sweated very much, and next morning arose, but soon took bed again; and then, at his request, I took an account of some small things he had in America; upon which he asked me how his effects there, and in England, would be distributed among his wife and children, if he should die intestate? in which I resolved him. The meetings being appointed, I could not stay with him; and when I took leave of him, he told me he was pretty easy and not very ill: yet I departed under a very great load upon my spirit, and suspected the worst; for he had prayed in the yearly meeting, with great zeal and earnestness, that the Lord would be pleased to accept of his life as a sacrifice for his people; that a stop might be put to the contagion; and I had thought in the mean time he would be taken at his word, though no such sacrifices in such cases are required; only therein appeared his great love and concern for Friends, whom he had come so far to see.

That evening I went to Burlington, and next day had a pretty large and good meeting at John Shinn's; where was a new meeting-house, about six miles from Burlington, in the woods; and next day had another meeting at John Adams', about seven miles further down the river, where many people were gathered. In the beginning of this meeting my mind was greatly concerned about going to the yearly meeting, to be in the eighth month, at Choptank, in Maryland; which being yielded to in secret, I then had a pretty open time, and the meeting ended well. But Samuel Jennings having used some expressions in his testimony concerning evil surmising and false censuring, I inquired of him after the meeting, whether I had missed in any expression, that might be justly censured? To which he answered, he was well pleased with the meeting, and what

had passed in it; for sooner or later all was clear: and he had also given a general caution in the meeting, that all should be careful to know in what spirit and to what end they judged or censured others, lest they judged others in the same spirit in which they themselves had committed greater evils than those they judged in others; and so incur greater condemnation.

But when I came to the bottom of the matter, I understood that as I had been concerned in some other meetings, to expose some of the false doctrines of the apostate George Keith, which had obtained a place among many in those parts, some of that sort had invited a very critical Keithian to this meeting, in hope to get some advantage, or matter for dispute and contention; in which he and they more delighted, than in the practice of any Christian duty toward God or man. And the rather they had this hope, because I had in some former meetings in those parts, been concerned about the sufferings of Christ in the flesh among the Jews, and his powerful and effectual baptism by the Spirit; but in this meeting I had little on those subjects, save a short introduction as to the coming of Christ in the flesh, but rather the blessed effects and consequences thereof; his divine and spiritual manifestation, as he is the Word of God and light of the Gentiles, in whom, as such, we ought to believe; and by which faith in his divine light and obedience thereto, we have remission of sins and the full benefit of his death and sufferings. So that those contentious apostate spirits were not gratified; who usually, and falsely charged us with neglecting, and even disbelieving Christ's outward appearance, and too much preaching the light; which they hated, and at which they stumbled, and were offended; and of whom it may justly be said, When they knew God, they did not glorify him as God, but turned aside into envy and vain jangling; in which there is no honour to Christ, nor life to the soul. But none of them made any objection to any thing that was delivered in the meeting that day.

The same evening I set forward for Philadelphia, where I arrived about the ninth hour, and found my companion very ill, and several dead, and others taken ill in the few days I had been absent.

On the 29th was a monthly meeting at Philadelphia, which was small, yet the Lord was gloriously with us; Aaron Atkinson was likewise there. In that meeting I acquainted Friends that I intended to leave them for some time, and that there were some there I should never see more in that meeting. Before the meeting was ended, John Busby, a



Friend there, was taken very ill, and violently handled; and when at home he sent for Aaron Atkinson, and I went with him. The Friend was in a tender condition of mind, and used some lively expressions of the goodness of God, and afterwards in prayer; and we were comforted in him. I was concerned in prayer also; and we were much refreshed together in the Lord. Aaron and I visited several other Friends, who were in the like condition.

My companion remaining ill, and my concern for the yearly meeting in Maryland increasing, it came very near to me to leave him under these circumstances. But having duly considered every part, and finding I could not be of much service to him, and that he was among friends who could do more than I in that case, on the 30th of this month, being the seventh of the week, in the morning, I took leave of him. But my departing proved to be an occasion of greater tenderness than I expected; for I had not been so much affected since I came from England, weeping exceedingly, and irresistibly, so that my tears ran down upon the floor. He then desired me to leave him, for he had not been fully willing before, and that the Lord might be with me; "For," said he, "thou breaks my heart; I cannot bear it any longer." And in a short time after, I left him, uneasy and restless in body, but otherwise well and comfortable.

About the eleventh hour, Aaron Atkinson and I, Edward Shippen and his wife, Samuel Carpenter, Isaac Norris, Griffith Owen, and some other Friends set forward for Maryland, and that evening went to Bartholomew Cop-puck's, where most of us lodged that night.

The next day we went to Chester, where we had a large meeting; after which we went to Caleb Pusey's and lodged, and next day went forward about forty-six miles and lodged at an inn.

On the 3rd day of the eighth month we went to George Warner's, a Friend, who lived on the bay of Chesapeake, eight miles below Turkey Point, where we were kindly entertained, and the Lord's comfortable presence was with us in that family. We went next to Chester river, to our friend Henry Hosier's, and had meetings; and the good presence of the Lord was with us, to the praise of his own holy name, who liveth, and is worthy to reign for ever.

On the 6th we set forward for Great Choptank, and at the ferry, I had the afflicting news of the death of my companion, Roger Gill, at Philadelphia; at which my soul was greatly bowed, and my heart tendered, and the ground whereon I sat was watered with my tears. I was fully satisfied he had obtain-

ed a crown of everlasting peace with the Lord, and that his memory should not rot, nor his living testimony fall in those American parts, wherein we had laboured together, from Carolina to New England; where many hearts had been tendered by him, and souls comforted, and several convinced; and all through that divine power by which he is now raised to glory, to sing praises to him who sitteth on the throne, and ruleth and reigneth, and is alone worthy, for ever and ever. Amen.

This afforded me matter of deep humiliation, considering how long and often the Lord had spared me, and to what end, since I have no interest in the world, nor any thing, for the enjoyment whereof I could desire to live; but that it may please the Lord and Giver of life to spare mine, till I may be more fit to appear with my accounts before him.

Having rode about thirty miles, we arrived at John Pitt's in the evening, and next day went to the yearly meeting at Choptank, which was not large that day, being the seventh of the week, and the people not gathered; but next day it was large and well, and ended peaceably.

In the morning we returned to the meeting place with a heavy load upon our spirits, but did not know the cause till the meeting was assembled, and then came an Episcopal priest, and with him several justices of the peace, a colonel, and a great company of gentry of both sexes; and a mighty great crowd of people there was.

Whilst Aaron Atkinson was engaged the priest came not into the house, nor did I know any thing of his being there till a little before Aaron had finished. As soon as I stood up they came in, and then I saw whence came the load of darkness in the morning, which, by that time, the Truth had, in a good degree, overcome, and driven as smoke before the wind.

Many things opened in my mind, which I delivered; viz: Of the fall of man through temptation, unbelief, and disobedience: of the love and mercy of God still towards him: of the various dispensations of God for the restoration of man, viz: the manifestation and strivings of the Spirit of God with the old world; the law of Moses; the ceremonial, moral, and judicial or civil parts of it: of Christ, the antitype of all the figures, and fulfiller of them, and of the whole law first in himself, and then in all who believe in him, and obey: of the life, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, glorification, and intercession of Christ: of his dying as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world: of universal saving grace by him: of the faith of the Gentiles in him, the Word that took flesh, and



is the "true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" that makes a discovery of sin in the understandings of mankind, and reproves them for it in secret, when no man can accuse: of the baptism of John, and of Christ's baptism; the former with water unto repentance, proposing Christ, not then made manifest, as the object of faith, when come or manifested; and the latter with the Holy Spirit: how the apostles of Christ fell in with John in the administration of water baptism; not in the name of one to come, or unknown, but in the name of Jesus, whom they declared to be the Messiah, for the remission of sins; with many other things for the clearing of that subject. During all which the priest and his company were very still and attentive, and the meeting ended in peace without interruption.

When the meeting was over, Richard Jones told me the priest desired to have some conference with me; and that he had asked him if he had any thing to object against what he had heard? and he said no. I asked him the same question, but there being many of the people about us, he then insinuated that he had something to object, but was loath to expose me, but would discourse me in private, with two or three of my friends, and as many, or fewer, of his.

To which I answered, that if to what I had said in that great auditory he had any thing to object, I was ready to answer in the face of the same; and desired him to go into the meeting-house as the most proper place, and that was the most proper auditory, which had heard so lately what I had delivered; but he refused, and began to abuse me, saying, I was a cunning sophister, and had deluded the people; which I challenged him to prove before them if he could; but he went on railing, and alleged, that I had asserted none of the apostles ever baptized with water after the coming of the Holy Ghost: and calling a young man as a witness, he confessed, that I had challenged the priests to prove by Scripture, that any of the apostles ever baptized with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and if they could not, then any baptism they used with water after the coming of the Holy Ghost, was only the same they administered in John's time, before that in Mat. xxviii. 19, was instituted; where it is said, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," &c., for if any of the apostles had baptized with water from that text, they would have pursued the terms of it in that action; which they never did. And therefore, since no water is mentioned in the text, nor any instance can be given, where

the terms of it were used by any of apostles, it follows, that the baptism intended there was not with water, but the Spirit, as alone proper to the dispensation of Christ, the Son of God, and not to the servant.

His witness thus witnessing against him, he raged, but would not engage any further in the dispute. Then I sent for a form out of the meeting-house, on which I stood up, and informed the people of the priest's mistake; upon which he rode off, almost without hearing, and placing himself at some distance, with a rude company, stood gazing, blustering, and calling us names, and then departed. Many were offended at his management; some saying they had come twenty miles, and were disappointed.

The priest and his company being gone, we were told by some who observed it, that the justices and he, before they parted, held a consultation to have drawn up a warrant against me for speaking against the common prayer, but could not find how to make it bear; for I had said something against the sprinkling of infants as no ordinance of Christ, as they pretended: but the Lord defeated their mischievous design.

The meeting for business being there the next day, it held late in the afternoon, so that several of the people who had come far in expectation of another meeting for worship, went away before we had done; but business being ended, we were favoured with a tender season together, and our meeting ended in the pure holy love of our Lord Jesus Christ, our holy Head, Life, and Comforter, who is ever near, to the end of the world, to strengthen and support his own in the needful season, and to bind up his holy body, the church, with the joints and sinews of divine love, that cannot be broken; against which the gates of hell never can prevail.

According to appointment, we held a meeting next day at Tuckahoe, which was pretty large, the whip of small cords being well employed, to scourge the buyers and sellers out of the temple; and there was likewise clean water to wash the tables and cleanse the steps. It ended well, and we went that evening, about nine miles, to William Troth's, who had been greatly indisposed, but was much refreshed by our visit to him.

On the 13th we went to Choptank river meeting, where the Lord gave us a comfortable time. On the 15th, being the first of the week, we went to a meeting at Little Choptank, and in the way, I found my mind much laden, not knowing the cause till we came to the place. There we received a message from an Episcopal priest, that he intended to be at our meeting, and desired us to stay for him, that



he might hear us. This message increased my concern to see what the Lord would be pleased to direct; and being favoured with a sense of the gentle operation of his power, and my heart much comforted in his divine presence, I did not doubt but we should have understanding and power sufficient for the day.

We were not hasty to go into the meeting, nor found we freedom to delay, but began it near the usual time; and the good presence of the Lord was tenderly with us, and I felt my spirit thereby over that spirit that was coming to oppose us.

Aaron Atkinson spoke first in the meeting, and the priest delaying longer than the time he had appointed, Aaron had done before he appeared; and a concern being upon me likewise before he came, I had gone through several things concerning the fall of man, and the promises of God for his restoration; and that Christ has come accordingly, and has died for all men; and that the grace of God is come upon all men for their salvation, upon condition of their faith in him, repentance, amendment, and obedience; and this grace is that spiritual power that reproves mankind for sin in their own hearts, &c.

In the mean time came the priest, his wife, several justices of the peace, two lawyers, and many people; who rushing in, occasioned some unsettledness in the meeting, and altered the state of it, so that the people were not, for some time, in a condition to hear with attention; and therefore I stood a little while silent, finding the operation of the word of Truth to abate, as to that matter. After which I exhorted them to be still, not only as to their bodies, but also their minds, that haply they might reap some advantage by what they might hear; and then I began to recount, in short, what points I had gone through before they came, to the end they might perceive the entire scope of my testimony. Then the power of Truth began again to work, and therein I quickly came over both priest and people, who were generally sober and attentive, which made the priest very uneasy. And at length, as I came to treat of baptism, he fell into a passion, and interrupted me; but I kept my authority and matter, and went on. That which seemed to touch him most, was about sprinkling of infants; when I told the people it is an antichristian and Popish innovation, he then fired upon me with an objection; but I bid him be silent, for our meeting was not ended; and he forbore till I had done: and then Aaron Atkinson concluded the meeting in prayer; upon which the priest and justices went out.

The meeting being ended, they came in

again, and the priest was big with his objection, which he had conceived from a mistake of a text of Scripture. It was thus: "You," said he, "have spoken much against water baptism, as if it were not obligatory at this day; but the Scripture saith, 'Unless a man be baptized with water and the Holy Ghost he cannot see the kingdom of God.'"

I passed by his mistake for the present in misrendering that Scripture, and said, "There is no necessity to believe, that the Lord Jesus spake then of elementary water; but as there is a twofold operation of the Holy Spirit, the one compared to water, which is for the washing away of the pollution of sins past before conviction, and the other to fire, for destroying the root of it in us; as it is prophesied of Christ, 'He is like a refiner's fire, and fuller's soap; and he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver, and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver.' Again, the baptism of Christ makes thorough work; for 'his fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather the wheat into the garner; but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.' In another place it is written, that Christ said, 'He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water: but this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive.'"

"The Spirit of Christ is thus compared both to water and fire, and their different effects and operations, to express the baptism of Christ, and work of regeneration, as begun, carried on, and perfected by him: and it is also written, 'By one spirit are we all baptized into one body, and have been all made to drink into one spirit.'"

Then I asked the priest, "That since the Spirit of Christ is thus compared to fire, as well as water, why he did not think elementary fire was to be used in baptism as well as water?" To which he was silent.

Having entered thus far into the argument for the sake of the people, Aaron Atkinson told them, there was no such Scripture as their priest had alleged; for it is, "Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit;" and not baptized with water and the Spirit; which the priest could not deny, and then the people saw him wrong.

The priest being foiled in this, he recurred to the text in Matthew, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" and alleging from hence, "That these words, 'Go teach all nations, baptizing them, &c.,' show, that teaching and baptizing is one act."

"Thou sayest well, said I; we have all



along maintained that against our adversaries, why then dost thou oppose us? For if teaching and baptizing be the same act in the sense of that text, water baptism, as to any command from thence, is excluded." He then saw his mistake, and was ashamed; and many of his people were so too, and went out of the room.

At length he pulled a book out of his bosom, and would have shown us what his author had said about baptism: he was not willing to show the title, or the author's name, but I perceived it was the *Snake in the Grass*; and then I exposed it as a very false piece, and Charles Lesly, the author, as a forger; and that his book had been fully answered, and his arguments repelled, by one of our friends, Joseph Wyeth. And then I advised the priest to be baptized himself, if he thought water baptism was necessary, or else he had no right to dispute about it; for sprinkling is not baptism.

To this he replied, "That though they did not use washing in water, but sprinkling, that ought not to be alleged as a ground for us to reject the whole."

I answered, "We have sufficient authority, without that, to decline all water baptism, as no ordinance of Christ; but it must needs be very perverse in any to contend with others for a necessity of any thing in religion, which themselves will not practise." I then exhorted the priest to give way to the manifestation of Truth in his own conscience, and it would lead him out of all error and evil things; and so we parted in a friendly manner.

A justice of peace and a lawyer staid longer, and we had discourse with them on some other points. We informed them further concerning our principles, and particularly of our sentiments respecting human government. Of our loyalty and inoffensive demeanour under all governments, in any form, giving always either active or passive obedience; and that where the former could not be yielded, when any thing contrary to our religion and consciences, and duty to God, was commanded or required by any law, then the latter was never wanting, or refused, though to the loss of all.

Upon this an attorney at law asserted, "That all men were bound in conscience to give active obedience to all laws made by the legislature of any government where they lived;" but offered no reason for his opinion.

I answered, "That, according to this, all the faithful primitives were wrong, who never complied with the laws of the heathens, made against them and their religion; but suffered cruel deaths in confessing the true God, and the Lord Jesus, especially under the two

emperors, in the tenth general persecution. Thereby he condemned all the Protestants, and others, as worthy of those punishments inflicted upon them by Papists, on account of their religious sentiments, being contrary to their national and ecclesiastical laws; to which those sufferers could not, because of their known duty to God and Christ, give any active, but only passive obedience and non-resistance, though inflicted by force of the statute *de heretico comburendo*; whereby many of the people of the nation, who were then of the same religion of the present national church, were destroyed. If they ought to have given active obedience to that, and such other persecuting laws, then their blood was upon their own heads, being justly shed for their disobedience; which would be a very severe and unchristian opinion, and therefore to be rejected; and being attended with such consequences, thou would do well to lay it aside, and entertain it no more."

That night we lodged at the Widow Kennerly's, and the good presence of the Lord was comfortably with us, and great was our reward of peace in him after that day's work. As I never have observed any one to undertake with so much confidence, and come so meanly off as this priest did, so I believe he made himself work for repentance.

The next day we went to Chickinacomoco, and on the following morning went forward to a meeting appointed at Nanticoke river, at Edward Fisher's, which was small, but comfortable.

In the morning we made haste to get over the river, the tide being upon the ebb, and then rode to another ferry, where we had a good passage, and that evening arrived at Leven Denwood's, where we lodged. There we met with one they called the king's attorney, an ill-spirited man; and after some time a discourse arose between him and Aaron Atkinson, and he soon discovered a bad disposition towards us as a people.

The matter they were upon was Christ's satisfaction made upon the cross for the sins of mankind, which he pretended to magnify; but with a view, as it might seem, to the exemption of men thereby from the necessity of a holy and righteous life; and Aaron Atkinson endeavoured to inform him, that men's belief only of the things which Christ did and suffered in this world, without a conformity to his life, is not sufficient for salvation.

In the mean time the attorney, as he spake of these things, behaved himself in such a manner, that I perceived he had no regard to the dignity of the matter, nor sense of the things he talked of; and therefore I told him, if men would take upon them to speak of



such things, it ought to be done in a spirit of meekness and humility, and with an understanding of the things they treated of. This a little cooled him for a time; and then I took occasion to mention to him the promise of God concerning the new covenant, which is inward, in the heart; a covenant of light, life, and power, of which Christ is the Mediator, and the great effect of his coming in the flesh; the fruits whereof are peace, love, and good-will unto all men: under which dispensation men are to "beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation is not to lift up sword against nation, nor to learn war any more." Many of the prophecies being already come to pass, we look for the fulfilling of this also, by the inward revelation of the Spirit of Christ, who is the Prince of peace, of the increase of whose government there is no end.

"But," said he, "that is not likely to be in our time." "Why," said I, "if it be fulfilled in thee and me, we shall have the advantage of it, as to us, though it be not general in our time. It is evident it is not yet come to pass among those nations professing Christ, who have been so lately in wars one against another; and yet it is come to pass in a people at this day, in whom the Lord hath begun this great and good work. For we have not used the carnal weapon since we were a people; nor can we, because the life of Christ in us is against and contrary to it. And to the same principle of divine light, life, and love, will God, who is the same, bring all nations in his own appointed time."

He replied, "You say it is fulfilled in you; but how doth that appear, since you have not yet been tried as a people in any government where you had full power? I have heard, that in Pennsylvania, where you have a government only under another, you have used the carnal weapon, in rescuing a sloop which some piratical persons had stolen from a wharf at Philadelphia; by which it may be suspected you would use it further in other cases, which might touch you if you had an independent government; though I cannot charge them in Pennsylvania with any thing of that kind but what I have heard."

I then asked him if he had heard the defence of the persons charged with the retaking of that vessel? He said he had, but did not know whether it was true. "It seems thou canst not charge but upon hearsay. Does it not then discover a partial inclination in thee, to think us guilty, since thou cannot receive a defence upon hearsay as well as a charge?"

I informed him, that we had been greatly abused by the false reports and misrepresenta-

tions of some envious apostates and their abettors on that account, with an evil design, not only to destroy our characters, as if we had acted as hypocrites, contrary to our religion, but to lessen and decry the efficacy of that principle of divine light, life, and truth we make profession of. But if the report had been true as stated, as it was false, yet the weakness or presumption of some persons professing the same religion, is not, by any justice, to be charged upon the whole people, and much less upon their principles of religion. For it was not the government, but some particular persons, who took upon themselves privately to bring back that sloop, which they effected by surprising the thieves, and without any bloodshed or act of violence.

It is still more unjust to suggest against us as a people, that if we had power we would take up arms and fight upon occasion, contrary to the religion we now profess; yet this is no other, in effect, than what I have heard suggested by men of thy principles, against the apostles of Christ and the holy primitives.

The next day we had a meeting there, which was pretty large and comfortable, and on the 20th, being the sixth of the week, we set forward and passed a ferry on the Pocomoke river, about twenty miles from our lodging, and Aaron Atkinson's horse being sick and likely to fail, it laid us under some concern, having about twenty-five miles more to ride that day, and no lodging by the way, and the nights then beginning to be cold. But the Lord was near to bear up our minds; and after our horses had grazed a little in the wood, the sick horse began to grow better, and before it was quite dark we arrived at the widow Mary Johnston's, at Muddy creek, where we were entertained to the best of her ability, and were refreshed, and rested well that night. Next morning her son and George Drewett, who had been our guide, went to give notice of a meeting to be at the meeting-house on the first-day following, and we rested there that day.

The meeting was large, the house being full, and many more than it could admit, but hard in the beginning. The people are apt, in those parts, to keep out of the meeting houses till they hear some begin to speak, and then they frequently rush in rudely, and so disturb the meetings; though they do not intend any molestation by it. Many things were opened that day, in the wisdom of Truth; and the meeting proved better in the end, several persons were tender, and the people generally humbled under the authority of Truth. The necessity of the work of the Holy Spirit in the heart, regeneration, faith



in Christ the Word of God, and good works, being greatly pressed upon the audience, and holiness, without which there is no entering the kingdom, or seeing the glory of God.

That night we went home with Thomas Fooks to Anancock, about twelve miles, where we rested well and easy, and Aaron Atkinson was twice concerned in prayer for his children, being twelve in number.

Next morning we set forward for Thomas Brown's, at Naswadock's creek, about twenty-five miles off; where we arrived about three in the afternoon, and staid that night, and the day following had a large meeting at the meeting house. Things being much out of order in those parts, Friends intermarrying and intermixing with the world, we were laden in our minds, and uneasy, and therefore appointed another meeting, to be on the 26th. In the mean time we were concerned to preach Truth in the family where we lodged, by which we were greatly eased and comforted in our spirits, and the glorious reward remained upon us all night, and the next day we were favoured with a better meeting than before, Truth being over all; and we came away clear, and in much satisfaction.

On the 27th we had another meeting at Thomas Fooks', wherein we were well satisfied, Truth being over all; the people were sober, and went away low and humbled.

On the 29th, being the first of the week, we had a large meeting in the meeting-house at Muddy creek, and that evening returned to Mary Johnston's; and next morning, after a very tender season at table, rode about forty-five miles to George Truet's, where we staid, being very weary, till the 1st of the ninth month, and then had a meeting there.

The day following we had a meeting at the house of Walter Lane, about fifteen miles off, whose wife was a Friend. The meeting was small, by reason of a court held near the place at the same time; but the countenance of the Lord being with us, all was well; and after this we rode to our friend Thomas Evernden's, at Anomessicks, where we staid nearly two days, and had some service in the family.

On the 4th we went to Richard Waters', and next day, being the first of the week, had a meeting there, which was hard and dry in the main, though we were easy after it, and had some good times in the friend's house; he and his wife not having been long convinced, were tender and innocent.

On the 5th Aaron Atkinson went on board a sloop in order for the Western shore; I went with him to the vessel, and there we took leave of each other. I went to George Truet's, about thirty miles, where I lodged that night,

and next day rode about thirty-five miles to Cedar-Neck; and calling at the house of one William Atkinson, not a Friend by profession, he informed us that the tide was high, and no passing the inlet, but invited us kindly to stay with him that night; which we consented to do. The house was small, and several children, yet they made a shift to get us beds, and sufficient eatables, and good milk and water to drink. At supper I was concerned to call upon the name of the Lord, and both the man of the house and his wife were touched with a sense of the divine virtue of Truth, and praised God that I came under their roof, as having been made instrumental for their good. The woman being devout in the way of the church of England, I opened to her many things about baptism and the supper; which she gladly received, and asked me many questions about other points, which I resolved to her satisfaction; and her husband was likewise well pleased. In the morning we ate and drank again, and then asked what we had to pay; but they would not receive any thing, either for ourselves or for our horses; and besides, the man went with us over the inlet about seven miles, and put us in the way to Lewistown, in the county of Sussex, in the territories of Pennsylvania, where we arrived in the evening late. Alighting at our friend William Clark's, he sent out that night to give notice of a meeting to be there next day; which accordingly we had. It was not large, there being no settled meeting there, but comfortable, the Lord mercifully owning us with his good presence.

I found a concern upon my mind for another meeting there, and staid till the first-day following. This was larger than the former, and I was well satisfied in it; for Truth and its testimony were over all, and many things were opened to the satisfaction of Friends and people.

The next morning, accompanied by Samuel Preston of Philadelphia, I went on to Mispillion, to Joseph Booth's, where we had a meeting the day after. He did not profess with us, but was friendly; and he asked me many questions concerning baptism, the supper, perfection, &c., all which I answered to his satisfaction; and next day after the meeting he expressed his full conviction of what he had heard. But I found he stuck at the cross; he could not submit to the plain language of thou and thee to a single person, nor become unmodish in keeping on the hat, and declining the customary ways of address, nor break off that heathenish custom of calling the days and months by the names of their imaginary gods, which he thought too low for matters of



religion; concerning all which we discoursed next morning, as he set us on our way; and in some of these points he was better satisfied before we parted. Yet the cross was hard for him to bear in these small things; and why? Because submitting to the practice of them, immediately subjects a man to the scoffing and contempt with which we are treated by the world at this day, no way agreeable to the natural and carnal mind. And that which rendered things harder to him was, the station and character he supported in the world; for he was a justice of the peace, and the most sober and knowing person in those parts.

After that meeting many expressed their satisfaction, especially with what was said concerning baptism, though it was more difficult to make that point clear to the understandings of the people, especially the weaker sort, at that time, than it might have been at some other. For there was then a romantic paper handed about, falsely relating, "That in Holland had lately been observed by some travellers, a certain great stone by the wayside, with this inscription, 'Blessed is he that turns me over;' upon which the travellers essayed to do it, but could not; and many people being about it trying, but in vain, there came one unknown, in the form of a little boy of about four years of age, and making the crowd give way, turned the stone with ease; under which was found a letter, pretending to be written by the Lord Jesus Christ, intimating, That he purposed to come shortly to judgment; and strictly commanded the keeping of the sabbath, and that they should baptize their children."

Copies of this forged letter were industriously spread about in Maryland, and in those lower counties and territories of Pennsylvania, not without some suspicion of priestcraft; for about that time some of them went about, in their trade, asking the people if they had any children to christen? And those who would pay for it, might have them made as good members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, as the priest was able, for so much money, tobacco, or other reward or barter as they could agree for. But the work going on slowly and heavily, there wanted something to quicken the zeal of the people; and to that end this miraculous event was reported beforehand, as a messenger to prepare the way of the priests before them: and that which was to have made the people's neglect in the case the more to be dreaded, such as should be negligent herein were not to thrive in the world; for neither their cattle, hogs, corn, nor any thing else, were to prosper.

The priests of Maryland, whence this re-

port and paper came, had it read in their churches, in which also they had another end, viz: to overawe the inconsiderate people into the practice of sprinkling their children, the invalidity whereof had, all over those parts, been so lately before exposed, as no ordinance of Christ, but a popish remain.

The wife of Joseph Booth, before mentioned, was fully in the belief of this new coined miracle, and what I had both argued before and preached in this meeting against sprinkling, and water baptism in general, was extremely hard for her to bear; so that she went out of the meeting into another room, and I had not her countenance any more while I staid in the house. But her husband being resolved to confess the truth, so far as he was convinced, reasoned with her, and said, that seeing he was so fully satisfied of the truth of our principles, if she found him grow any worse for owning them, she might then have cause to be troubled; but till then, she would do well not to murmur.

On the fourth-day, being the 15th of the month, we went forward, and on the 18th got to Salem, in West Jersey, and next day, being the first of the week, were at the meeting there; but the testimony of Truth running, for the most part, toward the world, and against apostates, I had not so much comfort therein as in some others, yet things were well.

On the 20th I went to Cohansey, and next day had a small meeting there; but the promise of the Lord was fulfilled in us, for several were melted and comforted in his presence, and I returned in great peace. That night proving very rainy, I went home with Josiah White, near Alloway's creek, and there lodged.

Next day I had a meeting about two miles over the creek, wherein I had service, and afterwards was comforted in the Truth; and that evening came to Elsinborough, and the next morning we sailed cross the river Delaware in a small boat, and up George's creek to Robert Ashton's.

On the 24th we had a meeting at Edward Gibbs', which was very small, but comfortable, and I staid till the first-day following, and had another meeting, which was larger, and greatly tendered, and I was much comforted in the presence and power of the Lord.

On the 28th I had a small meeting at New-Castle upon Delaware, which would have been less, had it not been for the expectation several were in of seeing William Penn, proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania, then in the river, in his voyage from England, in order to exercise his government in person, having



been absent many years; but he did not land there.

Next day had a comfortable meeting at Valentine Hollingsworth's, which, though not large, was very comfortable, and Friends, for the most part, much tendered; then was at Chichester meeting, which was large and comfortable, the power of the blessed Truth being over all. Being informed that the governor was under sail, and desired me to meet him that evening near Chester, I took horse after supper, and went to our friend Lydia Wade's, by Chester, and there waited till he came up in his barge; and as we had parted in England in much tenderness, my satisfaction was also great to meet him so well and safe in his own province; and that night we lodged together, and discoursed on divers subjects, especially on matters of government.

The next day, being the 1st of the tenth month, [1699] we went over Chester creek in a boat, to the town; and as the governor landed, some young men, officiously, and contrary to the express command of some of the magistrates, fired two small sea-pieces of cannon, and being ambitious to make three out of two, by firing one twice, one of the young men darting in a cartridge of powder before the piece was spunged, had his left hand and arm shot in pieces. A surgeon being sent for from on board a ship, an amputation was quickly resolved upon by Dr. Griffith Owen, a Friend, the surgeon, and some other skillful persons present; which accordingly was done without delay. But as the arm was cut off, some spirits in a bason happened to take fire, and being spilt upon the surgeon's apron, set his clothes on fire, and there being a great crowd of spectators, some of them were in danger of being scalded, as the surgeon himself was upon his hands and face; but running into the street, the fire was quenched; and so quick was he, that the patient lost not very much blood.

Such is the unreasonableness of envy, and of those that are exercised therein, that some such would gladly have blamed the governor, because the matter happened on that occasion, though he could not be any way accessory thereto, the action being without his knowledge, and contrary to the command of the magistrates. But as he was above the reach of his enemies, their envy and calumnies could not hurt him.

The governor and his attendants going on board, in order for Philadelphia, the next morning I went to our friend Robert Pyle's, about eight miles; and on the 3rd, being the first of the week, I went to Concord meeting. It was large and well; but being kept

out of my exercise beyond my proper time, by one who ought not to have spoken at that time, I had not full satisfaction.

On the 5th I had a meeting at John Bower's, which was very good and tender; for the Lord was with us, and we parted in much love. The next day we had a meeting at Thomas Minshall's, which was large, and several were tendered by the virtue of Truth; but I had not so much satisfaction therein, as in that before, yet it was well. On the 7th I had a meeting at Bartholomew Coppuck's, which was pretty large, and very tender; after which I was very easy, and much comforted in the divine Truth. On the 8th I went to Philadelphia, visited the governor, and some friends in town, and staid there till the 13th, when I went with the governor to Chester, to their Quarter Sessions of the peace. The next day we had a meeting at the town, which was large and open, and on the 15th we returned to Philadelphia, where I staid till the 20th, and then went to a fourth-day's meeting, which fell in course at Haverford-West, among the Welsh Friends, and Griffith Owen was with me. The meeting was small, but comfortable.

The next day Radnor meeting falling of course, we went to it. It was small for want of notice of our coming, and because of the badness of the weather; for it rained and froze at the same time, and the fields were as cakes of ice, and the trees of the woods as if candied.

The day following we took Merion meeting also in course. It was large and heavenly; for Friends had heard from the former meetings, that we were going that way, and several from thence met us there; but our chief rejoicing was, that we met with the Lord. Many important truths of the gospel were opened, and we were comforted in the blessed Truth, and mutually one in another therein. After the meeting we went with John Roberts, and lodged at his house that night; and the next morning returned to Philadelphia, and were at the meetings there the first-day following.

On the 25th I went to a monthly meeting at Frankford, and being late by an accident, a Welsh Friend was speaking when I went in, and before he concluded I was under a great concern to appear in testimony as soon as he had done. But immediately after there started up one of the same meeting, and when he had done, another, and after him another, and then one of them prayed; and the meeting concluded in this kind of hurry, to my great oppression and exercise. The weight of the service of the day was laid upon me, but I could not have any time to discharge it



for those who had no authority in the Truth to meddle at that time.

On the 27th I was at a general meeting not far from thence, where I was much refreshed in the Truth, and eased of my burthen received in the meeting before, and next day I returned to Philadelphia, where I remained till the 2nd of the eleventh month, and then went in company of the governor and other Friends to a general meeting at Haverford, among the Welsh; wherein we met with great refreshment and comfort in the good presence of the Lord; and next morning to a meeting appointed at Germantown, which was large and comfortable. On the 4th went to a meeting at Neshaminy, about ten miles off, where the Lord favoured us with a comfortable time in his good presence. The next day we were favoured with a good meeting at the falls; and the day following, being the seventh of the week, we returned for Philadelphia.

The next day I went to the meeting at Frankford, which was small, no notice having been given, but satisfactory, and that evening I returned to Philadelphia. Here I remained until the 10th of the month, and then went to the week-day meeting at Darby, which was pretty full. All that I said by way of testimony was, "The Lord filleth the hungry with good things, but the rich and full he sends empty away." For that was the case in that meeting; but I had a satisfactory time in prayer, and that night lodged with our ancient and honourable friend John Blunston, of that place.

On the 13th the governor set forward for Burlington, in West New Jersey, and I went with him, where we were favoured with a satisfactory meeting. On the 15th we rested at Burlington, at our friend Samuel Jennings', and on the 16th, being the marriage day of two of his daughters, we had a large and good meeting, and on the 18th we went down to the ferry, in order for Philadelphia; but the river proving impassable, by reason of the ice and floods by the mighty rains upon a great snow, we returned to Burlington, and the day after went down again, and the frost being set in extremely hard the second time, we cut a way through the ice, and with much labour and difficulty got over, and went about sixteen miles to Philadelphia.

I staid at Philadelphia till the 23rd, and then returned to Burlington, in order for New York, Long Island, Shrewsbury in East Jersey, and parts thereaway, and landed in Long Island on the 27th, and on first-day we went to Flushing, where the Lord gave us a good and comfortable meeting. On the 31st we had a meeting at Hempstead, and the 1st of the twelfth month I was at the monthly meet-

ing at Flushing, where several marriages were presented, and the countenance of the Lord was over us for good; and the next day I was at a marriage at Newtown, where we were favoured with another good meeting. I went to New York, and the day following was at the meeting there, which was pretty large, though the testimony of Truth hath seldom any great prevalence in that place. At the conclusion of the meeting I appointed another, to be held next evening, at the house of Thomas Roberts, where I had been disappointed of my proper time when last there, and my concern remained till now. This meeting being large, I had a full and open time therein, and then was fully clear and easy.

We staid till the 9th, and then went to the Narrows on Long Island, about ten miles, in order for Staten Island, but the passage was full of ice. The next day we got over with difficulty, and were often in danger of being interlocked among the huge cakes of ice, and carried to sea, but by good Providence, landed safe.

Next day we got over in canoes to Amboy, in East Jersey, and that evening we had a meeting there, and the company of several of the people, and things were comfortable and well. The 12th we had another good meeting at Woodbridge, on the 13th another at Piscataway, and on the 14th we went over the Raritan river on the ice, and then through the untrodden wilderness, about thirty miles, to Shrewsbury; where we were favoured with a large and comfortable meeting next day. On the 16th went to Crosswicks, and on the 18th, being the first of the week, were favoured with a large and comfortable meeting there, where the good presence of the Lord was with us, as at many other times and places, to his own praise.

On the 19th I went to Burlington, where we met with William Penn, to our mutual satisfaction, and on the 21st to a three-weeks' meeting at Joshua Humphreys', on Northampton river, about six miles off, and returned that evening to Burlington. Here I remained till the 25th, and being the first of the week, was at the meeting there; and on the 26th I went to a quarterly meeting at Mount-Hope. It was large, and the Lord was pleased to own us with his good presence. At this meeting, a woman who had been deceived by George Keith, and followed him in his apostasy from the Truth, acknowledged her outgoing with many tears, and her great loss of the consolation she had formerly enjoyed in the good presence of the Lord among his people, and in great humility, tenderness, and true repentance, desired to be restored and



accepted again into unity with Friends; and she was accepted accordingly, and restored in the spirit of meekness and love, to her great satisfaction, and that of Friends. That evening I returned to Burlington, where was a youths' meeting next day, which was large and comfortable; and William Penn being likewise there, we tarried till the 29th, and then went to a quarterly meeting at Neshaminy, in Pennsylvania, which, though not large, was well; and that evening we went to Philadelphia, where I remained till the 5th of the first month, [1700,] and then went to a monthly meeting among the Welsh Friends at Haverford, which was very large, open, comfortable, and edifying.

On the 10th, being the first of the week, I went to the meeting at Germantown; on the 17th had an appointed meeting at Newtown, in Jersey, which was large and open, the Lord being with us, and next day was at the youths' quarterly meeting at Philadelphia, which was very large and well.

Having, through the grace of God, finished the visit to Friends and others in America, which had been incumbent upon me for some years before I came from Europe, and being ready to return to England, my true and honourable friend William Penn, finding the affairs of his province very much embarrassed, became very importunate with me to remain here for some time, to make him what assistance I could. I had letters to the like purpose from several judicious Friends of my acquaintance, both in England and Ireland, who were concerned for the honour of truth, with regard to the just and reputable settlement of affairs in Pennsylvania; which had been in much disorder a long time, by reason of the absence of the proprietor; occasioned by the many and great persecutions and troubles he had been under on various accounts, for many years, not only in England, but likewise in his own province, by false brethren and an apostate company, who deserted the truth of God and equity, with that anti-christian and wilful transgressor, George Keith.

Having a very great love and respect for the proprietor, and his regard likewise so to me, and not under any engagement in myself to return immediately to England, and seeing I might probably be of some service in America, I consented to remain so long as I might see it my place.

Being unengaged in any business, and a proper subsistence necessary, the governor appointed me a member of the council of State and keeper of the Great Seal, Master of the Rolls for recording patents, and for the enrolling of deeds, and one of his commis-

sioners of property, for inquiring into and confirming old rights, and granting lands upon new purchases; with proviso in my patent for those offices, to have deputies therein respectively, when and so often as my calling in the truth and service thereof, might require it. Under these circumstances I settled there for a time, and fell also into much business in conveyancing, to which I had been inured in England. Before the proprietor returned to England, which was in about two years after his arrival in the country, he granted a charter to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and thereby erected the town into a city, and appointed me the first Recorder; but being averse to that station, I resigned it as soon as the Corporation was regularly settled and habituated to business.

These offices not obliging me to any close confinement to the various business of them, I visited the meetings from time to time, in town and country, and also in the Jerseys, as opportunities offered and need required. On the 15th of the fifth month, 1702, I went from Philadelphia in order for Long Island, and that night lodged at Burlington; next day had a good meeting with a few Friends there, and on the 17th got to Shrewsbury.

On first-day had a large meeting at their meeting-house, and the next morning set forward for Amboy, and lodged there at an inn, and the next day went over the sound into Staten Island, and through it to the next ferry. We sailed up the entrance of the sound at Elizabeth-town Point to gain the wind more fairly, and while crossing over to Long Island there came on a very thick fog, so that we lost sight of the shore on both sides, and had but a small breeze of wind; but I encouraged the boatman, believing we should be safe; and soon after there appeared an open sky, so that we saw both shores; and though the wind had shifted whilst the fog was over us, we were standing right for our intended landing place, and we got safely over, but after night. We landed near a small house of a poor man who had only one bed, and he laid me down a coat on the floor, so that I lodged but very indifferently. However, I was very well contented, the presence and goodness of the Lord being with me. I got good water to drink, but little victuals; and in the morning set forward, and missed my way several times, they being generally Dutch people in that part of the island, whose directions I could not well understand. About mid-day I got well to Newtown, where I dined, and rested some hours, and in the evening went to Thomas Stevenson's, where I lodged more comfortably.

The next morning we went by water to a



meeting at Flushing; and next day had another good meeting at Westchester on the Main.

The 26th, being the first-day of the week, we had a large meeting near Newtown, where it is kept once a year; and on the 28th had a good meeting at Hempstead, where I staid that night; next day a meeting at Jericho, and that evening returned to Flushing, and was at their week-day meeting, which was hard and shut up at first, but ended comfortably; and on the 31st I visited several families, and returned in the evening to Samuel Bowne's, where next day I wrote letters.

On the 2nd of the sixth month, being the first of the week, I had a large meeting at Westchester upon the Main; from whence, being accompanied by several Friends, I set forward on second-day morning towards Fairfield, in order for a meeting there, if a place could be had to meet in. That night we arrived at Stanford, and endeavoured for a meeting, but could not obtain a place: for though several of my company had relations there who would entertain them, and be very kind in other respects, yet they durst not admit a meeting in their houses; so miserably are they in bondage to their ministers.

The next day we went to Fairfield, and that afternoon took considerable pains for a place to meet in, but in vain. At length we agreed with our landlord for a large room for two days' time, to make what use of it we pleased. He knew our design, yet he was willing to wink at it, though he was brother-in-law to the town preacher.

The next morning calling for a reckoning, we paid our landlord for the room beforehand, and that day went to Stratford, about eight miles further; where, sending for William Bickley to the inn, he came readily to us, and willingly let us have his house for a meeting place, and went himself, and also sent his servant, about the town and invited the people; many of whom, though busy about their harvest till near night, came to the meeting.

We sat in silence a pretty while; and some of them who did not understand there could be any worship performed to God in that condition, went out again; but a little after finding some things begin to open upon my mind, I stood up and began to speak; and as soon as they heard my voice they came in so fast that they quickly filled the place, and were very quiet and orderly. The meeting was very comfortable, the goodness of the Lord being with us; and several necessary truths of the gospel were delivered among them, and no offence taken at all, from anything that appeared.

The meeting being ended, I stood up again

and signified to them, "That seeing I had no outward knowledge or acquaintance of any of them, the love of God to their souls was the only motive I had to visit them; and if any thing had been delivered which they did not understand, or if they had anything to object in soberness, and not for contention, I would do my best to satisfy them; but if they did not then, while things were fresh in memory, but after I was gone, it would not be kind, if just;" but none answered a word. They not being hasty to go away, I exhorted them, if ever they came to any of our meetings again, to stay with patience until the time of our speaking should come, and to come to meetings as near the time appointed as they could; since it is a disadvantage to one that is speaking, and to a meeting already settled, to have fresh people coming in; who thereby incommode others, and cannot readily perceive whereabouts the preacher is in the matter he is handling, or have the benefit of the whole, as those who come in proper time; and that they would do well, not presently after the meeting to run into much talk among themselves, but weigh the matters in their minds, and compare them with the Scriptures. And then desiring that the love of God might be with them, and preserve them, many of them made a respectful bow, and so departed in silence and in peace.

We returned to Fairfield, where the report was arrived before us, of the satisfaction of the people of Stratford with the meeting there; which raised a general talk and desire in them of Fairfield of coming to the meeting appointed that evening; and their minister and Justice Gould said they would come also. But they concealed their end therein, which was not for good, but evil; for towards the evening, when they and their accomplices saw that the people were in earnest to come to the meeting, they held a consultation how to disappoint both us and them; and sent for our landlord and reprehended him for letting us the room. He excused himself, alleging, that as he kept a house of entertainment, and we were strangers, and so many of us as might well occupy that room, and might desire to be by ourselves, as a quiet religious people, differing from others in our manners and behaviour, he let us have the room, not at all questioning us what we intended to do with it. But yet they so far discouraged him, that if we had not paid him beforehand, we could not have had a meeting, by all appearance; for when he saw us making seats, and other preparations for the meeting, he came to discourage us, saying, "Why should you trouble yourselves about such a thing, since none dare come to hear you for fear of the



minister, and others in authority?" But of this we took little notice.

None of the people came till near sun-set, and then but few in the room, but many about the doors and in the court; and things beginning to open in my mind, I waited for the fuller gathering of them, till they who were there began to be uneasy, so that some of them went out: but standing up, and my voice being heard, many came in, and the room was quickly full, and some hundreds about the doors and windows; and their minister and the justice and constables among them: and things opening clear, and my voice raised more than ordinary, I had a good time among them; though I found there was war in the spirit of the priest and his company against us and the truth.

The words which I began with were these: "For the word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow; and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart: neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight; but all things are naked, and open unto the eyes of Him with whom we have to do:" that this Word is Christ, in his divine and spiritual appearance in the hearts of mankind; of whom the evangelist bears testimony, that "He was in the beginning with God, and was God: that all things were made by him: that in him was life, and the life was the light of men: that he is the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world: that he was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not: and that this divine Word was made flesh (or assumed the proper nature of man, a reasonable soul and human body) and dwelt among them, full of grace and truth: and of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace." This is the only begotten Son of God, to whom all mankind are directed by the Father, according to the prophet of old, where he saith, "Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth: I have put my spirit upon him; he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. Thus saith God the Lord, he that created the heavens, and stretched them out; he that spread forth the earth, and that which cometh out of it; he that giveth breath to the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein; I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles." This is He, the same who was crucified in the flesh at Jerusalem, according to the testimony of Holy Writ, and

as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world. This is he, who being thus promised a light to the Gentiles, and all directed unto him as such, as to the saving object of their faith, and covenant of light and life with the Father, all must believe in him, obey and follow him in the way of regeneration, or else they cannot have salvation by him: as it is also written, "By grace ye are saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God." "Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost; which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour." And this is the present dispensation of God unto us, now scornfully and contemptuously called Quakers; to whom this great salvation is come in our day, as well as to them in that day, clear from all shadows, types, and figures; without any representations or commemorations of Christ, as if absent, but as sensibly present, as the divine light, love, and life from God the Father.

These were some heads of what I had to say among them; and the rest was after this manner: that no name of distinction or contempt among men, of their own inventing, through ignorance or envy, would stand any of us in stead at the last day; nothing would do then but the name, virtue, and power of the Lord of life, the Lord Jesus Christ, the quickening Spirit, and to have life eternal by him: that we shall not be asked in that day whether we had been named, or called Papists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Quakers, or by any other name of that kind; but, What have been thy thoughts, words, and deeds in life? How hast thou lived? Hast thou done unto all men as thou wouldst they should have done unto thee? And the Son of God hath already told us, that "A good man, out of the good treasure of the heart, bringeth forth good things; and an evil man, out of the evil treasure, bringeth forth evil things. But I say unto you, that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment: for by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." And all at last must be judged according to their works. Let us therefore take the advice of the apostle, where he saith, "Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace unto the hearers;" and do likewise that which is good in the sight of God and good men.

The minister staid until he heard what subject I was upon, and had gone on some time,



and then retired, saying, "He heard nothing that was hurtful." Things going on well, and the people generally being very still and attentive, in came the justice at one door, and two constables with a warrant, at the other. The justice commanded the people to disperse, asking them if they did not understand that the law was against such meetings; and that they might be fined every man ten shillings, and the house five pounds; and then he began to take down some names, pretending to fine them. Some of them were weak and cowardly, and retired, and some hid their faces; but others were offended with their magistrates, saying, "If they were fined on that account, they would stand one by another, and oppose any who should pretend to levy it." Others cried out, "We have not liberty of conscience." The tumult increasing, and the people no longer in a condition of hearing to profit, and the truth withdrawing as to that exercise, I was silent.

Then some of those opposers accused me of making a tumult; I replied, it was themselves that had done it, contrary to the laws of England, and the nature and end of the Christian religion; for I and the people were quiet, as likewise my friends, until they disturbed us in our hired house, where we were publicly and peaceably met in a Christian exercise, in which we ought not to have been disturbed. But if any of them had any thing to object against what was delivered in the meeting, they should have been silent until it had been ended, and I would, by the grace of God, have given them an answer, and reasonable and Christian satisfaction.

Then one of the constables took out a warrant, signed by justice Gould, purporting, "That whereas it is supposed one under the name of a Quaker is at such a house, preaching, or pretending to preach; if any such be found there, he is ordered to be apprehended, and taken to the constable of Norwalk, about eight miles off, and from thence to be conducted from constable to constable, out of the government."

Upon this I stood up upon a form, and told them openly, I was the man who had said all that was said, by way of preaching, in that meeting; and that I was ready to obey the warrant, if they thought proper to execute it, for we are subject to government; only I desired a copy of it. The constable refused to give me a copy, and said he did not believe that I was the man. Then some of the people told him I was. Then said the constable, "I'll believe none of you; nor do I see any body here that our law takes hold of; these are not such Quakers as our law is against." Then the other constable would have had the

warrant, pretending he would execute it, but the first would not give it him. Then we perceived they did all this to hinder our meeting, lest the people should receive the Truth; and in reality they had no law to justify their proceedings. I exhorted the people not to be cowardly, nor remain slaves to their minister, who was of their own making, and I suspected he might be at the bottom of all this. Then I and my companion went out into the street among the people, the justice being slunk away in the dark. They were very numerous, and I spoke what was futher in my mind among them, and found them generally dissatisfied with their magistrates for that disturbance.

Many of those people at that town of Fairfield, ever since I had that dispute with the seven ministers there, speak of the dispute in our favour, and against their ministers, and their oppressions in taking away their arms and weapons of war; by which, they say, they should defend themselves, families, and country, from enemies, and also their very wearing apparel, for their maintenance. But yet, when those people are tried, they are all so much overawed by their ministers, that they dare do nothing to displease them, not so much as to permit a meeting to be in their houses, though in themselves they incline to it.

Next morning there came to us several of the people, and again expressed their dissatisfaction with the conduct of their magistrates in that action; and after some further discourse with them, having refreshed ourselves, we took horse for our journey, and called at justice Gould's door, with intent to have reasoned the case with him about his unchristian and illegal behaviour to us, both as strangers and subjects of the crown of England, but we could not see him. And so, having set holy fire and sword from the Lord in the bowels of the town, we left it; may it never cease, till the Prince of peace be known to reconcile them unto himself and the Father, and to govern in them: to him be dominion and praise, to whom alone it is due, for ever and ever.

The same day, after some fruitless endeavours to obtain a meeting at Stanford, we came back about forty miles, to Samuel Palmer's, where we lodged that night, and on the 8th reached Long island; and the day following, being the first of the week, was at the meeting at Flushing, which was not very open. Having appointed a meeting at Oyster Bay on the 11th, John Richardson, from Yorkshire, and James Bates, from Virginia, coming the day before from Rhode Island, came to me at my lodging, and we went together to the



meeting, which was small, but comfortable, the good presence of the Lord being with us.

On the 12th we were at the week-day's meeting at Jericho, which was pretty large, and an open good meeting the Lord gave us together in his presence. That evening we went all to Flushing, and were at their meeting next day; and on the 14th we had a large good meeting at Jamaica, and a court for civil affairs being at the same place that day, several lawyers and other company came to us, all very sober and attentive.

On the 16th we went to Great-Neck, in that island, to the house of William Mott, a young man lately convinced by the ministry of Thomas Thompson, where we had a large meeting, there being many of other people with us, and all very sedate, and the truths of the gospel of Christ well opened.

On the 17th we went to Newtown, and next day had a meeting there, which was very open and well.

On the 19th we went to New York, and had a small, dark, heavy meeting there; and next morning crossed over Hudson's river to Staten Island, and on the 21st had a meeting there, where none had been before. The meeting was well, and the people very quiet; but after it was over, there stood up one Captain Manning, and objected to something John Richardson had said against water baptism, and it fell to my lot to answer him; which having done, so as to leave two Scriptures upon him unanswered, viz: "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ: for by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have all been made to drink into one Spirit." And where Peter, speaking of the saving of Noah and his family by water, or rather by the ark from water, and the destruction made upon the rest of the world by it, saith, "The antitype of which figure, even baptism, doth also now save us, (not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ."

I demanded their authority for sprinkling infants: this pinched him so closely, that he grew very angry, alleging that I laughed at him; which I never did, either then, or on any other like serious occasion. I told him it was only an old Popish remain, set up by them under a false notion of an ordinance of Christ. His anger then increasing into rage, he went away, and I went along by him, confirming what I had said. At length, getting out from among the people, he alleged that Scripture for sprinkling, where Christ saith, "Suffer

little children to come unto me," &c., which I rejected, as no way applicable to the case, there being nothing, either expressed or implied in that text, either for sprinkling or baptizing. Upon this he went into the house, and soon after his spirit fell, and he became very calm, and then began to tell what kindnesses he had formerly done to Friends at Salem, in New England; and his wife, having been pretty tender in the meeting, made an apology for her husband's passion, and so all ended in love and friendship.

That evening we returned to New York, and remained there the next day, and though there was a pestilential fever raging in the town, so that seventeen persons lay dead there that day, yet notice was given of the meeting to be on the 23rd, being the first of the week, and was held accordingly; and though very thin, it was the best and most comfortable I was ever at in that hard and dark place; for the minds of the people were humbled with fear of the sickness, and by so many instances of mortality, and so near, by which they were more susceptible of Truth.

On the 24th visited a Friend that was sick, and then took boat for Flushing, and on the 26th we had a meeting at West-Chester, over the Sound. On the 27th were at their week-day meeting at Flushing, and that evening went home with John Rodman, where we staid till the 29th, and then, accompanied by many Friends, we went to Westbury, to a quarterly meeting, where we had good service; and the business of the meeting being all finished that day, the next, being the first of the week, the Lord, in the riches of his goodness, gave us a glorious meeting in his presence, in a new meeting-house fitted up on that occasion; and many hundreds of Friends, and abundance of other people were there, and generally satisfied. Many things of importance in religion being clearly opened by the wisdom and power of Truth that day, to the praise of the holy name of the living Lord, who alone is worthy for ever.

On the 1st of seventh month we were at the marriage of William Haige and Mary Masters, at Flushing; on which occasion we were favoured of the Lord with his good presence, and an open, satisfactory meeting.

In the morning we went to the Narrows, and with difficulty, procured a small boat that could carry one horse only at a time, which made our passage very tedious as well as dangerous; and my horse never having been in a boat before, leaped overboard, and turned upon the boat with his feet, and might have upset or staved it; but being just putting off from the shore, we returned to land,



and taking down the sail, quieted him, so that he kept in the boat the second time, but with much difficulty, till we got over.

Being got well over, none of us knew the way to the Point, nor could we have any guide but a maid we met with on the side of the Sound where we landed. One of our company took her on behind him, and we got well along till we came to Captain Manning's, where both he and his wife were very kind to us. We went forward, about a mile, to a Dutchman's house, who sent his two sons, one with a canoe and some of the company and things, and the other with the rest of us, through a boggy marsh to a point of land, from which we swam our horses by the sides of the canoe. This being about sun-set, we had the other Friends' horses, left there before, to take up and pay for; which done, we went that night to Woodbridge.

On the 3rd we set forward for Shrewsbury, about five in the afternoon, and next day had a meeting there, and the day following went to Crosswicks. On the 6th, being the first of the week, had a very good meeting there, and that evening went to Burlington, and on the 7th to Philadelphia.

Having further ordered my affairs at Philadelphia, visited some meetings in the country, and attended the service of the yearly meeting, I went from thence to Burlington, and back to the yearly meeting at Shrewsbury, in East Jersey, to which came a message in writing, from that miserable apostate, George Keith, who had applied to a bishop of the national church, that he might be made a priest among them. They thinking he might be of use to some purposes of theirs, put him into their deacons' orders, not being willing to trust one so unstable with further orders, till they had better proof of him. And as a deacon in their way may preach, but not administer their sacraments, they sent with him one John Talbot, a high church priest, of low consequence, to baptize, as they miscall sprinkling, and give bread and wine to such as George Keith should pervert. They began in New England, and came along the coast in that work, (but to little purpose, for they made but very few converts in all their journey,) to Shrewsbury, at the time of our yearly meeting, to make disturbance, and as much as they could, hinder the service of our meeting. On the first day of it, being the 24th of the eighth month, George Keith sent the priest with a paper, purporting, "1st, an advertisement, that he purposed to have a meeting at the house of one in town, to begin about the eleventh hour the next day, being in the middle of our meeting, then and there to detect, out of the books of our approved authors, divers vile

errors, contrary to the Christian faith, and fundamental principles of the Christian religion.

2. "As also to be ready to vindicate the truth of any or all the quotations out of the printed books of our approved authors, contained in his several printed narratives.

3. "To answer any objection we shall make against him; in order to which he desired us to be then and there present.

4. "That if we were not willing to meet him at the said time and place, he would meet us at any time and place we should appoint him at Shrewsbury, on timely advertisement, betwixt the 26th and 29th of that instant;

5. "With a postscript, signifying, that if we did not come, he would judge we acknowledged the quotations to be true, and a demonstration to all intelligent persons that he had not wronged us in them; but that our principal friends, with whom we joined, have and do hold most gross and damnable errors, to the great hurt of our souls, and scandal of the Christian religion."

This being directed to two of our ministers in particular, and to the rest in general, I asked his messenger, Talbot, whether George Keith sent this challenge as one formerly cast off and rejected by us as a people, for his misdemeanours, or as a minister of the church of England? Which question being put into writing, and signed by me and two other ministers, and sent to George Keith, he returned a long and ill-natured answer, the substance whereof was thus, viz:

"I positively answer, I sent you my challenge, both as a person cast off and rejected by you most unjustly, for what ye call falsely, as well as illegally, my misdemeanours, and also as a minister of the church of England."

To this we replied thus: "George Keith, we have received thy peevish and scoffing answer [for so it was] to our questions. And since thou givest thy advertisement and challenge, both as a person cast off and rejected by us, and also as a minister of the church of England, we let thee know, that the latter alters not the case of the former with us: and therefore, as an heathen man and a publican, we continue to reject thee, despising all thy works of envy and revenge, to the blame of all which, and the consequences thereof, as well as of thy manifold disturbances of our meetings in America, thou hast also entitled that ministry as partakers, till they publicly disown thee therein. But as thou hast begun in print, we shall, as hitherto, answer thee that way, which we think is best for general information, and least liable to misunderstandings, misrepresentations, and exceptions."

This implacable and restless adversary con-



tinued in his work of envy and falsehood there, and afterwards at Burlington, and Philadelphia, but we took no further notice of him in that way; but our friend Caleb Pusey, who formerly answered him effectually out of his own books, making George Keith the Quaker answer George Keith the apostate, so that he could never make any reasonable reply, answered him in print soon after; and all sorts of people becoming weary of him and his work, and slighting him, he became as the salt which had lost its savour, and returning by way of Virginia for England, he became a parish priest, and died very poor and miserable.

After the meeting at Shrewsbury I returned to Philadelphia, and remained in my business, and attended the meetings in Pennsylvania and West Jersey, as I found concern and ability, until the 29th day of the twelfth month, 1703-4, and then began a journey from Philadelphia for New England in the service of Truth. Next day was at the nine weeks meeting at Burlington, and the day after at a monthly meeting at Crosswicks; and on the 3rd day went to Amboy ferry, where I was wind-bound two nights and one day, and on the 5th day morning got over the river Raritan to Amboy, and thence to Woodbridge, where, being the first of the week, we were favoured with a good meeting.

The next morning I went to Elizabeth-town, where I hired a boat for York, and got well thither that afternoon, and on the 8th had a small meeting. That evening went into Long Island, and next day was at the meeting at Flushing, and on the 12th, being the first of the week, I went over the plains to Westbury, where the Friends of several meetings were together, and there we had a large and open meeting.

This year our friend Samuel Bownas, a young man, being come over from England to visit Friends in America, in his testimony in that island had spoken against the error of sprinkling infants, and something against the bread and wine of the priests, which they call sacraments; of which the Lord Cornbury, being then governor of New York and Long Island, having been informed, he had arbitrarily put Samuel Bownas in prison at a place called Jamaica in that island, where he was unjustly confined, without any law, about twelve months; and at this place I had a meeting appointed and held on the 14th of this month, which was large, very open and well.

On the 16th I was at Flushing week-day meeting, to which came some strangers. The meeting was very open and bright, and many truths of the gospel were declared in the au-

thority of it, to their satisfaction. Next day had a meeting near Newtown, to which came several Presbyterians, their ministers being arbitrarily silenced by the Lord Cornbury, and gone out of the way, or absconded; and things were largely opened concerning the passover, and bread and wine as being a part of it, &c.

After the meeting, as we rode along, one of the justices of the peace that committed Samuel Bownas to prison by the governor's order, viz: Jonathan Whitehead, fell into conversation with me; upon which I told him I had observed he had been at most of the meetings where I had been in the island, and asked him if he had any thing to object. To which he answered, that he had not any thing, but was well satisfied, and also expressed a considerable dissatisfaction in himself, that he had signed the mittimus against Samuel Bownas. He was loving and respectful, and under some more than ordinary concern of mind, and went out of his way to accompany us along the road toward Flushing, to which place we returned that evening.

On the 19th, being the first of the week, was at their meeting, which was large, many people being there from several parts of the island where I had been before. The blessed Truth was over all, and many things were opened in the authority and dominion of it, to the praise of the Lord, and general satisfaction of Friends and people.

The next day I visited Samuel Bownas in prison, and that evening returned to Flushing, and next day had a meeting at West-Chester, which was more open than usual in that place; after which I was very easy, and inwardly comforted in the divine Truth.

On the 22nd I set forward for Rhode Island, and that night lodged at Northwalk, where we had much discourse with our landlord and two strangers, all of the Presbyterian or Independent way—who are often well furnished with tongue and lip religion—about the principles of Truth, and things were opened well and clear, so that all their objections were answered.

The next day we went on to Fairfield, and called at William Bickley's at Stratford, where I had some discourse with one who began about bread and wine. From thence we went forward to New Haven, and lodged at an inn.

In the morning we set forward and baited at Guilford, where I had some discourse with three strangers about predestination, and some other points. One of them managed the discourse on their part, and the rest were silent; and at length he was silenced, and soon after retired out of the room. They were not bitter, but rather inquisitive, and things opening



clearly in a sense of divine grace, I hope they were profited; we parted with them in a friendly manner. We went forward to Killingsworth, where I once had a dispute with a Presbyterian teacher, one Pearson, and I think, regent of a college there, and yet living. The landlord quickly remembered me, and began to speak of that dispute in the audience of several strangers; which gave me an opportunity to reprove him for misrepresenting it to several Friends who had travelled that way, as well as to some others, which put him much to the blush. I repeated, in his and their audience, the state of the question, and also the regent's arguments and ours. Neither our landlord, who heard the dispute, nor any of the company, offered to gainsay or undertake to answer those Scriptures cited by me to prove the possibility of a sinless perfection on this side the grave, which was the subject the regent and I had been upon before. The Scriptures are these, viz: "If we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." "If we say that we have no sin, [or have not sinned] we deceive ourselves, and the Truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." Again, "For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." "Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin: for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God."

Then a man broke in with his notions about predestination, affirming, that God, from eternity, hath pre-ordained some men personally to destruction; and that the number is so certain and definite, that not one can be added or diminished; and that Christ did not die for them, but for the elect only. To which I answered, That Christ himself is the elect Seed, and is the propitiation, not for himself, for he had no sin, but for the sins of the whole world. This he denied. Then I told him he denied the testimony of the apostle John in that point, where he saith, "He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. For all have sinned and fallen short of the glory of God." And if there had been such a decree, or personal fore-ordination, it must be the will and desire of God that it should be so. And seeing Christ suffered as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, he suffered for those who were determined to destruction, if such there had been, as well as for those ordained unto life; but to no purpose as to the former, and God

doth nothing in vain. But that God doth not will or desire the eternal death of any, appears under the highest credentials, where the Lord saith, "Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die, saith the Lord God? and not that he should return from his ways and live. Say unto them, As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel? When the righteous turneth from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, he shall even die thereby. But if the wicked turn from his wickedness, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall live thereby." Here, and in many other places in that prophecy, the Lord places the destruction of man upon his own will, and not upon any act or decree of God; where he likewise saith, "O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thy help." And again, it is testified by an apostle of Christ, that "God our Saviour will have all men to be saved, and come unto the knowledge of the truth;" and that "Jesus gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time." Therefore I believe God, and deny that predestination, as false doctrine, assert it who will; as it is also written, "Let God be true, and every man be a liar," in this doctrine, as in all other things wherein bold and ignorant men do contradict him.

Upon this the man was so enraged, that he abused us much with reproachful language, without rebuke from the rest; which gave me occasion to reprove them all; him, for his irreligious abuse, and them, being his superiors, for suffering it in their presence, without expressing any dislike, and so placed it upon them all; and yet some among them were more friendly. We departed in peace, with an elderly sober man in company, with whom I had some friendly discourse upon the subject of baptism, in which he made no opposition: but confessed he had not heard such things before, and said he would consider them further, and we parted in friendship.

That evening we passed over Connecticut river, and lodged at an inn kept by an Independent, a sober man; where some young people were singing, fiddling and dancing, when we went to the door, but as soon as they saw us, they desisted, and departed, which gave occasion for some discourse concerning the state of that people when they first came into that country, and the degeneracy of this generation, which he very readily confessed was their unhappy state.

On the 25th of the first month, 1704, we set forward, and that night lodged at Stoning-



ton. In the evening our landlord began some discourse about their sacraments, asking our reasons for the disuse of them; upon which I gave him several, viz: "The bread and cup being incidents of the Jewish passover, and typical of Christ himself, who is the antitype, and the true living bread which comes down from heaven, as soon as men experience him to be so in their hearts, all obligations cease as to our continuance any longer in the figure, as it is written, 'As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye show the Lord's death till he come.'"

"Now the question arises, What is meant by his coming? We understand it of his second, inward, or spiritual coming, without sin unto salvation, in all them who believe and wait for him in all ages: and this we, through the goodness and mercy of God, do experience to be true, that he is come in that blessed and saving manner in us, and therefore the obligation of the use of the bread and cup, in the sense in which ye now use it, being at an end to us, we disuse it. Moreover, as it was the Jews' passover, never incumbent on us the Gentiles, and fulfilled by Christ, it is not obligatory upon us. And besides, as the apostle saith, 'As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come.' Seeing then all those who continue in these shadows are only showing forth his death until he come, they bear witness against themselves, that they are yet dead unto him, and that he is not yet so come unto them; and being ignorant of his life, they are not risen with him, but are yet in their sins, and in a state of death.

"As it was the last passover, and fulfilled by him, when he gave them the cup, he said, 'Take this and divide it among yourselves;' but did not command them to give it, or the bread, to others. And further, as the apostle Paul was a true minister of Christ, to all necessary intents, not one whit behind the chief of the apostles, and yet was not sent by Christ to baptize with water, but to preach the gospel; so likewise, though we, in our day, have a dispensation of the same gospel, in some degree, committed unto us of the Lord, to preach his inward coming, yet we have no commandment from him to administer either such bread or cup, or water baptism in any form, nor do we believe that any others have it at this day; and therefore we justly and reasonably decline either to administer or receive them."

In some further discourse I had occasion to speak of their ministers, and how they were made and sent by one another, and not by Christ; and though called by the people, not always by their inclinations, but by the

management of those ministers and their aiders; and that their general aim was, to live upon them; and that when they had places, they would exchange them for better, without any regard to the people, though they commonly deceive the weak and ignorant with an unreasonable pretence of a mission from Christ, by the words in Matthew, where he said unto the eleven disciples, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in (or rather into) the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," &c. And though it doth not appear that the Lord ever commanded those men-made ministers, yet they run, and according to the extent of the words of Christ to his apostles, pretend a call from him to preach to all nations, and to baptize them; though they commonly take up at the next town that will entertain them for hire, and baptize none, but only sprinkle little children. So that they do not answer their pretended call in any respect.

This put our landlord to a stand, and made him silent, being a sober man; and all ended in friendship. We found afterwards that one of those ministers had married his daughter, and was in the company when we began to discourse, but slunk away into another room, not caring to say a word in his or their vindication.

On the 26th we rode twenty-five miles to a meeting, at the house of our friend Rowland Robinson, on Narraganset, which concluded well, though heavy in the beginning; and that evening we went five miles further, and on the 28th we went over the Sound to the monthly meeting at Newport.

I think proper to observe here, that this being in the time when Queen Anne was at war with Louis XIV. king of France, the government of New England was preparing to invade Canada, and there being many Friends at that time within that government, who could not bear arms on any account, as being contrary to our conscience and sentiments of the end and nature of the Christian religion, which teacheth not to destroy, but to love our enemies; the people of New England made a law, "That such of the inhabitants of that government, as being qualified or able to bear arms, and regularly summoned, should refuse, should be fined, and refusing to pay the fine, should be imprisoned and sold, or bound to some of the queen's subjects within that colony, for so long a time as by their work they might pay their fines and charges."

On the 29th of this month we went to an appointed meeting at Bristol, on the main, where two of our young men, viz: John Smith and Thomas Macomber, were prisoners, being impressed, by virtue of this law, to fight against the French and Indians. The



meeting was in the prison, and several of the people came in, and some of them were a little tender. After the meeting, having exhorted the young men to faithfulness, we went back into Rhode Island, and next day to Newport, to their week-day meeting, where I was much comforted in the divine Truth in my own mind, but had no public exercise.

On the 31st I rested there, and going to see Benjamin Newbury, a man in reputation for wisdom, and his wife a Friend, I had some discourse with him on various subjects, and more particularly about war, a topic on which the minds of the people were much exercised at that time; he was silent at last. I then took him by the hand, and advised him not to be too wise for the Truth, and so left him and went away in great peace, to a Friend's house in town, where came some Friends I had left there, who told me, that Benjamin Newbury sat silent some time after I came from his house, and then asked some of them, how a man could be too wise for the Truth? To which the Friend answered, "That the wisdom of this world being foolishness with God, and the carnal mind enmity against him, men might be so full of it, and consulting therewith, they might disobey the Truth, thinking the ways thereof too mean and contemptible to be embraced and followed; and thereby neglect the time of their visitation, being too wise in the wisdom of this world, to embrace Truth in the simplicity of it; and yet the Truth, in itself, is wiser and stronger than all, both men and angels."

That evening we had a meeting at Walter Clark's, the deputy governor, which was large; for, being the time of a court, many people were in town from divers places, and some truths of the gospel opened well, and in a good degree of the authority of it, to general satisfaction.

On the 1st of the second month I went to visit Daniel Gould, an ancient friend of the primitive sort, beaten gold, well refined, having been persecuted in time past by the Presbyterians and Independents of New England, and now confined by lameness and other infirmities of age. Some of his family were likewise ill of a distemper then infesting that island, which to many proved mortal. In relating some passages of Truth, his heart was so warmed with zeal for the prosperity of it, that we had a comfortable time therein together, he declaring several sound truths in the life of it among us. From hence we went to visit his son's widow, who was under great exercise, by the loss of a tender husband, a young man generally esteemed in those parts; and there I had a good time in declaring some things for her help and consolation.

The next day the meeting there was large, and many strangers present. The subject given me was baptism, which opened largely and clearly, with some other matters and things, and I heard of none displeased, but several well satisfied. On the 3rd I visited some Friends near Newport; and on the 4th, in the evening, had another meeting in town, at Walter Clark's, which was large, and many strangers there, as well in the house as at the windows. I heard of none being dissatisfied save one man, who, being a papist, took offence at my saying, the cross of Christ is not a cross of gold, or silver, or other metal, or of wood or stone, to be taken up in order to follow him; but the wisdom and power of God, reproving and crossing the wills and lusts of mankind in their own hearts; and the way to take it up is, to believe in it, and follow it in its manifestations. Those invented crosses, how neat soever, and prettily contrived, or richly adorned they may be, are of no value in religion; for the evil one will tempt men, and prevail over them too, though they cross themselves with their fingers ever so much, or wear such crosses ever so many. He did not show any uneasiness in the meeting, but told a Friend afterwards, "that he liked all very well except that." A Friend telling me of it next day, I sent him word, that I knew nothing of him in the meeting, nor of his cross; and therefore desired him to consider the thing further, and not to blame me for doing my duty, seeing it might be for his information, reproof, and reformation, rightly received and used.

On the 10th, being the first of the week, we had a large open meeting at Newport; the people being generally satisfied with the doctrine and testimony of truth delivered among them, in the authority of it; and the governor of the island having been at this meeting, I went to visit him the next morning, and found him very respectful; and after some conversation on various subjects, I took leave, and then visited several Friends, the place at that time being sickly; and that evening, had a meeting at Thomas Cornwell's, Jr., about five miles from Newport, where we were favoured with a sense of the good presence of the Lord.

On the 11th, I went to Bristol again, where the two young men aforementioned were prisoners, having been notified to appear in arms, which they, for Truth's sake, refusing, were fined five pounds; for nonpayment whereof they were imprisoned in that place, where they had remained about nine weeks.

Being in the prison with them, and many other Friends present, we were favoured with a good time in the presence and love of God



together; and the same evening we had a large and good meeting in town. Truth was over all, and the people generally satisfied. I heard of no objection to what was delivered, but from the man of the house, about baptism, some few things having been said on that subject; upon which I had some discourse with him the next day, and then he seemed pretty well satisfied; and also by a woman, who said, "she liked all well, both sermon and prayer, only I did not pray for forgiveness of sins; and she had heard, she said, we never did." She did not speak to me herself, but I answered the person that informed me of it, that it might be remembered, that I gave thanks unto God on behalf of my own community there present, for his great mercy in sending his Son Christ for our redemption, and for his great goodness in forgiving and passing by many sins and transgressions in and through him; and that it might please the Lord to preserve us in time to come, by his grace and good spirit, that we might not trespass against him any more; but that the rest of our lives might be pure and holy, to the honour of his great name. For the Lord having forgiven all our sins past, for his name's sake, and testified the same in us by his holy Spirit, we ask not forgiveness any more for what he hath already pardoned, but render unto the Lord the thanks and praises due for so great a work and mercy.

Thomas Cornwell and I went to the house of colonel Nathaniel Byfield next morning. When we went in he was very boisterous, reproaching Friends as a sort of people not worthy to live; particularly those of Rhode Island and New England, who would not go out, or pay their money to others, to fight against a common enemy so barbarous as are the Indians; wishing us all in the front of the battle until we had learned better; charging us with many errors and heresies in religion; instancing only our refusing to fight, and believing a sinless perfection in this life.

When he had a little vented his fury, being over him in the truth, I said, "I was sorry we should find him in that temper, when we were come only to request a reasonable favour of him, he being judge of the court; and that was, to desire him to consider the case of our friends as a matter of conscience towards God, and not of cowardice, or of obstinacy against rulers or their laws." Upon which he flounced again, with repeated charges, saying, "that the apostle Paul, a better man than any of us, cried out of a body of sin and death; and that when he would do good, evil was present with him."

Upon this I called for his bible, and offered to prove out of the same epistle he hinted at,

"that the apostle was, at that time, preaching the doctrine of freedom from sin in this life; for though he proves, in the same epistle, both Jews and Gentiles under sin, yet he preaches freedom from sin through Christ, to both, even in this present world; and also that war and fighting is contrary both to the doctrine of Christ, the end of his coming, and nature of his kingdom, and that it was upon his (this judge's) principles, that the Jewish state crucified the Saviour of the world."

Then he said, "he could not stay, for there were a hundred men waiting for him, and he must be going:" Yet, soon after, growing a little calm, he asked us if we had eaten any thing that morning? And we confessing we had not, he called for victuals and drink, and would have us eat with him; and said, "he could be content to see us another time at his house, to discourse things, but could not then;" yet ceased not to repeat and multiply his charges against us. But we did not abate him any thing.

As we were sitting down to eat, he said, "he would not offend us in using any ceremony, meaning what they call grace before meat, knowing we did not like it." I replied, "that though we did not rush into such exercises towards God in our own wills and time, without due consideration and fear, or any sense of the spirit of prayer and supplication upon us; in which state we could not expect to be heard; yet we never receive the mercies of God but with due reverence and acknowledgement in our hearts unto him, the great author and giver of them; but that we dare not presume to pray unto the Almighty, till we have a sense of the assistance of the Spirit of his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, the only Intercessor and Mediator between God and man; since the most holy man that ever was, ought not to bow in his own name or power, but in the name, virtue and power of Jesus." And so we sat a little while in silence, and then ate and drank with him, and he made us freely welcome.

When we had done, he walked to the town with us; and, notwithstanding his former passion, being now much altered, he took us kindly by the hands in the street, before many people, when we parted.

After this we went to the prison to see the young men, and acquainted them, that we could find little ground to expect any favour; at which they seemed altogether unconcerned, being much resigned to the will of God at that time; and we staid with them in the prison most of that day, they not being called into court till the next afternoon.

The prisoners being brought into court, Thomas Cornwell and I, and many other



friends, went in with them; and though we had our hats on, the judge was so far indulgent, as to order us seats, but that our hats should be taken off in a civil manner by an officer.

I replied, "we did not do that with any disrespect to him or the court, but our hats being part of our clothing, we knew not any harm, nor intended any affront to the court, by keeping them on. And though religion be not in the hat, yet where it is fully in the heart, the honour of the hat will not be demanded, or willingly given or received, by the true disciples of him who said, "I receive not honour from men. But I know you, that ye have not the love of God in you. How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?"

The prisoners being at the bar, the judge asked them the reason of their obstinacy, as he called it, running again into several high charges against us as a people? The young men modestly replied, it was not obstinacy, but duty to God, according to their consciences and religious persuasions, which prevailed with them to refuse to bear arms, or learn war. But the judge would not, by any means, seem to admit there was any conscience in it, but ignorance, and a perverse nature; accounting it very irreligious in any who were personally able, to refuse their help in time of war; with repeated false charges against us as a people, saying, "since we could pay public taxes, which we knew were to be applied to the uses of war, why could we not pay those which were by law required of us, instead of our personal service."

I desired leave of the court to speak, which was granted, and said, if the judge pleased to keep to the business of the court concerning the prisoners, I would, with leave, speak to the point of law in the case; but if he thought fit to continue to charge us as a people with errors in matters of religion, not properly before him, I should think it mine to answer him in the face of the court; adding, that I could give the court a full distinction and reason why we could pay the one tax, and yet not the other. Which the whole court, except the judge was desirous to hear, and he too was silent.

I began with the example of Christ himself, for the payment of a tax, though applied by Cæsar to the uses of war and other exigencies of his government, and was going on to show a difference between a law that directly and principally affects the person in war, requiring personal service, and a law which only requires a general tax, to be applied by rulers as they see cause, and affects not the person. For though we, as a people, readily pay such

taxes, impartially assessed; yet, as the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, his servants will not fight, though they may and ought to pay taxes, according to the example of Christ their head.

The judge interrupted me, saying, I would preach them a sermon two hours long, if they had time to hear me.

Then Thomas Cornwell desired them to be careful what precedent they made upon this law, since neither he, nor any of us knew what might be the effects of it, or how soon it might be any of our cases; and that it would be very hard upon us to be sold for servants. He then demanded a precedent, where, at any time, any of the queen's subjects ever sold others of them, for the payment of taxes, where conscience and duty toward God, and Christ the Lord, were the only cause of refusal? Adding, that he could never pay any of those taxes, though he should be sold for the payment of them.

Truth came gradually over them, and grew very heavy upon them, though they still persisted in their own way; and John Smith, one of the prisoners, said to judge Byfield, that he also must come one day to judgment, before a greater judicature, and therefore desired him to be careful what he did.

Some time being spent in this manner, the court adjourned till towards the evening; and at our departure, I acknowledged the civilities we had met with from the judge and court, and our hats being delivered us, we accompanied the young men back to the prison; where, being set down together, the presence of the Lord was sensibly with us, and I had some things to say concerning faithfulness unto God, and the great reward of it here and hereafter; and one of the prisoners, and some others, were tendered. Having likewise prayed, and being about to depart, we found the prison door was locked, by which we were detained a short time; for the jailer having been reproved for suffering us to have meetings in the prison, and had injunctions that no more should be allowed of, was fearful, and therefore had locked the door and left us. The prisoners were ordered to be confined until their fines were paid.

Parting with the prisoners in much love and divine peace, I went the same evening to Joseph Wanton's, and had a meeting, which was small, and not very lively, consisting for the most part, of labouring people, newly come from their work; yet the Lord was good to us, being present with us before we parted.

The next day we had a meeting at Seconet, which was very hard and dull, little appearing in testimony but reproof and judgment; and that evening we returned heavy to Joseph



Wanton's, where I remained as it were dead and comfortless till the next morning. But sitting down a little with the family, and the Friends who were with me, and waiting upon the Lord, his blessed presence overshadowed us, to our general comfort; so that those Friends present went cheerfully home, and I departed in the like enjoyment, to the praise of our living Lord, the Fountain of all our mercies.

That night we lodged with Peleg Slocum, where we were very easy and well; and next day, being the first of the week, went to the meeting at Dartmouth, which was large, and the blessed Truth was over all, to the glory of his great name, who liveth, and reigneth, and is worthy for ever and ever.

Next morning we called at the house of Daniel Shepherd, whose wife had been at some meetings, but neither of them professed Truth. She was very ill of a fever, and made many promises, that if it might please the Lord to restore her to health, she would be more faithful. For though she had not been guilty of any great evil, as she said of her own accord, yet she had not been so faithful and diligent in following the Lord as she ought, according to what had been made known to her. We sat down, and the divine Truth began to work, and after some time, I was concerned in prayer, which being over, I took the woman by the hand, and she was full of the love Truth, and said she never had been so comforted before, giving me many thanks for it. I bid her give the glory to God, and no thanks to me, for it was his love and power which comforted her, and I was only the instrument of it for her good; and exhorting her to retire inward to the Lord, to feel more and more after his divine presence in herself, we departed.

That evening we went to Sippykan, otherwise called Rochester, and next day had a meeting there. It was small and hard, but ended well; and after it we went to Sandwich, and that night, though late, came to us, Capt. William Bassett, a man of good temper and understanding, the greatest disputant in those parts for the Presbyterians, and having often disputed with Friends concerning war and fighting. He came to see a copy of the judgment against the young men before mentioned, for not training or going to war, and I took occasion to say, "That Christians ought not to fight or learn war. And that God hath said by his prophets, 'It shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say,

Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for, out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the Word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more. O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord.'

"Now all this the law of the government of Boston contradicts, where it saith in express words, 'All above sixteen, and under sixty years of age, shall appear in arms, and be trained up in war.' And upon these Scriptures I observe, that the nations, or any of them, so long as they continue to reject the Lord Jesus Christ, the true light, which lighteth every man which cometh into the world, in which the house of Jacob, the true church, walketh, and follow their own corruptions, lusts, and laws made by themselves, to support them therein, they will from age to age, go on in war and destruction one of another. Yet the true disciples of Christ, are those who speak the language of those prophecies in their actions, as well as words and doctrine; they will not fight now in defence of the religion taught by Christ and his prophets and apostles, more than his disciples in the days of his flesh would fight for his person; fighting, in its root and nature, being opposite to Christ and the end of his coming, who teacheth us to love enemies, and not to destroy them, and 'came not to destroy the lives of men, but to save them.' The language of his followers, the saved of the Lord, is, 'Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths. O, house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord. For all people will walk every one in the name of his God, and we will walk in the name of the Lord our God, for ever and ever. And the nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of the Lamb.'"

We had some further conference about justification and sanctification, and freedom from sin in this life; wherein I informed him, that the Lord's way of sanctification and justification, is, to make men just, who are not so, and holy, who were before defiled by sin. As it is said, "Either make the tree good, and his fruit good; or else make the tree corrupt, and his fruit corrupt: for the tree is known by his fruit. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works,



which God hath before ordained, that we should walk in them; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of Him who created him." The Lord Jesus Christ came not to save men in their sins, (that cannot be) but from them and all the dreadful effects of them, and to bring them "into the glorious liberty of the children of God."

The substance of these things the captain heard with good temper and solidity, and seemed pretty well satisfied, and I heard he spake afterward in commendation of that discourse. But before we parted, I said to him, "That I should be glad to see some of the more moderate sort of their magistrates and ministers, and to discourse with them about religious matters; for I suspect we are not rightly understood in divers points of religion by them:" which, by the sequel, he bore in mind, though at that time he said not much to it.

The next day, being the fourth of the week, and their meeting-day, we staid at Sandwich, and that evening went to Succoness.

The day following we had a small, hard, drowsy meeting there, and the next day one at Yarmouth.

On the 22nd we rested at Sandwich, and next day, being the first of the week, had a meeting there, which was large, and indifferently well.

Having had some conference with captain Basset, one of justices of the peace of that place, as above hinted, a Friend told him that I purposed to call at his house on the 24th, which I accordingly did, where I found assembled a great many Friends and others; for my intention of calling being known, they on both sides expected a dispute, of which I had no apprehension. Soon after we had entered the captain's house, he made a short speech to me, in the audience of as many as could throng into the room, to this purpose, viz: "Sir, you told me upon our last conference, that you would be glad to see some of the more moderate sort of our magistrates and ministers, and to discourse with them on religious subjects; here are several of our magistrates present," pointing to them, "and this gentleman," pointing to one in the room, "is our teacher."

To this I answered, by giving them a relation upon what subjects the captain and I had been discoursing; and that what I said concerning their magistrates and ministers, was with respect to them at large in the province, and not in that place only, my inclination being to persuade them to more moderation concerning our friends, now in the time of war, and to give them a more distinct know-

ledge of our principles than I perceived they hitherto had. However, seeing so many people had heard already what subjects the captain and I had been upon, I was willing we should resume them in their audience. And upon my mentioning that point of freedom from sin in this life, their minister answered, that "it is the duty of every true Christian, to aspire after freedom from sin in this life."

I replied, "That seeing he acknowledged that to be a duty, he must, of consequence, own it possible; and that therefore there was no need to say any more about it."

To this he replied, "It is said, 'Ye shall be holy; for I the Lord your God am holy;' and yet who will presume to say he is as holy as God?" Then said I, "The Scripture saith, 'Sanctify yourselves therefore, and be ye holy: for I am the Lord your God. And ye shall keep my statutes, and do them: I am the Lord which sanctify you.' Seeing therefore it is the Lord who sanctifies, his work is perfect, he doth it fully; and what God hath sanctified, let no man call common or unclean. And God's people, who are so indeed, are a holy people: as it is written, 'For thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God: the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth. The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people, for ye were the fewest of all people; but because the Lord loved you,'" &c.

I added further, "That we spake not of degrees of holiness, as comparing man with God therein, otherwise than the Lord himself hath done. But as God is absolutely perfect, and infinite in all essential attributes, moral and divine, so there is a holiness applicable to man as a perfect creature of God: 'For in the beginning God created man in his own image, in righteousness and true holiness;' and yet we do not say that man was equal therein to God. Even so, man may be truly restored by God, through Christ, to the same holiness, and may, and ought to confess it, to the honour of God, without any presumption; seeing that since the fall of man, and before the coming of Christ in the flesh, God hath thus said to his people, 'Be ye holy, for I am holy;' which the Lord would not have said, if like holiness with his own, had not, through his Word, been attainable by them. And so likewise of God's righteousness, as well as his holiness, where it is said, 'Little children, let no man deceive you: He that doth righteousness, is righteous, even as he is righteous.'" &c.

Upon this their minister was silent; but the justices and people being desirous that some



other points should be moved and debated, captain Basset, having great sway among them, proposed that we should adjourn from his house to their meeting-house, where I might, if I could, make out the matter more fully, with what else might occur, before the people. To this the minister was averse; but the captain, being seconded by the rest of the justices, the minister was overruled, and to the meeting-house we went, and the people followed us. It was some time before their minister pitched upon a point upon which to oppose us; but at last, notwithstanding what had passed before, he moved this question;

"Whether there be a state of freedom from sin attainable in this life?" And I, being willing, as the Lord might enable me, to make our doctrine in that point plain to the people, assumed the affirmative, and my opponent assumed the negative.

The affirmative being mine, I was to prove it; and accordingly began and proceeded after the manner of the apostles Paul and John: first to prove, "That all men commonly sin in this life in a state of nature, or are liable thereto by temptation; and then, that the offers of salvation are made by God the Father unto all mankind in Christ the Son of God; and that whosoever does accept of those offers in God's way and time, may not only be saved at last, but freed from sin in this present world.

"The apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, proves the Gentiles, of whose lineage are all nations, the Jews excepted, to be sinners, by breaking the law of God written in their hearts, whereby they became conscious of sin, and guilty before God. And the Jews likewise, according to the Psalms of David, where it is written concerning them, 'There is none righteous, no not one: there is none that doeth good, no not one.' And again, 'God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all.' And again, 'The Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.'

"The apostle having thus proved all to be sinners, both Jews and Gentiles, he proceeds to preach salvation to all by the Lord Jesus Christ, saying, 'Being justified freely by his grace (which hath appeared unto all men) through the redemption which is in Jesus Christ: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God.' Which faith must be obtained in this life, or never.

"The same apostle, in another place, proceeds to set forth freedom from sin in this life

likewise by the same Saviour, saying, 'As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so, by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.' This free gift is 'the grace of God which bringeth salvation, and hath appeared to all men; teaching us, (especially all who believe therein) that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world.' That, 'where sin once abounded, grace might much more abound: that as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness, unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord. What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid. How shall we who are dead unto sin live any longer therein? Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. Knowing that Christ being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him. For in that he died, he died unto sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Being then made free from sin, ye became the servants of righteousness; for when ye were the servants of sin ye were free from righteousness: but now, being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.' Again, after this apostle had brought this doctrine of freedom from sin in this life to a period, under the similitude of the death and resurrection of Christ, and thereby established the certainty of it, he resumes the same doctrine in the beginning of the seventh chapter, under another similitude, and brings it to the like conclusion; 'For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins (or passions) which were (discovered) by the law, did work in our members, to bring forth fruit unto death; but now we are delivered from the law, that being dead, (or being dead to that) wherein we were held, that we should serve (God) in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter; that ye should be married to another, even to him who is raised from the dead, (who is without sin) that we should bring forth fruit unto God.' They being dead unto sin, and the carnal mind, which is enmity against God, in which, (a state of nature) they had been held, they then became as pure virgins, espoused unto him who had died for them in pure and matchless love, who cannot be joined to any unclean thing, in the new covenant of everlasting love, light, and life eternal, that they, by him, might bring forth fruit unto



God; which is holiness, righteousness, truth and peace, and not sin or evil.

"And a third time the apostle proceeds, and insists upon the same doctrine, and finally established it unalterably the same way: first, setting forth the power of sin in the flesh, notwithstanding the moral precepts of the law, which prove insufficient until we come unto Christ, or until his power be inwardly revealed, by whom alone full freedom and deliverance from sin in this life, and eternal salvation from the wages thereof in another world, are come. The apostle, speaking concerning himself and the church of Christ at that time, and the state they had been in before they believed in him, saith, 'When we were in the flesh, the motions of sins did work in our members,' as above. The knowledge of sin comes by the law. Sin brings spiritual death; and being discovered by the commandment, becomes exceeding sinful. The law is spiritual, but man, in his natural and fallen state, is carnal, a slave to his own corruptions, lusts, and sins: for though the law, which is light, and the commandment, which is as a burning lamp, discovers to man his duty, what he ought to do, and leave undone; yet, through the weakness of nature in its fallen state, and the suggestions of the evil one in the imaginations and carnal mind, (no good thing being in the flesh) the apostle and others under the law, were held captive, and under a long and hard struggle for liberty and victory, but could not obtain it by all the legal precepts, or rational assent unto them, or by his own learning or natural powers. He delighted in the law of God in his mind, yet seeing another law in his members, to be understood as the temptations of the evil one, working in the lusts and corruptions of the carnal mind, warring against the law of his mind, and bringing him into captivity to the law of sin, which was in his members; and seeing no way of deliverance from sin, by the law of Moses, he cries out, as it were aloud, under a sense of the whole weight, force, and body of sin, and saith, 'O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!'

"Now, though the apostle, in all this, speaks as in the first person, setting forth the state he had once been in, or rather the state in which the Jews were who had not believed in Christ; for this apostle had been, 'touching the righteousness of the law, blameless,' yet it is plain, that neither the apostle himself, nor the true believers and followers of Christ in that day, were in that state of sin at that time, but redeemed from it. For instantly after the apostle had thus cried out, 'Who shall deliver me from the body of this death!' he immediately and most comfortably answers,

'I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord;' and adds, 'There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit; for the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death.'

"Seeing the apostle speaks of a state of captivity and bondage under the law or power of sin and death in this life, and of a state of redemption and freedom from that law also, in this present world, by Christ, including the apostle himself, and every living member of the true church, neither he nor any other of them as such, could be in those two opposite states at the same time, or in so short a time as he was in writing that part of his epistle; which, in an ordinary way, might be in less than two hours: but sin being reprov'd and condemned in them, by the manifestation of the Holy Spirit of Christ, and the righteousness of the law fulfilled in them, and they become the sons of God thereby, they were gradually led out of sin into all truth, according to the promise of Christ, whose word is truth, and sure for ever unto all who believe, love, and obey him.

"And also, in another place, this apostle confirms the same doctrine, with respect to the present salvation and attainments of the true disciples of Christ in that day, where he saith, 'For we ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful, and hating one another; but after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour;' which must be done in this life, or else there will be no entering the kingdom of God; for no unclean thing can enter there.

"The apostle Paul having thus, in this epistle, fully preached the glorious doctrine of liberty from sin in this life, through Jesus Christ, the Word, Son, Wisdom, and Power of the Father, as he likewise preaches the same in divers others of his epistles, not necessary to be mentioned at this time; I proceed to prove the same doctrine, by the authority and testimony of the apostle John, who preached it after the same manner, that it may be established from the mouths of two so great and faithful witnesses.

"1st; That all have sinned and wanted salvation. 2ndly; That Christ died for all mankind. And 3rdly; That all who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and follow him in



the regeneration, are not only freed from all sin in this life, but eternally saved in that which is to come.

"In the first place the apostle reminds the church, what was the testimony of the apostles unto them from the beginning of their preaching the gospel, and the certainty of it, as what they 'had heard, seen, and handled of the Word of Life;' so that they certainly knew, and were witnesses of the truth they delivered to others, 'That God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.'

"In the next place, that they had formerly, in their natural state, been sinners, but having confessed their sins to the Holy One, who, in love and mercy, convinceth and reproveth the world of sin, then his faithfulness and justice were made manifest in them, not only in the forgiveness of their sins against his law, but likewise in cleansing them from all the inward pollution of sin and unrighteousness.

"If they had said they had not sinned, they would then have given God the lie, who sent his Son to save them from their sins; but though all have sinned, yet God in infinite love, mercy, and goodness, hath sent his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, 'to be a propitiation for the sins of the whole world;' thereby declaring his mercy and goodness in him unto all mankind, to be testified in due time. And the sin and condemnation of the world stand in this; That Christ is come into the world, not only as man and lifted up, but also as he is the true light, 'which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;' but the world neither knoweth him, nor believeth in him, (as that light) nor loveth him, but men rather love themselves, and darkness, wherein to act their own will, and hide from themselves their own evil deeds.

"And although this divine eternal light reproveth and condemneth all sin and evil in mankind, yet faith therein doth not only restore and preserve from final perdition, but hath the promise of life eternal. And on the contrary, he that believeth not is under present condemnation, not for acts of sin and evil only, but because 'he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God.' Thus is faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, as he is lifted up and crucified, and likewise as he is the true and divine light, and that faith accompanied and evidenced by good works, necessary and effectual for the redemption, and present restoration of unbelieving, sinful, polluted mankind, from under their present condemnation, and for their preservation unto life eternal.

"And God the Father, through Jesus Christ the Son, hath given a saving gift of his divine

Light, Spirit, Grace, and Truth, which is one and the same, unto all mankind, to lead, direct, and guide them, as an ever-living, infallible Teacher unto all, that whosoever shall believe therein, and repent of their sins, and obey him in his manifestations in their hearts, minds, and understandings, shall be surely led into all Truth, and consequently out of all untruth and error, which must be in this life, where sin, untruth and error only are. The cause of such the Lord Jesus will advocate before the Father.

"And as the knowledge of God and Christ is eternal life, so the evidence of that knowledge is the keeping of his commandments, and the love of the brethren. Whoever pretendeth to that knowledge, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and Christ, who is the Truth, is not in him; he is a reprobate, and his sins remain upon him, notwithstanding the sufficiency of the propitiation in its own nature, and to its general and proper end. But whosoever keepeth his Word, in him is the love of God perfected; whereby such sanctified souls know, not only that their sins are forgiven them, but that they are in him that is true, in whom there is no sin; and such walk in the way of faithfulness and obedience to the Father in all things, even as Christ himself walked, who never sinned, which sinless walking must refer to the Christian's conduct in this world, in order to be settled at last in the kingdom of glory, where nothing sinful or unclean, while so, can come.

"And this apostle clearly distinguisheth three several states and orders in the universal church of Christ at that time; that is to say, 'Little children, young men, and fathers;' and it hath ever been the same, from that day unto this, and ever will be, to the end of the world. He writes first to little children in Christ, that they should not sin: for this apostle, as all the rest, having once been such, knew the danger they were in of being enticed by the evil one, mysteriously working in their own natural propensities, affections, passions, and desires, even after they had known something of the beginning of the work of Christ, the Word of God in them; and yet, if such should sin, he, to preserve them from despairing of the mercy of God, through a consciousness of sin, and the accusations of the evil one, remarks the provision which is made for their safety, saying, 'If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous.' Their sins were forgiven them, and they knew the Father.

2ndly; The apostle writes unto the young men in Christ, not that they should not sin, they having attained a further degree of growth and establishment, but because they



were strong through the in-dwelling of Christ, the Word of God, in them, and had thereby overcome the wicked one; and there was nothing then to lead them into sin, but they were preserved from the sins and evils of the world through the prayer and intercession of Christ, until they attained a further degree of knowledge of God, and in due time became fathers.

“3rdly; He wrote unto the fathers of the church, not as to children, that they should not sin, nor as to young men, who were not yet perfect in knowledge; but because they had known him who is from the beginning. They were come to the certain infallible knowledge of God and Christ, as sure as, and more so than, they could know the certainty of any object, knowable by hearing, seeing, or handling thereof. They knew Christ, not only as the Messiah, sent of the Father into the world in human nature, but as he is the Word of Life, manifested to them, and in them: and that was the message of the apostles to the church (the congregation of God) from the beginning of the publication of the gospel, in order to true church fellowship; that as Christ is the Word of life from the Father, so God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. And this message was thus declared by the apostles and messengers of Christ to the universal church of God, that they might have fellowship with them, whose fellowship was with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ, which plainly implies the presence of the Father and Son divinely and sensibly in them, and in every true and living member of that holy and saved body, where no sin, uncleanness or unrighteousness can remain or come. For they who live in sin, live in darkness, and are dead unto God while they live in the world; and when they pretend to fellowship with God and Christ in his church, they lie, and do not the truth, but continue in sin, and have only a church and fellowship therein of their own inventing and composing, and not of the Lord; for as the Father and Son are one, a divine and eternal light, in whom there is no darkness, good works are the evidence of true faith in him; and even so, walking and having conversation in and through this present world of darkness, in and by that light, is the true and only test of fellowship with God and Christ, and the universal church of Christ, wherever hidden, dispersed, or visible in the world; all the members of this holy Christian fellowship having not only all their transgressions pardoned, but are also cleansed by the blood and Spirit of Christ, from all sin.

“Though I have been long upon this necessary and important doctrine of the apostles of Christ, let your patience bear a little longer,

till I add some more texts out of the same epistle of the latter, in further confirmation of the same doctrine, where he saith, ‘Every man that hath this hope in him, (that is, of seeing the Lord as he is) purifieth himself even as he is pure; and in him is no sin. Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not; whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.’ It is therefore evident, that as many as receive the Word of God, by whom the world was made, ‘to them he gives power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: who are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.’

“Now, I would have the auditory to observe, that this epistle of John was written chiefly to preserve the church of God from being seduced from the teachings of Christ, the Word of life, of which they were born, by the antichrists in those days, who attempted to draw them therefrom, back into the rites of the law of Moses, effectually ended by the coming and manifestation of Christ the Lord, as appears by these parts of the epistle, where it is said; ‘Little children, it is the last time, (or dispensation) and as you have heard that antichrist shall come, even now are there many antichrists; whereby we know it is the last time. They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would, no doubt, have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us: but ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things.’ ‘These things have I written unto you concerning them that seduce you: but the anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie; and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.’

“And the successors of those antichrists, and their supporters, who have from age to age, even until now, formed and composed unto themselves images and likenesses of religion and worship, from mistaken, wrested, and misapplied texts and portions of the holy Scriptures, intermixed with many inventions and imaginations of their own, and imposed their forgeries, by violence of persecution, upon the church of Christ and mankind, are still, under various names and forms, the chief opposers that Christ and his true ministers and doctrine, which in itself is the same now as then, do meet with in this generation. Those antichrists had once been professors of Christ,



and many of them then were, as to his outward coming in the flesh, but had gone out, and apostatized from the Spirit of Christ, the holy anointing and divine light of God, and the fellowship of the faithful therein, denying thereby the Lord who bought them, attempting to draw the church of God after themselves and their false teachings, and to establish the rites and righteousness of the law of Moses, in their own erroneous sense; together with their own heterodox sentiments concerning the faith of Christ, imposed by persecution and antichristian violence. So it is now, by the same spirit, in like mercenary members, who come in their own names and wills, and not in the name, will, and power of the Lord, and seek and propagate their own interest, honour, power, and glory only, and not the Lord's, nor the good of mankind, but to make a prey and advantage of them unto themselves."

These things having passed after this manner, I drew to a conclusion thus: "That though by nature, as we are the offspring of the first Adam, we have a seed of evil or sin in us; which springing up, and we acting according to its motions, being influenced by the evil one, become guilty before God; yet, as we receive and believe in, and unite with Christ, the Word of God, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit, and are witnesses of his work in our hearts, we become born of him, that Seed, who never fell, or could fall, children of God, and heirs of his precious promises, partakers of the divine nature, and have present redemption from under the power of sin and satan."

During all this time, which held above an hour, the people were very still, but their minister was fretful, and interrupted me often, for he saw what I said took with them; but several of the justices reprehended him openly divers times, and he was much down and discouraged.

When I had done he answered, "That there is not a just man upon the earth that doth good and sinneth not;" and that "if we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves;" with some such things in favour of sin, very short, and so sat down.

I replied, "That I had already repeated one of those texts of Scripture, and some others to the same purpose; (for I intended at first to anticipate him in what they usually allege in favour of that pernicious doctrine, of sin term of life,) and that whatsoever was written in the law, was to them who were under it. It is true, while men were under that law, which gave the knowledge of sin, but did not redeem from it, all these things were true as to them. For the law made no-

thing perfect; but the bringing in of a better hope doth; which hope is 'Christ in us the hope of glory,' the law of the Spirit of life by Christ, which, received and believed in, worketh in us a conformity to the will of God, which the law of Moses could not do, as I have already proved."

This opposer was very angry at all this, and several times broke out into opprobrious language, and false charges against us as a people; but several of the magistrates reprov'd him. Captain Basset alleging still that the apostle was in that sinful and wretched state when he wrote that epistle, undertook the argument, but advanced nothing new, only the weakness of nature since the fall, and how easily we are prevailed upon to sin. Whereupon I took the Bible again, and showed him in the same chapter, "That the apostle speaks only of a state under the law, but was not in that condition himself at that time, in these words, 'For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death; but now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held, that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter.' Here it is evident that the apostle speaks of two very differing states; of sin, in which they had once been whilst in the flesh, or carnal mind, and of freedom from sin in the spirit; and they could not be in those two opposite states at the same time. By the law the power of sin is made manifest, reprov'd, and condemn'd in the mind and understanding; but sin is not thereby, nor can it by any outward law, be subdued and slain, until man believe, repent, receive, follow, and obey the law of the Spirit of life, which not only reprov's and condemns for sin, but destroys it.

"Now, that wherein we are captivated, and held in our first and natural state, is our carnal mind; which being 'enmity against God,' neither is nor can be, as such, subject unto his law; but that enmity being slain and crucified by the cross of Christ, the grace and Spirit of God, and the body of sin destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin, then the reprov'ing and condemning power of the law ceaseth to work in the soul; for they who are Christ's 'have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts.'

"And though they who are in the flesh cannot please God, yet the apostle, by the flesh, doth not mean the natural body, but the carnal mind; for he saith, 'But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now, if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.'"



By this time the Truth being in some measure over the people, they were generally calm and silent; and being asked if they were satisfied, they made no reply, only one pettish justice said no; and captain Basset, being desirous of further dispute, said, he could not yet believe that mankind could be freed from sin in this life: but neither of them assigned any foundation or cause for their unbelief. Then their minister, taking fresh encouragement from them, blustered out several harsh and false charges, and railing accusations against us as a people, which I took in writing, and put him upon his proof, viz:

"1st; That the Quakers hold lying and damnable principles.

"2ndly; That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the ground of faith, and rule of life."

Both which I denied, and put him upon his proof, which he undertook, and began thus, viz: "The words of the charge seem harsh, but I cannot help it; the nature of the thing requires it, and it is not I that bring the charge, but God, upon their own disobedience: 'For, as it is written, he that saith I know him, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.' Now our blessed Lord hath commanded, as you will find it written in the 28th chapter of Matthew, at the 19th and 20th verses, 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.' Now, these people living in the avowed neglect of this great commandment, and yet pretending to know God and the way of God, they are liars, and the truth is not in them: therefore all sober Christian people ought to beware of them, and shun them as deceivers."

To this I answered, "That if by this Scripture he understood water baptism, as I apprehended he did, he mistook it; for every institution of Christ is plain and explicit, and water not being mentioned there, he must prove it if he could, some other way. But if it were water baptism, then he himself, and all of his communion, living in neglect of this commandment, (as he imagines it to be,) are equally, if not more guilty; not being in the practice of any baptism ever instituted by Christ, or in use in his church in the days of his apostles, or for some hundreds of years after, either as to the manner, instrument, or subjects of baptism. For sprinkling is no baptism, nor are infants the subjects of it; for the words of the text are, 'Teach all nations, baptizing them in (or rather into) the name of

the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you,' &c.

"The instrument of baptism here, according to your minister, is water, and the manner of applying it, as is well known, and as the word itself signifies, is by going into the water and washing, particularly the feet, therein. The subjects were not infants, but such as were capable, not only of being taught, or made disciples and believers, but likewise of observing and doing all things which Christ had taught his disciples; of which infants are not capable. And if Christ had commanded his disciples to baptize with water, and they had only sprinkled, they had not then obeyed him, but acted another thing in their own wills, and made themselves transgressors. And if Christ had sent his disciples with such a message, as it is plain he did not, what is that to this man, or any such? Who sent them to do so?"

Then the priest replied and said, he did not sprinkle infants. I answered, "What dost thou then? Dost thou pour water on their faces off thy hand? Or dost thou wash their faces with it; for it seems thou dost not baptize them? If not, thou dost not obey the commandment in thy own sense, if it were a command to thee. But this is only a low equivocal evasion."

He replied, "You have no baptism at all; and the question is not, whether we are in the right mode of baptizing, but whether you do, or not, break Christ's command in the neglect of it in any form? And seeing you do neglect it, you are liars, and hold lying principles."

Then directing my answer to the people, I said, "The question on this head is equally applicable, Who is in the right, or who is in the wrong? and not only whether you be in the right mode of water baptism, but whether you have any at all; and it appears, as above, you have not, and whether that be water baptism in the text, where water is not mentioned, as your minister hath suggested, but not proved, and only begged the question, which I have not granted? And whether they who neglect or omit water baptism, be liars, and hold lying principles? As to us, whom he thus accuseth, we have, through the mercy of God, the true baptism here commanded, which is that of the Spirit; of which this man is no competent judge, being ignorant of that great and saving work of the baptism of the Son of God. I add one question more, Who sent him, and such as him, either to baptize or sprinkle? It doth not appear that they are sent of Christ: but if he hath sent them to baptize, and they do not so, but only rantize,



then they break his command by their own rule; and when they say to a child, 'I baptize thee,' or to others present, 'I baptize this child in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' they then lie in and unto that great name of the Holy One, and before the people, who are yet so blind as not to see they are acting upon false and lying principles.

"The Lord gave a command to his eleven apostles to preach unto, and disciple or baptize all nations; but what is that to these men now, who assume upon themselves a bare, imperfect, and mistaken imitation of it, in which they send one another with carnal and corrupt views, in both the senders and sent, without any command from God, but from men, who know nothing of the mind of God, nor at all seek it therein, nor have any power from him in what they do? For a command of that nature to the apostles, is none to any one else, unless he be likewise qualified, endowed, and sent by the same power. For if this was water baptism, as it is evident it was not, then it would have been a command and sufficient mission to the apostle Paul, who, though not behind the chief of the other apostles, as to any gift or qualification necessary to a gospel minister, and 'laboured more than they all,' assures us, that 'Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.' And as he was in a particular manner the minister of the Gentiles, and messenger of the promise of God unto them, to 'turn them from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God,' none can succeed him in baptizing with water who had it not by command from Christ himself. And as that great apostle could not justly be accused and stigmatized as a neglecter and breaker of the command of Christ in that case, or a liar and holder of lying principles, when he thanked God he had not proceeded any further than he did, in a practice for which he had no command or authority; neither can nor ought we. But being in so good company therein, and having no command from Christ to baptize or sprinkle, or pour on water, or any way at all to use it herein, we cannot honestly be charged with any neglect of it, nor be called liars therefor, nor holders of lying principles; but men of truth, assuming nothing to ourselves but what we have freely received from the Lord, the gift of his grace, in which we minister freely, without money and without price, and therefore all sober Christians ought rather to receive us and our Christian testimony for truth, and to shun the mercenary hirelings of the times, of every form, and beware of those as deceivers who falsely accuse and calumniate us: for it is written, 'He that receiveth

you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.'

"Though it is not incumbent upon me to prove that water baptism was not commanded in that text, but upon your minister, [to prove that it was] and he hath not done it, yet, for your sakes, and of my friends present, I find my mind engaged to endeavour to make it manifest that it was not water baptism, but the baptism of the Holy Ghost; the first being the baptism of John, and the latter of Christ.

"John the Baptist was sent of God to preach repentance to the Jews, and to baptize them with water, saying that they should believe in one to come after him, whom they did not then know, but that he was among the people, and ready to appear. That he was a Baptizer superior to himself, and should baptize them with a more excellent baptism, and that was Christ. John was the servant, and his baptism was with water, and was to decrease, and consequently come to an end; but Christ is the Son of God, and his baptism is with the Holy Ghost and divine sanctifying fire, and increaseth and remaineth unto the end of the world: and as Christ fulfilled all the righteousness of the law of Moses in his own person, so likewise as John's baptism, in point of time, came before his, though he needed no repentance, not having sinned, it was incumbent upon him to fulfil the righteousness of that dispensation likewise; and therefore he was baptized of John as others were. Thus centering in himself all the righteousness of the typical dispensations of God, he became from thenceforth the sole Dispenser of righteousness unto all nations and people, throughout all generations unto the end of the world; and he himself is that essential righteousness in his own nature. And therefore, as soon as he had fulfilled all that righteousness, he began to be made manifest, and to preach repentance to the Jews, as John did, that being most necessary to their sinful state, declaring the kingdom of God to be at hand to that people; for he was not sent at that time, nor in that manner, to the Gentiles; and calling disciples, he sent them forth among the Jews, declaring him to be the Messiah, and preaching in his name the same doctrine, and baptizing with the same baptism, as to the mode and instrument of it, but with this distinction as to the application and end of it; John with water unto repentance, not in any name declared, but in him who was to come after; but the disciples of Christ preached the same doctrine, and baptized with the same baptism, but in the name of the Lord Jesus, as the true object of faith, declaring him to be the Messiah, of whom Moses and the prophets wrote, now already come and made



manifest, not unto repentance only, but for the remission of sins repented of, in the name of him who was shortly to be offered up unto God, a propitiation for the sins of the whole world.

“And it is said, that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John, yet he did not baptize any in his own person; that was below the dispensation John had ascribed unto him, which is a dispensation of eternal substance of light, life, virtue and power, and not of shadows or symbols.

“The apostles and disciples of Christ being thus in the practice of water baptism, and other services of that day, the Lord, when they were able to bear it, plainly told them who he was, that is, the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and foretold them of his suffering, a little before it came to pass; of his departure from them; that he must go away as to his bodily presence, but should come again in Spirit, by which he should be in them as their Comforter: and this promise he made in the Father’s name, which was to come to pass as the effect of his own prayer and intercession.

“And accordingly, after he had suffered, and finished his testimony on earth, and was risen from the dead, he appeared to his disciples, and gave them several infallible proofs of it. And the apostles being present with him in a place appointed a little before he ascended into heaven, he said unto them, ‘All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth, and repentance and remission of sins must be preached in my name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem; and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.’ ‘Go ye therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you.’ ‘And lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.’ ‘Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.’ ‘And behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you.’ But tarry ye in the city of Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high.’ ‘But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you.’ ‘For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.’

“Here their mission and work were greatly enlarged; before, they, as well as himself, were confined to the Jews only, until he had finished his testimony unto them on earth, but

now they are sent to all nations under heaven. They had been before baptized with John’s water baptism, and they had baptized many in the name of the Lord, without any other power from on high, with the same baptism; but now they themselves were to be baptized with a more excellent baptism, foretold by John; the baptism of Christ, which was with the Holy Ghost, a divine, holy, soul-cleansing fire. And then, and not before, they were to go out in that glorious, wonderful, and powerful name. For after the Lord had given them this command, ‘to go and teach all nations, baptizing them,’ &c., he restrained them by a subsequent order from going by virtue of that command only, until they were actually endued with power from the Father, saying, ‘But ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; for John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.’ It is clear that the Lord Christ spake all these things at the same time to his apostles, with plain connection, very intelligible, to any unprejudiced understanding; though they are dispersed in the Scriptures, and some part recorded by one Evangelist, and some by another, and not entirely by any one of them. He distinguisheth between the baptism of John with water, then in practice, and shortly to be superceded, and cease in point of obligation, and the baptism of Christ himself by the Spirit, which, as it is the gospel baptism and dispensation, was not then commenced, nor could be, until Christ ascended, and was glorified with the same glory that he had with the Father before the world was made. The Lord Christ doth not mention in all this, any other water baptism but that of John, in distinction to the baptism of the Spirit; which he establisheth alone, as his permanent, necessary, and saving baptism to the end of the world. Nor is it at all probable that Christ would institute water baptism, which they were already in the practice of, by his own authority and countenance, that had its time and use already, and not so much as name water in the words of the institution, but by way of contradistinction and precaution, lest they should so far mistake, in so great and necessary a point, as to think he instituted another water baptism. And though they were apostles of Christ, and had received some degree of the Spirit, and were thereby sanctified, so far as to be fitted for the services to which they had been hitherto called, yet they were not at this time so thoroughly converted, or their understandings so far opened, as to know either the nature of this baptism, or the extent of their commission therein. For worldly views had prepossessed their



minds, and misguided their judgments for the present, until the Holy Ghost came and was manifested in them, by his own divine and powerful influence and work : for to all that Christ said to them on that subject, they answered like men deeply prepossessed with views and sentiments of Christ and his kingdom, quite contrary to the nature of it, and the Truth ; after a carnal manner saying, ' Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel ?'

" It is not to be admired therefore, that none of them understood Christ either as to the nature or extent of their mission, at that time, until Peter was sent to the house of Cornelius, who was a Gentile, which was about eight years after this command. Till then, notwithstanding the plain intelligible words of Christ, they still thought salvation was confined unto themselves, the Jews only, until Christ himself demonstrated the contrary by matter of fact, in baptizing Cornelius and his household with the Holy Ghost, by the ministry of Peter ; and then his understanding was opened and enlarged, and the rest likewise, who had yet remained ignorant, were, by his relation of the circumstances of the whole matter, convinced, both as to the nature and extent of their commission, that it is a spiritual baptism and dispensation, wherein salvation is offered, through Christ, unto all nations and ages, to the end of the world.

" But though the spirit of Christ leadeth those who believe and follow him into all Truth ; yet not all at once, but as we poor, low, weak mortals are made able to bear, from one degree of conviction, illumination, sanctification, understanding, experience, and knowledge, to another, under the conduct of the Spirit, until we arrive at as great perfection as our nature is capable of in this present world, which is no small degree, in order to be completely fitted for a far greater glory, and full establishment, in a more excellent world to come, in life everlasting."

The priest gave many unmannerly interruptions during this time, but was sometimes reproved by the justices, especially by captain Basset, who had great sway, though one of the youngest men among them, but of good temper and understanding. His reasons for interrupting me, he said, were these : " That if he did not answer things as they were moved, he would forget great part of them, and so they might pass unanswered, and take with the people." However, I came at length to inform the people how this error of sprinkling came to take place in New England, viz : " By the coming over of some of the ancient Puritans, Independents, and Presbyterians, into that country, not then, in that point, fully

reformed from the church of Rome, the original maintainer of that pernicious error, by whom it was continued. And seeing sprinkling is no baptism, you have none at all, but an old invention and relic of the church of Rome. Wherefore I exhort you to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, that you may be baptized of him, and saved, since he himself hath said, as on holy record, ' He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved ; but he that believeth not shall be damned.' "

The priest stormed much at this, saying to a Friend as I was speaking, " See how smooth he goes, and makes all look as even as he pleases ; let him alone, and the people will take all this for granted ;" and then arose violently from his seat and interrupted me, so that I could not finish that part as I intended. And yet I thought much of what I had said remained with the more intelligent sort of the people.

To all this my opponent made no reply, but began to maintain his charge as well as he could, " That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the ground of faith and rule of life." He attempted first to prove, that the Scriptures are the Word of God ; and that as such they are the ground of faith, and rule of life, thus : " Christ reproving the Scribes and Pharisees concerning their traditions, told them, ' They had made the Word of God of none effect thereby ;' and seeing he here expressly calls the Scriptures the Word of God, consequently they must be the ground of faith and rule of life."

To which I answered, " That the particular subject there treated of is the fifth commandment, not the Scriptures ; where the Lord Christ chargeth them with laying aside the commandment of God, and giving contrary commandments of their own ; rejecting the commandment of God, that they might keep their own tradition. So that what is called the word of God in the 13th verse of that chapter, is the fifth commandment, and not the Scriptures. And the evangelist Matthew, writing of the same passage, calls it the commandment all along throughout the chapter, and never calls it the word of God ; nor doth the Scripture any where call itself the Word of God, but gives that title justly, and properly, to Christ, in his spiritual appearance, both in the Old and New Testament : first in the old, where it is written, ' For this commandment, which I command thee this day, it is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off, &c., but the Word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.'

" This was not any of the ten commandments, written on tables of stone, though in-



deed the root of all the commandments of God, nor was there much of the Scripture then written; but this was the Spirit of Christ before his incarnation, of whom Peter testifies, That he was in the prophets, and testified beforehand his sufferings, in the flesh, and that many hundred years before his manifestation therein, and the glory that should follow: of whom the apostle Paul likewise bears testimony, in these words, 'The righteousness which is of faith, speaketh on this wise, Say not in thine heart, who shall ascend into heaven, (that is, to bring Christ down from above:) or who shall descend into the deep, (that is, to bring up Christ again from the dead:) but what saith it? The Word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is the Word of faith which we preach.' And the word we, in this place, shows that it was not the testimony of that apostle only, but likewise of all the rest of the apostles and ministers of Christ in that day, that Christ himself is the only Word of the Father, and there is not another.

"Again, the evangelist John testifies of Christ after this manner, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and Word was God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us,' &c. Now these things cannot be truly, or with any sense, said of the Scriptures; for the Spirit of Christ is not the Scriptures, though they testify of him. The Scriptures never ascended into heaven, neither did they descend into the deep and rise again; neither are the Scriptures the word of faith; neither were they in the beginning; nor are they God; nor was any thing at all made by them. But all things were made some thousands of years before there were any Scriptures in the world, which was not (any now extant) until the days of Moses, who wrote but a small part of them. Nor does the world now know God, or the Word of God, by the Scriptures; nor were they ever made flesh. They are not therefore the Word of God, and consequently, not that rule, by your minister's own way of reasoning; but, as the apostle Peter testifies, 'That no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation: for the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.'

"And concerning those Scriptures which Peter speaks of, the Scriptures of the New Testament not being then written, the Lord Jesus said to the Jews, who had them, though

they did not understand them, or know him by them, 'Ye have not his (the Father's) word abiding in you; for whom he hath sent, him ye believe not. Search the Scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me; and ye will not come to me that ye may have life.' Here Christ, the Word of God, is again distinguished from the Scriptures; they are not that Word, but bear testimony of him: and so do the Scriptures of both Testaments still, and will, through ages to come. But, I beseech you to beware, lest, while you seem to magnify the Scriptures, as the Jews did, you likewise fall into the like errors, and they become of none effect also unto you, through your own vain inventions and traditions, and fall short of eternal life, as they did, through a wilful neglect of the manifestations, admonitions, and operations of the Spirit of Christ, the Word of God, in your own hearts; the grace of God given unto you, in you, as a free and constant teacher in the way of truth and salvation; and lest you be found of the number of those at last, of whom it is prophesied in the holy Scriptures, 'The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears: and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables.'

Then I said to the people, "I was willing to carry the subject and argument this length for your information, because I fully desire the welfare and salvation of every one of you; but your teacher, unaware, gave up his own cause in his own way of reasoning. For, upon a wrong supposition that the Scripture is the Word of God, he grounded his position, That it is the ground of faith, and rule of life; whereas the Scripture itself saith, 'Faith is the gift of God,' and consequently, not acquired by reading or hearing the Scriptures, which the Jews had, and highly esteemed, as much as you can do, and yet did not believe in Christ the Saviour of the world.

"I shall now invert this assertion, and establish the point contrary to his doctrine, in a few words, and say, that what, or whoever is the Word of God, the same is the ground of faith, and rule of life. But the Lord Jesus Christ, and not the Scriptures, is the Word of God, in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead substantially. He is the wisdom and power of the Father, and therefore is the ground of faith, the faith of the operation of God by him, and the rule and ruler of that life, of which himself is the author and giver."

Then I informed the people, "That we ever had a great esteem for the Scriptures, believing them to be given by divine inspira-



tion, (the priest having, in our discourse, urged that passage, where it is said, 'The Scripture is able to make you wise unto salvation,' leaving out, 'through faith which is in Christ Jesus,' which is the main point) but they make wise unto salvation only through faith in Christ: so that faith must go before; and the apostles believed before their understandings were opened to know the Scriptures."

My opponent gave me several interruptions during this time; yet I am persuaded divers of the people understood and received in their minds the truth of much I delivered. The dispute held about seven hours, and by this time it was near sun-set; so that we adjourned to captain Basset's house, to which we were invited; where we had some more discourse about the call to the ministry, and their maintenance, wherein the priest said, that Christ's ministers had a command from him, in Mat. xxviii. 19, to teach and baptize all nations.

I replied, "That command was not to any others but the apostles in that day, and the call to the ministry, and qualifications of the ministers of Christ, are a new work of the Holy Spirit of Christ, in all ages of the world from that time, and ever will be; and never can be by tradition or imitation, how nicely soever counterfeited. And if he had no other foundation for his ministry than that, he had none at all in the gospel sense; but seeing he had alleged that text for his ministry, and a command thereby from Christ, to teach and baptize all nations, he seemed to be greatly deficient in his obedience and performance, since I perceived he had been long in that place, if not all the time of his ministry, and had not travelled through, or in any one nation on that account, and taught but a few, nor baptized any at all; for sprinkling of infants is no baptism."

Then he turned the question upon me, and asked, if I had been in any nation but one, on that account, in our way? To which I answered, "That question is not so proper to me on that subject, seeing I do not pretend to have had my ministry from that command, but by the immediate work and manifestation of the Spirit of Christ, in me, being opened, directed, and governed thereby in the love of it, in my ministry, from time to time, and place to place, as it pleaseth him, and not in my own time and will; and yet not confined or limited to any. Nevertheless, to answer thy question directly, I have travelled through most parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and many colonies of America, in the service of the Lord Jesus Christ and the gospel, and that freely, and without charge to any, save to eat and drink, in the course of

my travels, such things as were freely set before me, by such as received my ministry in the same love of Christ in the gospel, in which I have travelled and laboured; which is the way of our ministers every where. But I have not baptized any with water; for Christ sent me not to baptize that way, but to preach the gospel according to the measure given me." Adding, that a maintenance in a particular settled place, as I reasonably could suppose, might be all he aimed at by his ministry.

He replied, he was, according to the advice of the apostle Paul, to "give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine; to meditate upon these things, to give himself wholly up to them, that his profiting might appear to all;" which he could not do without a reasonable subsistence.

To this I answered, "These Scriptures and advice belong to a minister of Christ, as Timothy was; but they are nothing to such as are not in Timothy's condition. And thou hast omitted to mention the main point there exhorted to; that is, 'Neglect not the gift that is in thee,' &c., without which all thy ministry will be dead, and thy reading of no value to the end of a gospel ministry. For the apostle doth not there write of the studies of our modern masters of arts, as they call themselves, as appears by these words, 'O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science, falsely so called; which some professing have erred concerning the faith;' for my opponent had, in the meeting-house, talked of syllogisms, and such like learning; but the particular things Timothy was to study, were these, though he was but a young man, 'To be an example of the believers, in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity;' to 'take heed unto himself, and unto his doctrine, to continue in them,' &c. And that reading must relate most, if not only, to the Holy Scriptures, since he excludes such science: and in his next epistle, knowing that without the opening of the gift of the Spirit of Christ, reading the Scriptures would not be rightly profitable or understood, he exhorts Timothy, 'That he stir up the gift of God which was in him;' and afterwards, further exhorts him, 'to continue in the things which he had learned, and had been assured of, knowing of whom he had learned them: and that from a child he had known the holy Scriptures, which were able to make him wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus; which faith is the gift of God, and not acquired by reading. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine,



for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.' But all this is attained by believing in, and adhering to the gift of God, and the work of it within, and not otherwise; and therefore I exhort thee, and all these people, to believe in the grace of God in yourselves respectively, that you may all be taught and perfected thereby, and finally saved; which I heartily pray unto God for every one of you.

"And, as the apostle Paul saith concerning himself and his ministry, 'though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of, for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel. For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward; but if against my will a dispensation of the gospel is committed unto me: What is my reward then? Verily, that when I preach the gospel, I may make the gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse not my power in the gospel.' And accordingly 'he dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him;' and appealed to the church at Ephesus, that he 'had coveted no man's silver or gold, or apparel; yea, yourselves know that these hands have ministered to my necessities, and to them that were with me. I have showed you all things, how that, so labouring, ye ought to support the weak; and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.'

"Thus the apostle exercised his ministry in its full extent; and, no doubt, had done all those things himself, to which he exhorted Timothy. So that an honest employ to live by, that the gospel may not be chargeable, is very consistent with it. And as to the words, 'wholly to them,' in his said Epistle to Timothy, it can mean no more than that he should not neglect any time to do these things in every opportunity; the gift there spoken of being fully sufficient of itself to every thing there exhorted unto, save only reading; which might well be done, without any hindrance to a necessary bodily labour, for his own maintenance, at least. But in all this we do not find any thing of bargain and sale of the mere dead letter of the book; which, without the life of Him who first gave it forth, killeth; or any human and false glosses thereon, in the will and natural abilities of man, sold at a dear rate to the people for gospel, which it is not; nor any mercenary preliminaries settled before-hand, as conditions of preaching those fallacious medleys for gospel; or of any security to be given for the performance of such blind bargains; nor of procuring or making human laws, by the violence whereof to extort

them, and from such, too, as are neither parties nor privy to such works; nor is there any thing in those or other Scriptures, of any contributions previously settled, and without which no preachment; according to the proverb, No penny, no pater-noster; there is nothing of all this, or of the nature and tendency of it in all the Holy Scriptures, or gospel of the Lord Jesus."

This nettled my antagonist much, and at the conclusion of it, I took paper, and gave him what I had affirmed, and maintained before, viz:

"That a state of perfect freedom from sin is, through the grace of God, attainable in this life."

And likewise of what he had asserted, viz: "That the Quakers held lying and damnable principles; and that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the ground of faith and rule of life;" telling him before the chiefs of the people still remaining with us, "that I had, in the meeting-house, sufficiently proved my position, but he had failed in his; and therefore left them upon him as false assertions, till he had, (if he could do it) proved them in writing, since he had in conference given me so many rude interruptions; and then he might expect an answer, either a refutation or acknowledgment: for the latter whereof I see no cause, nor ever shall, I am well assured." Thus this long contest ended for that time, but without any personal rancour, I believe, on either side; for in all contests of this nature which I have hitherto been engaged in, I have, in the first place, looked for the seasoning grace of God in my own heart, to qualify me with a right temper of mind for such provocations as I might meet with, and for understanding and fortitude, so that the truth might not suffer by any weakness or passion of mine. My aim hath ever been much more to gain upon the understandings of my opponents and auditories, than the vain glory of conquest; and I have ever succeeded best when preserved in full charity, wherein the divine light, which giveth understanding, dwelleth, and have so behaved to the opposers of truth as not to provoke them into any passion, but keep them calm as much as possible; they having the measure of the same light in themselves, (for he is in all mankind) and their own understandings as reasonable creatures, on my side, against their errors, or mistakes. My contest is not with men, but their errors, which hurt them, and passion and anger, (and malice much more so) are darkness, and involve the mind therein; and while that is uppermost in the heart of man, and he prepossessed against the truth, he is not capable of information, but op-



poseth what he does not understand, though the necessary truths of the gospel. That is a true saying, "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned; much less is he capable in the time of anger, when he is not reasonable; nor is it prudent to discourse with him on such subjects at such times. Yet when an opposer, though a little warm, keeps within reasonable bounds, he may be convinced of his mistakes, and yet not publicly own it, because of his imaginary honour; for, being in reputation for a man of understanding, parts and ability, and perhaps a teacher, in his way, he is ashamed to be overcome before an auditory, or own the truth to be on the other side; yet it may be reasonable to discourse with such an one, and profitable to the audience, though himself may have the least share. But this I have ever endeavoured in such cases, to part with every opposer in as much friendship as could be obtained, that, if possible, no rancour might remain.

If I had not known that the invisible power of Truth was over the people at that time, considering their former enmity against us and the truth, I had run a great risk (humanly speaking) of personal injury by some of them; but, through divine goodness both to them and me, I did not observe a frown on any brow, or hard word from any, save only one before mentioned. For which, unto the only true God and Saviour, be dominion and praises now and for ever. Amen. And now, to return to my further progress in my journey and travels:

Next day I went to Scituate, and their meeting being on the 26th at Nantasket, I was there; where some strangers came in and were sober, and the Lord gave us a comfortable meeting.

On the 27th of the second month I had a meeting appointed at Scituate; where came a young man from Connecticut, who took some exceptions against what I said in the meeting, about infants, and their salvation by Christ, and about baptism; and, as we rode towards Edward Wanton's, one told me of it; and I desired the same person to tell the young man, (being a Presbyterian or Independent) "that if he pleased to go to the house of our friend with us, I would endeavour to satisfy him;" and he did so. There I told him, "I understood he was not satisfied with something I had said in the meeting concerning infants; and therefore asked him what he believed concerning them?"

He said, "he believed they were all damned who died unbaptised." Then I asked him, "if he believed all of them were saved that

were baptized, as he called it?" He answered, No. "What then," said I, "makes the difference?" Then after a pause of silence, he replied, "that they were all damned." I asked him why he thought so? He answered, "because they cannot believe in Christ." I replied, "neither can they commit sin; nor can they believe who are baptized and saved, as thy first answer implies, though thou hast receded from it since." Then said he, "they sinned in Adam." I answered, "That as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall [the same] all be made alive." But, said he again, "they cannot believe in Christ." Then said I, "dost thou not believe, that many ages and nations of people fell under some disadvantages by Adam's sin, who never heard of him outwardly?" He said, Yes. Then said I, "Why may not they, through the boundless mercy and goodness of God, manifested by Christ, have the advantage by the death and works of Christ, who never heard of him outwardly?" To this he was silent. I went on and preached to the auditory, (some others being present) "that 'where there is no law, there is no transgression;' and little children, being incapable of any law but that of nature, which they cannot break, consequently they cannot sin. And that though, for some time under the law and first covenant with the Jews, the sins of the fathers were to be visited upon the children, not for ever, but only unto the third and fourth generation; not such as loved God, but such as hated him; upon which a proverb arose among the people, that 'the fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge;' but this proverb was to cease, and was annulled of God, as by the testimony of two of his great prophets, by whom it is written, in the name of the Lord: first, by Jeremiah, [606 years before Christ] who saith 'In those days they shall say no more, The fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge; but every one shall die for his own iniquity; every man that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge.' And this was to be under the new covenant, come by the Lord Jesus Christ, now in force. Secondly, by Ezekiel, [about 112 years after] who hath it much more at large, thus, "What mean ye, that ye use this proverb concerning the land of Israel, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge? As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine, as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine; the soul that sinneth, it shall die." And there are many conditions in this eigh-



teenth chapter of Ezekiel, respecting the life and death of the righteous and wicked, and the changes which may happen to both, from state to state, by their own acts, or omission of known duties, from which little children are exempted; and the Lord Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the new covenant, hath suffered for them, with all mankind, and declared them innocent, by taking them in his arms, blessing them, and saying, that 'of such is the kingdom of heaven.' And the apostle saith, That sin was in the world before the law, but it was not imputed; so that, though there be a seed of sin in children, which in time may spring up, unto which, if they join by any sinful act, as mankind commonly and universally do, they are thereby brought under the law, or power of sin; not by the transgression of Adam, the common father of all after the flesh, but by their own, as Adam was. Yet, until children be capable of the knowledge of good and evil, by the law of the new covenant of light and grace, sin is not imputed; and there being nothing to condemn them until they have sinned, consequently they are all saved; and therefore sprinkling them under the bare words, 'Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,' without the power, is a profanation of that Holy Name, though under pretence to take away original sin, and save them: which is an act of great ignorance, or wilful supererogation; to no purpose, but to bring honour and gain to proud, covetous, imposing priests; and is no ordinance of Christ, but an antichristian forgery, and Popish relic." After this the young man was silent on the subject; but confessed he now believed there could not be any little children in hell, but that all of them are saved; and he parted with us in a very friendly manner.

Next day I went to Boston, and the day following, being the first-day of the week, had a small meeting there; and, on the 29th, arrived a sloop from Bristol, near Rhode-Island, with John Smith and Thomas Macomber, before mentioned: and they had leave of the governor to come to us to Daniel Zachary's; where they remained as long as I was there.

On the first of the third month, being the third of the week, Daniel Zachary, Samuel Collins of Lynn, and I went to the governor, Colonel Dudley, and requested him to release our friends. He received us respectfully, and seemed to lament that we should expose ourselves to such sufferings. I answered, "that it was not in our own wills, but in obedience to the doctrine of Christ, who said unto his disciples, 'Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven:' 'Ye have heard, that it was said by

them of old time, Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill, shall be in danger of the judgment: But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment.' Again; 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies.' Now, seeing anger without a cause, and hatred to enemies, is the cause of killing, and both condemned; and love, which is contrary thereto, recommended and commanded, then they, who believe and obey this doctrine, cannot kill any; not even enemies. It is not therefore lawful to us, who believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and obey his doctrine, in hopes of eternal life in his kingdom, which is not of this world, to go to war, lest we should forfeit our portion in him, and become unworthy of life in him, by disobedience to his manifest will under the dispensation of his gospel."

The governor answered, "That he was no disputant about religion; but to tell you the truth," said he, "seeing the judges have given such a judgment, I cannot tell how to dispense with it; especially now in the time of war, when every body thinks there is so much need of help, and just cause of war."

I urged again the prophecy, "They shall beat their swords into plough-shares," &c. "That day," said he, "is not come; for you see many nations are at war at this time."

I replied, "That proves, that though the dispensation of peace is come in point of time, yet those who are in wars are not in the life or doctrine of Christ, but in the first and fallen nature; but this dispensation is effectually begun in some, and will go on, and over all in time, and whatever it may be to you who have not embraced it, though offered unto you, it is not lawful for us to whom it is come, to fight. We desire, therefore, we may not be required to fight, but left to our Christian liberty, to do, or forbear, as we are persuaded in our consciences is best, and most suitable to the doctrine and practice of our great Lord, Master and Example, the Captain of our salvation, who came into the world, not to destroy the lives of mankind, but to save them."

Then said the governor, "It would be better if all were so; but if I should release your friends, I should be much blamed by the country, who have formerly been very hard upon me as well as upon you: but I endeavour to forget it, and so would I have you."

I answered, "We have no enmity against that people for any thing they have formerly,



done or now do to us ; but rather desire they might be brought into a condition of forgiveness by amendment." And added, that since the judges had given judgment otherwise than the law directs, and execution was already performed further than their own law reaches, or can support them in, it was in the governor's power, as I apprehended, to release the the young men.

Then said he, "You may have remedy by law, if you are wronged." "But," said I, "we sue for favour and justice at the fountain-head in this country, and not to be at the trouble, delay, and expense to send to England about it ; and the justices were told at the same time, and Colonel Byfield, chief justice, in particular, before sentence, that this was more than the law could justify them in, he having told us what he intended ; and these being poor men, had not wherewithal to appeal from court to court, in a legal procedure, which would be very chargeable ; and besides, what remedy could be expected from men, who had acted arbitrarily and contrary to their own laws already. We therefore desire their release."

The governor replied to the like effect as before, "That the country would be about his ears if he should do that ; but," said he, "it is a harmless thing to work at the castle ; they need not fight there."

"But," said I, "that is an erection for war, and we cannot be active in such works as may be thought necessary there." And so, finding nothing could be done at that time, we fell into some discourse on other subjects, and he invited me to dinner with him, which I excused, and so we parted ; and we returned to Daniel Zachary's house, and there I wrote to the governor, inclosing a copy of the judgment of the court, with some remarks thereon.

To this letter we had no answer whilst I staid, but we heard that the governor had given an order the day before, that the young men should be taken to the castle, though himself had told us he had not given any order at all for bringing them from Bristol ; but the captain who brought them from thence would not have any hand in taking them to the castle, nor any thing more to do with them. So that they were at Boston when I went thence, on the fifth-day following, and at liberty, on their own words to be ready upon call.

This afternoon we had a meeting at Boston, where came several of the town's people, and many boys, who were exceedingly rude, but reprehended by some of the older. The meeting was indifferently well, things being intelligibly cleared on several subjects. On the 2nd of the third month we had another meet-

ing there, which was very full of sober people, both from Boston and Charlestown : the blessed Truth was over all, and many doctrines were opened to general satisfaction. Infant rantism was discovered to be upon a false foundation : that the ancestors of that people in New England were once a religious people, according to the degree of manifestation and reformation that then was : that they left their native country and its advantages, for the liberty of their consciences in matters of religion and worship of God ; but that some among them quickly degenerated, though others, I believed, being faithful to what they knew, held their integrity, and were entered into rest. But that many in this generation have only the image and outside of the religion of their ancestors, without the virtue and life which many of them were in possession of, and enjoyed. I then exhorted them to turn to the Lord Jesus Christ, in the dispensation of divine light and life, which is clear from all types, shadows, and symbols, for as their ancestors lived in the dawning of the day, they did not see plainly, but as it were men as trees ; and therefore had retained a Popish invention and relic instead of an ordinance of Christ, viz : sprinkling of infants ; which is as much Popery, and as much without Scripture foundation as god-fathers and the sign of the cross. After which I observed a distinction between the dispensations of God to the Jews and Gentiles, though by the same Saviour. Under all which they were exceedingly patient and attentive, many of them looking surprised and amazed at the opening of things ; Truth having great authority over the people at that time. It was by much the best meeting I ever was at there, or in all New England before.

On the 3rd we had a meeting at Charlestown, over the Sound ; to which came several people from Boston, who had been at the meeting there. This meeting was not so large as the other, being a much smaller town, but very open and well, and several people of both sexes took us kindly by the hands, and departed in a very solid manner.

That afternoon we went to Lynn with Samuel Collins, where we staid that night and next day, and on the seventh of the week, the fishermen being usually more at home on that day, we had a meeting at Marblehead, where there is not a Friend ; the meeting was pretty large, and the people sober. The creation of man, his first state of innocence, his fall, present state of nature, and restoration by Christ the second Adam, were subjects of the testimony ; and the divine Truth had good dominion over the people, who, after the meeting, were loving, and be-



haved rather with respect than light cheerfulness or familiarity. That evening we returned to Lynn.

On the 5th we had a meeting there, where things opened to the state of a convinced professing people, and the danger of sitting down in any form of religion and worship, without the life and power, as well in our meetings as others; for there is either life or death, truth or error, in every form or outward appearance of religion: and where Christ appears in the midst of an assembly, there is life; and where he doth not appear in any degree, death reigns and God is not worshipped.

On the 7th of the month, being the third of the week, we were at a marriage at Salem, which had been delayed sometime on purpose; but the day proving very rainy and stormy, the meeting was not so large as otherwise it might have been; but several of the people of both sexes being there, were generally sober, and some broken in heart.

At Salem I remained until the 9th, and being the day of their monthly meeting, it was large; several of the people being there, were well satisfied with the testimony of Truth therein. The next day we had a meeting at Ipswich, where there are no Friends; it was large, several of the people tendered, and generally satisfied, some of them giving particular demonstrations of it. The meeting being ended, I stood up and said to the people, that perhaps some things might not have been well understood, and doubts might remain; but if any were dissatisfied with any thing which had been said, or doubtful in any point, I would do my best to explain matters to them. But none appearing we departed in peace, and went to Newbury, and night coming on, I would have tarried there till the morning, but there was no provender to be had for my horse, so that I went with some Salisbury Friends to Henry Dow's, and lodged.

Several persons having been killed a little before by the Indians, I found the people in those parts under great fear and danger, and the weight of their condition came heavy upon me.

Henry Dow gave notice in the neighbourhood of my being come, and of the meeting to be next day at the house of Thomas Nichols, in the upper part of the town. It was a tender meeting, the minds of the people being low for fear of the Indians, their cruel enemies, and by reason of the great distress many were in otherwise on that occasion. It was a dismal time indeed in those parts; for no man knew, when the sun set, that ever it would arise upon him any more; or, lying down to sleep, but his first waking might be in eternity, by a salutation in the

face with a hatchet, or a bullet from the gun of a merciless savage; who, from wrongs received, as they too justly say, from the professors of Christ in New England, are to this day enraged, sparing neither age nor sex.

The people in those parts, at this time, were generally in garrisons in the night-time; and some professing Truth also went into the same with their guns, and some without them. But the faithful and true, trusting in the Lord, used neither gun nor garrison, sword, buckler, or spear; the Lord alone being their strong tower and place of refuge and defence, and great was their peace, safety, and comfort in him. That evening I had as great peace as at any time in my travels before; many things were opened suiting the states of the meetings and people.

On the 13th we had a meeting at Salisbury, where there was a garrison in part of the town, but I had not liberty in myself to lodge near it; but after some dispute with a townsman, brother-in-law to a priest, returned late in the evening to Henry Dow's, a place of as much seeming danger as any, being within pistol-shot of a great swamp and thicket, where Indians formerly inhabited, and there I lodged, where there was neither gun nor sword, nor any weapon of war, but truth, faith, the fear of God, and love in a humble and resigned mind; and there I rested with consolation.

The mother of Henry Dow's wife being a Friend of a blameless life, and living in this same house with them, let in reasonings against their continuing in a place of so much apparent danger, and frequently urged them to remove into the town where the garrison was, that they might lodge there in the night for more safety, as many others, and some Friends, did. This her daughter could never be free to do, believing that if they should let in any slavish fear, or distrust the protection of the Lord, some very hard thing would befall them. At length her mother said to her, that if she could say she had the mind of the Lord against it, being a minister, though young, she would rest satisfied; but nothing less than that could balance rational fears in so obvious danger. But the young woman being modest and prudent, durst not assume positively to place her aversion to their removal so high; but at length she and her husband complied with the mother, and they removed to the town, to a house near the garrison, where the young woman was constantly troubled with fears of the Indians, though, while at the house by the swamp, she was free from it, and quiet.

But the mother, having left some small things in the house by the swamp, and going



early in the morning to fetch them, was killed by some Indians in ambush near the town in this way. The same morning a young man, a Friend, and tanner by trade, going from the town to his work, with a gun in his hand, and another with him without any, the Indians shot him who had the gun, but hurt not the other; and when they knew the young man they had killed was a Friend, they seemed to be sorry for it, but blamed him for carrying a gun: for they knew the Quakers would not fight, nor do them any harm; and by carrying a gun, they took him for an enemy.

When the town was alarmed, the young woman concluded her mother was slain: it was not by shot, but a blow on the head. She did not go into the garrison, but took one of her children in each hand, and went with them into a swamp or thicket full of reeds, near the place, where all her tormenting fear left her, and she was then greatly comforted and strengthened in the presence of the Lord, and confirmed in her thoughts, that they should not have left their house; after which she returned to her house by the garrison with her children. The loss of the mother was much lamented by the son and daughter, and others; but, as soon as her body was interred, they went back with their little children to the same place by the swamp, where I lodged with them when they gave me this relation.

On the 14th of the third month we had a meeting at an inn in Newbury. There are not many Friends there, but the meeting was very large, and several persons much broken under the testimony of Truth. On the 15th we had a meeting at Hampton, at the house of Joseph Chase, where we had the company of several of the people, and the truths of the gospel were largely opened; but some of them were very senseless, scoffing and foolish, and yet several others were sober, still, and attentive, and the Lord gave us a good time.

Next day we were at their monthly meeting, where many were tendered in the time of worship, which being over, we went upon the business of the meeting, which was very small; for it was but of late, when Thomas Thomson was there, that they had any meeting of discipline, the elder people being of an old separate sort, and against it; but the discipline and order being now settled, the younger and more living are generally zealous for it. I had many things to say touching the necessity of order in the church, and the great advantage and safety of it to Christian society; so that some opposite spirits were fretted, but the generality of the meeting re-

ceived it with pleasure, and some of them, after the meeting was over, expressed their great satisfaction with what had passed, and all ended in great consolation.

Three Friends from Dover were at this meeting, who went with me the next day, about sixteen miles, through dismal swamps and thickets. But the good providence of the Almighty preserved us, and we arrived at Dover, and that night lodged with Thomas Whitehouse, from under the protection of the garrison, which was my choice every where.

On the 18th, being the seventh of the week, was the monthly meeting at Dover, where we were comforted together in the Truth. The meeting there on first-day was pretty large, considering the great danger the people thought themselves in by coming; the high-ways and paths being often ambuscaded by the Indian enemy, who would creep under hedges and fences to get a shot at a man; many truths were opened there to general satisfaction, and it was a good meeting.

On the 20th, accompanied by some of the most steady and concerned Friends of the place, we went to visit several others at their houses, and among the rest, Peter Varney, a substantial Friend, at a house he had a little way in the woods, and much in danger of the enemy. We were all under the weight of things, and especially myself, under the consideration that if I should appoint meetings at places in the woods, and any person happened to be killed or hurt in coming to, or going from, them, great blame might be cast upon me as accessory to it, if not the cause, and the way of Truth likewise be reflected upon by my means. We had very few words, and none needless, among us; and I could not see my way concerning any meetings. In this state of mind, this saying presented itself before me, "He that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth; but to him who walketh in the light, there is no occasion of stumbling." And when this entered, every doubt and fear vanished, my mind was clear, my countenance cheered, and the same invisible Power reached the company likewise, so that they were all cheered up, and we were in one mind. Then I saw my way clear to appoint meetings for the week, with their concurrence, at several places where formerly they had been; all reasonings from the apparent danger of the times being fully silenced in my mind, and I had no further doubt about it. On going to dinner, we were favoured of the Lord with a very full and open season of his divine goodness, to the glory of his great name. And the meetings were appointed accordingly; viz;

On the 21st at Dover; on the 22nd at



Oyster river; on the 23rd at Dover again; on the 24th at Kittery; on the 25th at Cachecha, to which I walked on foot about two miles through the woods, with several other Friends; where the Lord was with us, and gave us a precious meeting; his blessed Truth being over all. On the 26th, being the first of the week, we had a large meeting at Dover, and very open, many things being cleared to most capacities, about the supper and baptism, and several other points.

The Indians having committed several murders, and done other mischiefs in those parts, many were struck with great fear of them; and several professing Truth fell under that temptation so far as to take up arms, and go into forts and garrisons, and also to take their guns with them when they went about their occasions, to the dishonour of Truth. A few standing faithful in the simplicity of it, keeping their habitations herein day and night, trusting in the Lord, and willing rather to lose their natural lives for the Lord's sake, than offend him, or give occasion to the enemies of the blessed Truth to triumph, there happened debates among them; the unfaithful not being content in their unfaithfulness, or satisfied in their forts and guns, sought to justify themselves in that unworthy practice, condemning the faithful as wilful and presumptuous.

I had much to say in every meeting on that subject, to convince them of their weakness, bring them forward and fortify them in their testimony; and especially to charge them, that seeing they had not full faith in the arm of the Lord, they should acknowledge it to be their own weakness, and be humble, and not seek to justify themselves therein, lest the Lord should blast them as to his Truth, and they find themselves also disappointed of the arm of flesh, in which they trusted. It is commonly the way of such as are unfaithful in any part of the testimony of Truth, under the influence and conduct of the adversary of souls, not only to strive to justify themselves in their errors and apostacy, as if they were true and in the right, but with an air of domination and inveteracy, to contradict, oppose, condemn, reproach, vilify, and contemn the just and true; who sacrifice their all for the sacred testimony of Jesus, and follow the Lamb wheresoever he leadeth; through life, through death, over principalities, and powers in the earth, and of hell and the grave, to the throne of his dominion and glory.

The next morning I had a meeting at Dover with the Friends of the ministry in that place, which was the most comfortable of all; and many profitable things were opened in the love of Truth, to our mutual comfort, edification, and establishment; and that after-

noon I went with Jabez Jenkins through the woods, and the Lord, to his sole praise, preserved us safe to Hampton. Alighting at Joseph Chase's by the way, his wife, not a Friend, told me their minister, a Presbyterian, having heard of me, had a great desire to see me, and she persuaded me to call at his house as I went, being near the high-way, which accordingly I did.

He was very civil, and we had about two hours conference concerning several points, especially baptism and the supper; the observance whereof, in their own way and mode, seemed to be the sum of their religion. I believe his understanding was reached as to several points of doctrine; but he seemed unwilling to own it.

I exhorted him, "Not to sit down under those inadequate and dark shadows, short of the divine substance, nor to persuade the people to rest there; for you have no baptism instituted by the Lord Christ; for the only baptism remaining in his church, is that by his Holy Spirit. As to the true supper, it is the flesh and blood of Christ, the soul-quickenening Spirit and life from God; which whosoever eateth and drinketh dwelleth in Christ, and Christ in him; the ministration whereof is in the words of Christ, the Word of God, by whom mankind are quickened, raised from death unto life, and live in him and by him for ever; which cannot be effected by any other minister or ministration. And if mankind could, by any means, eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, in a literal or symbolical sense, that would not profit them; for it is the Spirit only, by the working of his Almighty power in the soul, which quickeneth it, 'the flesh profiteth nothing;' for Christ himself placeth the sum of that whole divine matter upon the Spirit." He was a mild and temperate spirited man, and we parted in friendship.

On the 28th we had a meeting in the meeting-house at Hampton, which was not large, and I was kept out of the public service, though under the weight of it, great part of the time, by a self-conceited, dead, and confused preacher of that place, and an enemy to the discipline of the church; whom, after I stood up, I reprov'd, so that at last the divine life of Truth came over all, and we had a good and comfortable meeting, all the living being well satisfied.

The adversary doth great disservice and mischief in the church by such dry and dead preachers, who, being full of themselves only, can and will speak in their own time, without any regard to the life of Truth, or to any minister of Truth, though a stranger in the place, their time being always, and what and



when they will, and the true ministers waiting only upon the Lord, as having no ministry at any time but immediately from him; when the Lord's time is, and the real concern comes from him upon the true minister, the false one is in the way, hindering the true work and service of the ministry and meetings many times, loading and grieving the true ministry, and the living and sensible members in an assembly. Such oppressing persons and things are suffered, to prevent confusion, which might ensue from openly reproving them; and I have never yet seen any one so much out of the way of Truth, or any thing so unworthy in itself, but would have a party and supporters to vindicate them. That night I lodged at Henry Dow's, and on the 29th was at another appointed meeting at Salisbury, which was not large, but good and comfortable.

On the 30th I was at their week-day meeting at Jamaica, which was pretty large, and very open and satisfactory, both to Friends and people; for the divine Truth was over all, to the glory and praise of his own Arm, which giveth victory to the weak, humble, and needy, and salvation and redemption to all, who in sincerity and want call upon his holy Name.

On the 1st of the fourth month we had a meeting at Henry Dow's, which was comfortable and edifying, and several of the people much tendered. But this meeting also was hurt in the beginning of it by a forward person, who prayed a long sermon to the Almighty, with many accusations in it against the people and their ways.

During a great part of this time I had lodged with Henry Dow, in a place of the most apparent danger in those parts, yet the Lord, in his great goodness, preserved us from time to time, overcame our rational doubts and fears, and settled our assurance, by the working of his Holy Spirit. All which, his most gracious and tender dealings with us, I heartily desire may not be forgotten.

On the 2nd, being the seventh of the week, we went up to Flaverhill, and the next day had a meeting there, which being near the Presbyterian meeting-house, several of them came to us in the time between their forenoon and afternoon meetings, and some of them were affected and tendered, and others very sober and attentive to what was delivered. Though desired by some of the ruder sort of their own profession to leave us, they would not; and then the others endeavoured to haul them away by force. But the Lord gave us a good meeting, notwithstanding this treatment; for his powerful Truth reigned over all, to his own glory, and our satisfaction and comfort.

After this meeting Jacob Morrel of Salisbury informed me, that he had been with several persons in that town, in order to have a meeting among them, but they generally refused, the old stock of persecutors, still ruling there, being much against it; but the younger people were, for the most part, for it; and that at last he had gone to one major Pike, and desired his consent that we might have a meeting in their meeting-house, to which he assented, and said also, that if we could not have their meeting-house, we should have his house. And accordingly Jacob Morrel had given notice of a meeting to be there the next day.

Both Friends and others went to the place about the tenth hour next morning, and the major or seemed very open and free; and seats being arranged, and many people set down, all of a sudden, and without any provocation, the major began to be very turbulent and abusive, saying, "Friends, if I may call you so, what is your business here? What means all this concourse of people?" To which Jacob Morrel answered, "We are come here to have a meeting, according to the liberty thou hast given us." Then said he, "You told me of a man that had a message from heaven to the people; which, if he hath, let him say on; but for my part, I did not expect such a multitude, neither did I intend any such leave to such a people as ye are." Then he gave us much ill and abusive language, saying, we were led by the spirit of the devil.

At length I stood up and told him, that I was the person intended in what had been said; but as for a message from heaven, in his sense, I had not pretended to it, but in the love of God, though a stranger, desired to have a meeting among such of the people as were free to come; and had been credibly informed we had obtained the liberty of his house for that purpose, or else we should not have given him that trouble.

Then Jacob Morrel cleared the matter, affirming in the audience of the people, that he never said any thing of a message from heaven, but only that a travelling Friend, in the love of God, had a mind to see them in a meeting, which the major had given leave should be there in his house.

The major persisted in his abuses, alleging that Scripture against us, and applying it unduly, "Try the spirits, believe not every spirit," &c. I asked him, "By what means are spirits known?" He replied, "By the Word of God, the Rule," meaning the Scriptures. I replied, "That the Scripture itself could not be the rule in that case; for it could not be rightly understood or applied without the Spirit of God, by which it was given forth; and that by which the letter of the book



came and was given, must, in common sense, be more excellent than the letter, and a superior rule. Yet we highly esteem the holy Scriptures, and ever have done, as the best secondary rule in the world, as subordinate to the Holy Spirit, and as opened and applied by him. But seeing the Scriptures tell us of some who confess Christ with their mouths, or in words, but in their works deny him, and that the tree is known by its fruit; thou thyself looks like one of those evil spirits, who are to be discerned and tried by their evil, reproachful, and contentious words and works; even by thy false accusations, abuses, and unworthy treatment of us at this time, who are come, not in our own names, but in the name and grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, to visit this people, and more especially by thy denying and blaspheming against the Spirit of Christ; by which we are led into all Truth, and not by the evil one, as thou hast falsely accused us. The Scripture which thou hast hinted at, and misapplied, is this; 'Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out in the world. Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God; and every spirit which doth not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is not of God: and this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof you have heard that it should come, and even now already it is in the world.'

"Now, thou hast not heard any of us deny that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh; and I do not doubt but every one here believeth and confesseth it, unless thou thyself be the exception. And yet a verbal acknowledgment only, of the coming of Christ in his body of flesh in that day, is not intended in this place; for the devils also believe that and tremble, and yet remain devils still. But this confession must arise from experience of the working, revelation, or manifestation of the Spirit of Christ, in the heart and mind of him who thereby believeth in Christ, to present salvation, according to the same apostle, a little below, where he saith, 'Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his Spirit.' Again, saith the apostle Paul, 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.' And again, 'If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' Whose then art thou?"

This made the old persecutor rage for a time, and he began to ask me whence I came? and threatened to order me into custody: but finding Truth over his spirit, and I above him therein, I replied, that if he had thought fit at

first to have refused us his house to meet in, we could not have blamed him; but since he had once granted it, and now used us ill, it was unbecoming a man of honour, his office, and a Christian.

The invisible power of divine Truth bound his unruly spirit, and he began to grow more calm, and offered us his orchard to meet in: but I replied, "That seeing he had so spitefully reproached the Spirit of Christ, in whose name and grace we had come there, by his own concession, to worship God, visit the people, and in his love, to inform and instruct them; and had broken his word so evidently, and abused us so very much, though strangers, and that too in his own house, without any provocation, we should not accept it, but testify against that spirit which ruled so lately in him, and against his unchristian practice and behaviour." Adding, that he should remember, that he had that day rejected the Truth, and those who dwell therein.

I went then immediately into the street, where, seeing a parcel of logs of wood near the side of a house, I went in and asked the woman of the house, the goodman being absent, leave to set the logs in order, and sit upon them, and she was very willing; besides these, we procured some deal boards and other things for seats, and sat down in the open street by the house-side; which proved a far more convenient place than the major's house, for a multitude of people came thither, and though some were very light, airy, and rude, most of them were sober, and several tender. I had a large time in testimony among them, and several other Friends of both sexes also appeared in public: while I was at prayer, as I was informed, several of the people were more broken than at any time before. The Truth was over all, and many things were opened, in the wisdom and authority of it, to the glory of God, and information and edification of the people, as well as the comfort of Friends, and to general satisfaction. It being ended, I stood upon a form, and informed the auditory, "That I had travelled in this service, through several nations of the British dominions, and many of the American plantations, and had seen several sorts of people of other countries, both rude and civil, and also both blacks and Indians at our meetings; and though the generality of the people there that day had behaved themselves very commendably, and like people professing the Christian name; yet some among them had behaved themselves much below all others, both negroes and Indians, that I had ever seen on such occasions."

This proved a sore reproof upon the persons concerned, the application being plain to



many of the auditory; but though several muttered in private, being ashamed, they appeared not openly to excuse themselves. And I further added, that if any one had any thing to object, it might be most proper to do it before we parted.

Then there appeared one who made his objection at large against womens' preaching, saying, that the apostle Paul said to the Corinthians, "I will that women keep silence in the church." I answered, that the apostle said, "Your women," only, and not women indefinitely, without exception; which he denied. Then one offered him a Bible to look into the place; which he refused, and went off, pretending to go into a house to fetch one; but never returned. Then I opened that point more fully to the people, saying, that no interpretation of Scripture ought to be advanced, or admitted, which makes it contradict itself, or one part of it another; or one apostle oppose another, or contradict himself or any of the prophets, or the matters of fact recorded in Holy Writ, relating to the public ministry of holy women in the church of Christ, or otherwise.

"1st Then, you may observe what Joel the prophet said, many ages before the days of the apostles, relating to the dispensation of the gospel in this point, and the publishers of it, 'And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my Spirit.'

"The apostle Peter, being filled with the Holy Ghost, declares this prophecy to relate to the dispensation of the gospel, and to begin at the time of the great and glorious effusion of the holy Spirit of Christ at Jerusalem, saying, "This is that which was spoken of by the prophet Joel, and it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh;" and so repeats the prophecy at large.

"Now it is morally certain, by a just and undeniable consequence, that the Spirit of Christ came at that time upon the holy women present; and that the women, or some of them, preached Christ to the multitude, as well as the men, having been his witnesses as well as they; or otherwise the application Peter made of that prophecy to that instance, could not have been without exception or a reasonable objection. For if no women had spoken or preached Christ at that time, it might have been said that the prophet mentions women as well as men, daughters equally with sons, but only sons appear in this dis-

pensation and occasion; and therefore that prophecy cannot relate to it. But no objection of this nature appearing, it strongly follows, that some women preached there as well as the men at that time.

"2ndly; If daughters were not to preach as well as sons, handmaids as well as other servants, this prophecy could never be fulfilled, and consequently must be false; which, to say or think, would be profane and blasphemous, and cannot be admitted in any wise.

"3rdly; The apostle Paul saith in that place, 'Let your women keep silence in the churches, (that is, in the meetings or congregations) for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church' (or congregation.)

"4thly; Saith the same apostle elsewhere, on another occasion, 'Let the women learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.'

"By all which it appears, that the apostle was not prohibiting women in general, when inspired by Christ, and thereby qualified for such services, to preach or pray publicly in the congregation; but such only as were imperious, ignorant, and unlearned in the way of Christ and religion; and also talkative, asking bold and impertinent questions in the congregations, occasioning debates, heats, contentions, and confusion. Such were not to be suffered in such evil work, but to be obedient to their husbands, and learn of them at home in modest and decent silence; it being a shame both to the women themselves, and the congregations of the faithful, that such women should be permitted to speak in that manner in a public way, to disturb them, and hinder their devotion, and the public service and ministry of such of either sex as were duly qualified and sent in the wisdom and power of the Holy Spirit. We, as a people, are of the same mind, that neither such women nor men ought to be suffered in such destructive work; but to be silent, and learn there, behaving therein with modesty becoming their sex, and the nature and end of what they undertake.

"5thly; And as to matters of fact, proving that women preached publicly in the Christian congregations in the days of the apostles, Paul recommended Phebe, a sister in Christ, to the congregation then at Rome, as a minister, servant, and deaconess of the church at Cenchrea; and in the same place mentions Priscilla with great respect, as his helper in



Christ Jesus, which help can refer to nothing else but the work of the ministry, in which they were jointly and severally engaged.

6th; And though Apollos was a man of eloquence, and mighty in the Scriptures, and had been instructed in the way of the Lord in some measure, and had taught the things of the Lord zealously and diligently, knowing only the baptism of John—Priscilla, as well as Aquila, expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly.

"7thly; These instances wherein that great apostle so much approves the public ministry of these holy and inspired women, plainly demonstrate that he was not against women's preaching; for then he must have written contradictions in the name of the Lord, which would have destroyed the authority of his own ministry, since no man speaking or writing by the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, speaketh or writeth contrary things; and they cannot both be true, but the one or the other must needs be false, and suggests a reasonable suspicion that both are so; which cannot be thought of any apostle of Christ, or his ministry.

"Again, Paul directs how women ought to be attired, as well as men, in the time of the public exercise of their ministry or preaching; and if he had been against all women's preaching, and yet given directions how they should demean therein, he would not have been consistent with himself, nor one part of his ministry with another; for he saith, 'Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head; but every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head;' and more in the same place to that purpose: which still further proves that the apostle was not against women's preaching in the congregations, but fully allowed it.

"And also Philip, an evangelist, one of the seven deacons, and an able minister of Christ, had four daughters, virgins, who did prophesy; that is, they preached the gospel. And seeing they were daughters of so eminent a minister of Christ as Philip was, without all reasonable contradiction, not only Philip himself, but the churches of Christ approved them therein. Then, if Paul had been against women's preaching and praying publicly in the church, and Philip for it, they would, in that case, have contradicted and opposed each other, to the confounding of the people, by a contradictory uncertain ministry; which cannot be admitted by men of truth, and sincere lovers of Christ. Upon the whole, we must needs conclude, that women as well as men, may, and ought to prophesy, preach, and pray publicly in the church and churches

of Christ, when thereunto called and qualified by Christ, under the immediate direction and influence of his holy Spirit and power, as those holy women were; without which neither male nor female, under any other qualification or pretence whatsoever, ought to intrude themselves, or meddle, lest that question, under the displeasure of the Almighty, be asked of such, 'Who hath required this at thy hand?' and they incur a just punishment in the end."

During all this time the people were generally attentive, and seemingly pleased; but just in the close of the matter, I was attacked, all of a sudden, by a person who brake into the crowd behind me on horseback, and by his garb looked like a pastor of the people, and upon inquiry afterwards, I found he was so. His first salutation was after this manner: "Are you not ashamed thus to delude the people, imposing upon them false glosses on the Scripture? I am a stranger on the road, and drawing near this multitude to know the occasion of it, cannot but appear in defence of truth against your perversions. 'Tis true, you have a smooth way, a gaining countenance, and advantageous mein; but, sir, you look, in all this, the more like an emissary."

This being sudden, was a little surprising at first; but Truth being uppermost, I quickly challenged him to instance any particular wherein I had imposed upon them.

He instanced only in this, where I had said Phebe was a minister of the church; he said, "She was not a minister, but a servant, as appears by the text itself in that place; and it will not bear to be translated minister, as you say."

I replied, "Servant and minister are synonymous terms, and the word there used may be better translated minister: and if she was a servant, in what other respect to the church, if not in a public ministry, as a preacher? For Theodore Beza, in his Latin translation from the Greek, from which our English translations are made, hath it minister, and not servant, *ministra ecclesie cenchreensis*; and in the Greek Testament it is *Διακονος*; that is, minister or servant." I asked him before the people, if he would say, upon his reputation as a minister, as he professed himself to be, that it might not be properly rendered minister, which he refused; and then, in abundance of assurance, said openly, that I was no Quaker, but in a flattering way, added, I had more sense than to be a Quaker; for I had an ingenious countenance, and a mien importing a better education. I rejected his flattery, and replied, that he might have had better education, and ought to have had more justice, than falsely to accuse one whom



he never saw before, and put him upon his proof in that and several other things, in which he had overshot himself, in the apprehension of most of the people who heard him.

I observed to the people, who did not generally understand the meaning of the word emissary, that it was unduly applied by him; it imported a very high, as well as false charge, and as such I returned it upon him. Then he began to charge Jonathan Taylor, then in England, with being a Jesuit, he having been in that country seven years before, and instrumental to convince many in those parts, and thereby had greatly enraged the priests and their envious company against him, which they had not forgot. There stood up likewise another man, and said the charge was true. But I opposed them, telling the people, I very well knew Jonathan Taylor, and that he was no Jesuit, nor any thing like one in any respect; putting the priest in mind of what dangerous consequence it might be to himself to charge me, or any other innocent person, in that manner, since, by law, it touched the life of the accused, and was highly punishable in the accuser, if not legally proved. Then wheeling his horse about, he said he could not stay any longer, but rode hastily out of the crowd and went off.

The opposition this priest and the others made being for the most part notoriously false assertions and charges, without any proof, exposed him and themselves to the just censure of the people, and rather confirmed them in the truth of what we had delivered, than hurt the cause of Truth; which we, in some measure of the wisdom and power of it, had defended against them.

It was now near night, and began to rain, and I took horse and rode to Henry Dow's, being well satisfied that there had not happened any further contest, which might have unsettled the minds of the people from the effect of those truths, so largely and plainly delivered among them; and from that sense of the divine power of the Word of life, of which some of them had, in measure, tasted.

On the 5th, in the morning, we had a meeting of ministering Friends at Henry Dow's, at which most of the ministers in those parts were present; and the presence and power of the Lord was eminently with us, to the glory of his own name; and many things were brought to remembrance, and opened to our mutual edification and consolation; for they being for the most part young in that exercise, things opened in me to my own admiration, so that it was one of the best meetings I had been at in those parts. That evening I went again to Haverhill, and on the 6th had a meeting there, where some of the people

came in, and pretty many Friends from Salisbury, Jamaica and Amesbury, and the Lord was with us. Many things were opened, and Truth came over all; yet several of us had felt a hard inward trouble and exercise: and as soon as I sat down I observed a man in the entrance of the door, who, looking at me, said, "You have spoken several true things, but by what authority did you speak?" I answered, "By the authority of Truth;" and then told him our meeting was not ended, and bid him be silent till it was; and then if he had any thing to say, he might be heard. Upon which he was silent, and soon after Lydia Norton stood up, and several of the people went out in contempt of her sex, though she had a ministry as affecting and satisfactory as most women or men either; and when she had done I concluded the meeting in prayer, and Truth was over all contrary spirits, though I felt some further exercise and opposition hatching; but saw likewise that the end would be to the honour of God and his all-conquering Truth.

The meeting being ended, a man began to cavil against several things I had said concerning the Scriptures and the light of Christ; but the Lord being with me, I came over him, and it settled in my mind, that he had been convinced of the Truth in his heart, and had rebelled against it. I went to him where he sat upon a form, many people being in the room, and looking in his face, said to him in that boldness which truth gave me, That he had been convinced of the Truth of God in his heart, and had resisted and rejected it, and therefore was now become an open enemy and opposer of the Truth in others also, and that therefore God would reject him for ever if he did not cease from his wicked practice, and turn to the Lord by speedy humiliation and repentance unfeigned.

This sunk in him as the stone in the face of Goliath, and silenced him at once, and he remained as a man amazed all the time he staid in the room after that, which was above an hour, whilst I was answering other adversaries, and opening things, as the Lord assisted me, to several sober inquirers; and when he went away I renewed the matter openly to him in the audience of all; but he made no answer, but went off as one deeply smitten in his conscience.

The next day proving rainy, and several of us staying there till the evening, we were divinely comforted in the love of God; in which we had many tender seasons together, as at other times and places, to the praise of his great name, who is God worthy for ever.

I went, at the request of John Keeser, a young



man who had not been long convinced, to the priest of that town, a most imbibited enemy to the way of Truth, and all that walk therein in this dispensation, who had desired to speak with him about his dissenting from him and the common Presbyterian way.

At our first entrance into the house this priest looked very haughty and ill natured, and bid us sit down, which we did. John Keeser told him, he had heard he desired to speak with him, and was now come to know the matter. Then he began and said, "John, I have had a mind to speak with you a long time, to know your reasons for neglecting the public worship, and deserting me who have charge over you, to follow the errors of the Quakers, who deny salvation by Jesus Christ, and follow their light within: but I could not meet you, though I came to your house on purpose."

John Keeser replied, "I heard of it, and am now come to hear what thou hast to say." Then said the priest, "You are a perverse fellow; I wanted to speak with you alone, in order to reclaim you from the pernicious errors of the Quakers, who deny justification by Christ; affirming, that to expect to be justified by the works of Christ without us, is a doctrine of devils."

Then said I, "Friend, if thou hast any thing to say to the young man relating to any thing he hath done or said, I am here, at his request, to hear it; but if thou goest on thus to reflect against, and falsely accuse that people, I am one of them, and shall oppose thee. I return upon thee thy false accusations already uttered, in which thou hast shown thy great injustice, unworthiness and ill nature. For we do not expect salvation by any other than the Lord Jesus Christ and the Father; and I challenge thee to produce any author approved by us, that denies the work of the Lord Jesus Christ, done without us, and its efficacy, for its proper end and purpose, in the redemption and salvation of mankind."

Then the priest said, "William Penn, in one of his books, called the doctrine of justification, by the coming of Christ without, in the flesh, the doctrine of devils." I asked him if he had ever seen that book? and he confessed he had not. Then I asked him how he could charge William Penn with such a position? He replied, he had seen it quoted out of the book by Mr. Bugg and Mr. Keith. "Francis Bugg and George Keith," said I, "once knew the Truth in some degree, and made profession of it with us, but took offences, first against some particular persons, and then against the whole body, and became apostates, open enemies, filled with envy implacable. It is neither safe nor wise in thee

to take any thing upon trust from them against us, they having been, and still are notorious false accusers, perverters, and misrepresenters of us, our books, doctrines, and principles. But I know William Penn, and his sentiments on that subject, and have read the passage aimed at; which, to the best of my remembrance, not having the book here, is to this effect: 'To teach that men are justified before God, by the righteousness of Christ, as wholly without us, whilst sin is yet reigning in us, is a doctrine of devils.'"

This the priest did not deny, but asked me how we hold it? I said, "I shall first premise some things by way of introduction, before I proceed to a direct answer to the question, intending thereby to make it more plain in the conclusion. I begin then with the purpose of God to make man; when he was perfected as man, God breathed into him the breath of life from himself; whereby man became spiritually minded; alive in God who is a spirit; like unto God in his mind or inner man; the image of him who created him in righteousness and true holiness. In which state God gave him a positive commandment, not of action, but abstinence, annexing death and disobedience together.

"Man, in the beginning, by the voice of God, knew the command of God, and his duty to him thereby, and believed the Word of God for a time, which is the divine, eternal, essential Truth; and as long as man continued in the faith of the Word, he lived in the divine light and life of it; stood and remained in the moral image of God, righteous, holy, uncorrupted and undefiled.

"But when the mind of man, through temptation, disbelieved the Word of God, in which he at first believed, and adhered unto another voice, which was false and a lie, the mind of man thereby became corrupted and incapacitated to enjoy the life and light of the divine Word any longer, according to the word of God, which saith, 'In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.'

"Thus the fall of man being his departure from the divine life and light of the eternal Word of God, his wisdom and power, the redemption of man is his restoration, and more than restoration, to the knowledge of it, and being re-united with it.

"And as the love, mercy, and compassion of God was still towards man, he gave him a promise by the same Word, 'That the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head,' or that subtle spirit which had betrayed her, so that in the fulness of time the woman should be instrumental in the restoration; which accordingly is mercifully fulfilled. For when the angel of God was sent to Mary, the holy Virgin, he said, 'Hail, thou that art highly favour-



ed, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women. And behold, thou shalt conceive in thy womb, and bring forth a son, and shalt call his name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David: and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end.'

"But Mary did not at first believe the angel; 'And the angel answered and said unto her, The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee: therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God. And Mary said, Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word. And the angel departed from her.'

"And that it might be certainly known, in the fulness of time, unto all mankind, who this sacred person is, and what is the manner of his coming and appearance, both to Jew and Gentile, he was to be made manifest unto the Jews first, under the name and character of Jesus, a Saviour, and being anointed of God, with all the divine in-dwelling fulness, is thereby called Christ; and under both, is called Jesus Christ, the anointed Saviour, proposed as the object of faith unto all nations. First unto the Jews in the flesh, as born of the Virgin; and secondly, unto the Gentiles, as 'the true Light, who lighteth every man who cometh into the world.'

"1st; The testimony of good old Simeon concerning him, through the Holy Ghost, is, that he is a Light to lighten the Gentiles, and in that respect, their light and salvation, according to the promise of the covenant of God aforegoing.

"2ndly; The evidence of John, where he is full and express, saying, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. That was the true light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world. And the Word was made (or assumed) flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father) full of grace and truth. And of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace.'

"3rdly; The witness of Christ himself, where he saith, 'I am the light of the world; he that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.' Again, 'Jesus said unto them, Yet a little while is the light with you; walk, while ye have the light, lest darkness come upon you: for he that walketh in darkness knoweth not whither he goeth.' 'While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of the light.'

"And as the Father hath promised and offered his Son as he is that Light, and as his new and everlasting covenant with mankind, in order to their restoration and establishment, not of works, but of life; so, whoever will enter into this covenant with God, must first believe in him whom God hath sent, and in the way and manner in which he hath sent him, according to his promises.

"Now a covenant is not on one side only, but two at the least; and therefore God, who is divine eternal love, infinite in goodness and mercy, is pleased of his own nature and love to mankind thus to send his Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, into the world, who, by a voluntary death upon the tree of the cross, according to the fore-determined council and purpose of the Father, declared his mercy and free pardon of the sins of the whole world, upon terms suiting the state, reason, and understanding of mankind: that is to say, upon faith in God the Father of all, and in Jesus Christ the Son of God, and repentance from dead works, as the reasonable and necessary terms required of mankind, on our side or part of this covenant, that we may be restored to the knowledge of God, and the Lord Jesus Christ his Son, and made capable of being united unto God, through Christ the Mediator between God and man in this covenant, by and through whom we are brought into it, and stand therein steadfast and immoveable for ever.

"We must then receive the Saviour in the way in which he is sent and proposed unto us; not only as he is offered upon the cross, for the expiation of the sins that are past, but also as he is the divine Light, enlightening our minds and understandings, as directed by Christ himself, where he saith, 'While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light;' that is, children of God, who is that light. So that as Adam fell from the true knowledge of God, and sense of his divine love, presence, goodness, and other attributes, through unbelief; we, his posterity after the flesh, may all arise and be restored by faith in Christ, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, that quickening Spirit; not into the animal life, which by nature we already have, and in which we are averse to God and all his ways, but unto life eternal, that we may all know what that Word meaneth, 'As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.' And, 'as by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation: even so, by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.'

"Again, as to the plain indication and character which the Holy Scripture hath put



upon this divine light, whereby we may know it, even as natural men, by its effects, the evangelist saith, that the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Christ, who is that light, 'when he is come, (or made manifest) he will reprove, or convince, the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment.' And saith the apostle, 'All things which are reproved, are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest is light.' Again, 'This is the condemnation, (of the world) that light (even this light) is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.'

"This is he, that divine eternal Light, to whom John the Baptist and the apostles of Christ bore testimony; and in an especial manner the apostle Paul, who was sent by Christ to the Gentiles, 'to open their eyes, and turn them from darkness to light, (even unto himself who is that Light) and from the power of satan unto God;' that being so turned, 'they might receive forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them who are sanctified by faith in him, the Lord.'"

During all this time the priest gave me many interruptions, so that I perceived he was not worthy to know these things, neither could he, being deeply prepossessed against the Truth, and the light of it. What I said therefore was principally for the sake of the young man with me, who had not been long convinced of Truth, and to leave the priest without excuse. But I having mentioned this Light according to the evangelist, as the true manifestor of sin in mankind, he opposed that as a great error, and said, "That light which is in every man gives no knowledge of divine things, but only of natural, as to distinguish between one plant and another, and that five is more than three, and the like; and that there is no knowledge of sin, or of God, or of Christ, or of any divine things, but by the Bible."

I replied, "The Bible itself saith otherwise, and that is, 'No man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.' But read some verses of this first chapter of John the evangelist, so as to put the Bible in the place of the Father and Son, as thou dost, and see how it will read; thus, 'In the beginning was the Bible, and the Bible was with God, and the Bible was God. The same (Bible) was in the beginning with God. All things were made by the Bible, and without the Bible was not any thing made that was made. In the Bible was life, and the life of the Bible was the light of men. The Bible was the true light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world. The Bible was in the world,

and the world was made by the Bible, and the world knew not the Bible. And the Bible was made (or assumed) flesh, and dwelt among them, full of grace and truth. The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by the Bible,' according to thy doctrine.

"But to return to the true doctrine in the Scripture, seeing that God is the Word, and the Word is God, and the same is the 'true Light, which lighteth every man who cometh into the world,' and assumed flesh, it followeth that God, who is omnipresent, is in all mankind, and Christ, the light of the Father, as inseparable from him in that respect, is in all men."

About this time rushed in several of the priest's rude company, who we thought had been sent for by his wife; and at the sight of this company the priest fell into a sudden transport of rage, and starting up, said, "That is blasphemy, O horrid blasphemy!" appealing, by his mock gestures of admiration, to his dark ignorant crew.

I being a little moved at this sudden charge before such witnesses, who might swear any thing against me which their enraged teacher might dictate, I replied, "What dost thou call blasphemy?" "What you said is blasphemy." "What did I say?" "You said, that the light which is in all the heathens, is God."

I replied, "I despise thy wicked attempt, and witnesses too, and retort thy false charge justly upon thy own head." Then I repeated some of my own words, "That the Word is God; that the same lighteth every man that cometh into the world; and that all heathens being men, have in them the same light; but though this light shineth in that darkness, it is not comprehended thereby: and the saints and faithful in Christ had once been darkness, and yet became light in the Lord, and walked in that light as children of it, though some of them had been heathens before this light was revealed in them; and they were called out of darkness into this marvellous light, and thereby became the light of the world. Now, thou denying this, must needs hold the contrary, that this Light and Word is not God; which is directly against the Scripture, and plain blasphemy."

Upon this the priest grew a little more calm, and his company seeming surprised, stood silent, looking seriously upon him and me; and then he replied, that the light wherewith every man is enlightened is a creature, as much as a house or a tree is a creature: and added, that the illumination wherewith every man is illuminated is a creature.

I replied, "I am not speaking of the illumination, which is an act of the Illuminator, but of the Illuminator himself. For there is



the Illuminator, who is God; and there is his light, wherewith he enlighteneth; and there is his illumination, which is his act of enlightening in man, who is a creature, and is thereby enlightened. I do not say the act of God in enlightening of man is God, but that the Light which enlighteneth man is God." Then he said again, "That the light which enlighteneth man is a creature as much as a house or a tree." I replied, that he did not rightly distinguish, for though a tree be a creature of God as well as himself, yet a house as such is no creature, but an effect of human wisdom and art; and his distinction between God and his light was blind and heterodox: adding, "That seeing God is light, and in him is no darkness at all, and he enlighteneth mankind by his own light, how dost thou distinguish between God and the light of God?"

Then he told me, "I had before asserted the light to be Christ, as the doctrine of the Quakers; and to call that light Christ is to deny the true Christ." Then I repeated the words of the text, insisting that I had all along spoken of God the Word as that true Light; that the same assumed a body of flesh, and was Christ, as plain and full as any man could speak from the text; and that light he had denied to be God or Christ, which is a denying of the true God, and Jesus Christ the Son of God, who is light.

It was now about the tenth hour at night, and when we went out several of the priest's company came after us, having none with me except John Keeser, on whose account I went there, and we were as two sheep among many wolves; for they looked angry, and he told me, as soon as we came out of the house, that one of these men being a member of that priest's congregation, had said to the rest, while I and the priest were discoursing together, "This a cunning fellow; he is no Quaker; he was a merchant in London, and through ill living spent all, and was broken, and ran away in great debt; and coming into those parts, hath cheated the Quakers, falsely pretending to be one of them, to get money from them to make up his deficiencies, and then he will desert them." Upon this, John Keeser showing me the man, I went and reproved him for his falsehood, and so ready invention of it; and his folly therein, considering how publicly I am known in divers parts of the world, and even in that country. But he did not stand to justify himself, but sheered off muttering.

This envious teacher, and blind leader of the blind, had some time before this appointed a fast and prayer for his congregation against three great plagues or evils. First, Because

of the cold and backward spring season, which threatened the withholding of the fruits of the earth, and famine. Secondly, Against the Indians, that they might not prevail against them, as they had done; several of the inhabitants of that town having been some time before killed, and others, about nineteen in all, taken captives by those savages. Thirdly, and above all, for the prevention of the coming abroad and prevailing of the Quakers, several of his hearers having been convinced of Truth, and left him not long before, which he had said was a far worse plague or judgment than either of the other; for they only affected the body, which, though destroyed, the soul might be saved, but the latter affected the eternal well-being of the soul, which is of infinitely more value than the body.

But mark the end of this ignorant and envious man; for, as I have been assured since, there came a party of Indians to that town, and before the dawning of the day, placing themselves two at least at each door of every house, and knocking softly as if they had been neighbours, as soon as any opened the doors the Indians rushed in and killed the first they met with their hatchets, and then the rest, and many of them in their beds; and this teacher happening to be one who opened his door at this time, an Indian killed him with a hatchet; at which I did not rejoice when I was informed of it, though I could not but remember his fast and prayers.

Our day's work above mentioned being over, to the glory of the victorious Truth, and our peace in him, I rested there that night, and the next morning went to Salem, about twenty-two miles, and there had a good and peaceable meeting, several strangers being present, and generally satisfied. On the 9th I had a meeting at Marblehead, where several hearts were broken and tendered by the Truth and testimony of it, and no objections made.

On the 11th, at a meeting at a Friend's house in Salem, we had the company of many of the priest's people, who were generally sober: but I heard the priest of that place had been railing against Truth and us in his preaching, whereby he had offended several of the more sober sort of his hearers.

On the 12th I went to Lynn, and was at their week-day's meeting the day after, where came some Friends from Salem and those parts; and we had an indifferent good time.

On the 14th in the evening we had another meeting at Lynn, to which came a good number of people, who behaved well, being very silent and quiet; and the next day I returned to Boston, and the day following I went to Castle Island to see the two young men, John Smith and Thomas Macomber, before men-



tioned, still kept there as prisoners; where they were very cheerful, having been well used beyond expectation; for though they refused to work at the castle, none offered to force or threaten them about it.

We went to see the captain of the fort, to acknowledge his civility to our Friends; and he was very respectful to us. But in the mean time came several merchants from Boston, and some members of the assembly, and the chaplain of the castle, by profession a Baptist; who soon began to bring false accusations against the Quakers, and to rail against the light; pretending to give a description of the faith of the Quakers, and prove it erroneous, allowing us to be moral men, but no Christians. Upon which I took him up sharply, and said, that a false accuser of men, and railer against the light of Christ, could not be either a moral man, or a Christian; and that it was immodest and rude in him, to pretend to give an account of other men's faith, and falsely too, in contradiction to themselves.

This surprised him a little; and then I cited out of the first chapter of John the evangelist, a text, that the Word is God; that he is Light, the true Light, which lighteth every man who cometh into the world; and that the same Word was made, or assumed, flesh, and was in that manifestation, called Jesus Christ, the anointed Saviour. This Light is that true Light in whom the Quakers believe; and therefore thou art false and injurious to affirm—as he had then done—that we believe in the false light of our own fallen nature. But it growing late, and we having about a league by water to Boston, and not time to proceed upon that subject, there the matter ended, and we landed at Boston after sunset.

On the 17th, being the first of the week, I was at our meeting there, which was but small at first, by reason of the short notice; but towards the latter part of it there came in many out of a meeting-house of the Presbyterians after they had done with their worship; and things then opened suited to their conditions. My concern soon turned upon their way of making ministers, and their bargaining with the people beforehand about their maintenance, being contrary, both to Christ's way of making ministers, and to their maintenance, and the way of the ancient Puritans, their ancestors in religion; whose ministers were often called among themselves, gifted brethren, professing to preach by a gift, or manifestation of the spirit of Christ. Upon this some of them went out of the meeting; but the greatest number

remained in a solid settled condition, and very attentive. I understood afterwards, that those who went out did not go in dislike to what they had heard.

On the 20th day of this month we had a meeting at Cambridge, where they have a college for the education of youth, and where many of them are fitted for an artificial and mercenary ministry in their way. Many Friends and others came at the time appointed. But the priest of the town, and one that had been sheriff, or some officer in Boston, did what they could to disappoint us.

The priest sending for the inn-keeper, laid before him the great evil, as he called it, of such a meeting; and at the same time he was made apprehensive of the danger, as himself told me, of losing his license for that employment, by which he had his livelihood. This sheriff likewise went about the town, discouraging the people from coming to our meeting. When I came to the house there were pretty many people, but several gone away, seeing the stir which had been made, and no likelihood of a meeting; but some Friends sitting together in a room, the sheriff came there, and having intimidated the inn-keeper, he discharged us of his house, as to a meeting.

Then I asked the sheriff, "Hast thou any public office? for if thou hast, we will take notice of thee accordingly; but if not, we shall look upon thee as a busy-body, and a tool worthy of reprehension." He confessed he did not come there as a public officer. Then I said unto him, "Meddle thyself with thine own affairs; thou hast no business with us, and we shall not regard thee." And to the inn-keeper I said, "Since we are thus disappointed of thy house, once granted, yet we shall not altogether impute it to thee, but to the envy of some others, and must now take our next course;" which was to search out a place in the street, where we might sit together without disturbance, that being as free for us as for any others.

Accordingly we went into the street, not knowing where to pitch; but proceeding along, we came to a fair dry green, before the buildings of the college, where was a large spreading oak; and under the shade of that we sat down upon the ground, and abundance of people came and sat down with us.

Samuel Gaskin, of Salem, stood up first, and some of the meaner sort of the people were a little rude in their behaviour, but much more moderate and calm before he had done. I stood up next, and being a stranger, they seemed still more attentive. Many of the students of the college being there, they were sent for by the president, and some of them



went to him; but others remained in the meeting, and several of those who went out returned before it was ended.

Various matters were opened concerning the state of man in the fall; the necessity of freedom from sin in this life, by the manifestation of the Lord Jesus Christ, who appears in us the offspring of the Gentiles, according to the promises and covenant of God, by his divine light, grace, and holy Spirit in our hearts; and that Christ is that "true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world," as well as he is the "propitiation for the sins of the whole world."

And as to the way that God raises, qualifies, and sends his ministers in his church, and unto mankind in this dispensation, it is the same as in the days of the prophets and apostles, and ever will be; for God changeth not, neither doth his way change. It is not by human learning, or in the wit and wisdom of man, but in and by the word and wisdom of God. Some of the prophets of old were learned among men, as Isaiah, but generally unlearned, as Amos, Elisha, Joel, and the rest. And some of the apostles likewise were learned, as Paul; but generally unlearned, as Peter, James, John, and most of the rest. The Word of God, which was in the beginning with God, came unto the prophets, by which they declared the mind of God unto his people, and his judgments against the school prophets, who were liars, and spoke false things from their own imaginations, and not from the Lord; and sometimes stole the words of the Lord spoken by the true prophets, and spoke as if the Lord had sent them, and by their false doctrine and lies, made the people err; but the Lord denied these prophets, and reprov'd them by his true prophets.

The apostles of Christ were not appointed or ordained of men, but by Christ himself, by whose holy Spirit they were filled, being the wisdom of God, and the power of God, by and from which they preached and reprov'd the rabbies of the age, and exposed their evil ways and errors to the people. Yet human learning, where the mind is fully subjected to the Spirit of Truth, and subservient to it, may be useful, as in Paul, but not to be preferred as the chief qualification in that service; unto which, through the pride and vain-glory of the carnal unmortified minds of self-exalting men, it hath frequently done much more harm than ever it did good. And, as saith the apostle to the Gentiles, "For ye see your calling, brethren, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called; but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and

God hath chosen the weak things of the world, to confound the things which are mighty; and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things which are, that no flesh should glory in his presence."

And as no fountain can send forth sweet and bitter waters at the same time and place, I exhorted the students not to sin against God, by depending upon their qualifications and acquirements in human learning, and run when God doth not send them; and so imbitter the minds of the people, by sowing tares, a false and evil seed, prepossessing them against the truth; pointing to them some passages in Jeremiah the prophet, where it is said, "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, hearken not unto the words of the prophets that prophecy unto you; they make you vain; they speak a vision of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord: they say still unto them who despise me, the Lord hath said ye shall have peace; and they said unto every one that walketh after the imagination of his own heart, no evil shall come upon you;" with great and terrible threatening against the false prophets, and then adds, "In the latter days ye shall consider it perfectly:" desiring that they might be so seasoned with the salt of the covenant of life, that they might escape all those evils; and that they might come to drink of that living fountain, which as a river of living water issueth out of those who rightly believe in the Lord Jesus.

I observed also to them, that their ancestors who first came into this country, and the ancient Puritans of whom they came, were a religious people, according to the degree of manifestation they then had, depending upon the gift of God in their ministry, and not upon human literature. For though some of them had learning, many of their ministers had not, but were called gifted brethren; and that those were the men who gathered the congregations in those days, the bees who gathered the honey, on the dregs and decays whereof the present drones are now feeding; and that the glory is departed from their Israel, which shall never be restored in the form and image left of their ancestors, but in the life of the Lamb, whom this age have much rejected. But since their ancestors did it ignorantly, it should not be imputed to them their offspring, but only as they rejected the same life. And if they would receive the truth in the present dispensation of it, that is, of divine light and grace revealed in the heart, the glory should yet return to New England, and shine brighter than ever, and more and more unto the perfect day. I concluded the meeting in prayer



to God for them all, both magistrates, ministers, the college and people; and all ended in solidity and peace, to general satisfaction; for I did not observe a light or dissatisfied countenance. I must say for these young students, that they did behave themselves better, and much more like a moral education at least, nay, more like Christians too, than those at Cambridge or Oxford, in Old England, or at Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Aberdeen, in Scotland; some of them being very solid, and generally very attentive. I hope this meeting was of some service among them, and that was all we desired.

The next day I was at an appointed meeting at Boston, which was large and comfortable; and on the 23rd we had another meeting between Lynn and Boston, which was small and heavy.

On the 25th, being the first of the week, I was again at the meeting at Boston; which was large, and the truths of the gospel opened well and clear; several of the students from Cambridge were there, and were very sober and attentive.

During the fore part of the next day, I had a great load upon my spirit, but did not then see the cause of it, till after dinner a Friend told me, the Lieutenant-Governor at the castle in the island, had been informed that I had spoken against the government, and against him in particular, in our meeting the day before at Boston, because of their imprisoning those young men at the castle for refusing to bear arms; and he had told the Friends there of it, and they sent me word, that I might set the matter in its proper light. I perceived this to be the cause of my trouble, and quickly took a boat and went to the castle, accompanied by Daniel Zachary and some other Friends. When we arrived, the Lieutenant-Governor of the castle, was in company with some other officers; and at our entrance into the room, ordered us seats with them. I told him, my last visit had been to my friends, but this was to him; and mentioning the occasion, said I was come to clear it, and remove the prejudice, if any had taken place; desiring him to relate before that company what he had been informed on the subject. The captain answered, he had been told, that I had in our open meeting, uttered several hard things against the government, of their cruelty to our Friends; and particularly of their hard usage by him.

Before I had time to reply, one of the company, a stranger to me, and I think, an officer, answered, "There could not be any thing in it; for I did not look like a man that could be guilty of so mean a thing:" the captain himself likewise saying, he did not be-

lieve it, but was willing I should know it. I assured them "It was all false; for I understood the nature and end of government better than to vilify it: and that when at any time we suffered for religion under any government, either through the tyranny or misunderstanding of the rulers, we took better methods than that to make them sensible of it; using our best endeavours to convince their understandings of their mistakes, and our innocence; but did not rail or rebel against them. And as to the captain, he had been kind and civil to our Friends, and to myself also; so that not any disrespectful thought of him had entered me: but the tenor of what I had said in the meeting, was something by way of apology for our not giving personal assistance in arms, now in the time of war; when, in common reason, it might look hard, that other men should spend their time, blood, and estates, in defence of us and ours, as they call it, and we do nothing, either for them or ourselves, on such important occasions; but yet it was not any stubborn humour in us, as some might be apt to think, or from cowardice, that we refused to bear arms, but because we take war to be contrary to the doctrine of Christ and the new covenant, and the tenor, nature, and true end of the gospel; and dare not fight or learn war for that reason." The whole company being satisfied of the falsehood of that report, and civil to us, after some further touches upon the subject of war, and the ill effects of it in the world, especially among Christians, we took leave, and I went away very easy.

That evening there came to me a young man who had been at the meeting at Cambridge, and never at one before: he seemed to have been satisfied in general, but could not understand the doctrine of the light; but things opening pretty clearly in our discourse, he seemed satisfied both in that, and also about the sacraments, concerning which he asked me several questions. He was tender and humble in discoursing, not opposing, but inquiring; and departed very loving.

On the 28th we sailed down the bay to Nantasket, to a half-year meeting. We were late, the wind being contrary, and a fog; but were favoured with a good meeting: and parting with Friends of Boston there, I went that evening to Scituate. On the 29th we had a meeting at Robert Barker's, which in the beginning was heavy, but ended well. On the 30th we had a meeting at Arthur Howland's, at Marshfield; and Thomas Chalkley was also there, and persuaded us to go to Robert Barker's after that meeting was over; and we had a good time.

Next day, being the first of the week, we



had a large good meeting at Sandwich; some of the priest's hearers being there; and the day after we had a meeting at Mary Perrie's, she being ancient and sick, and not able to go to the meeting-house. It was the best meeting I ever had at Sandwich, the love, life, and wisdom of truth being over all; to the glory of His great power, who is worthy for ever.

On the 5th I was at their week-day meeting at Dartmouth, which was open and well. On the 7th had an appointed meeting at the house of one Thomas Hadaway, at a village called Cushnet, north of Dartmouth: he was ensign to a company of militia; but both he and his wife were ready to admit of a meeting, as at some other times before: there were many people at the meeting, and generally sober, and some also tender.

On the 11th I had an appointed meeting near that place, being between Dartmouth and Seconet; which was large, and indifferent well; only a zealous Baptist woman was offended at my saying, "We had no Scripture expressly for dipping, nor any which necessarily implied it, but only for going into the water, or washing;" and for my saying, "I knew of none now who washed the feet one of another, as a religious duty; only the Pope, who, I had been credibly informed, did once a year wash the feet of some persons, out of a vain show of voluntary humility, or pretence of compliance with that saying of Christ, 'If I then your Lord and Master have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one anothers feet.'" The woman muttering about this after the meeting, I went to her and discoursed with her on the subject. She had been very angry, as they too frequently are, but went away more calm and friendly. We had some discourse about bread and wine also.

The next day I was again at the meeting at Dartmouth, which was large and well, many hearts being melted and tendered; and that evening I returned to Peleg Slocumb's.

Before I proceed, I think proper first to give a general relation of the state of the people in the island of Nantucket, where I went next after this, with respect to religion at this time. This small island lies about twenty leagues from the main land of New England, inhabited by a mixed people of various notions, and some among them called Christian Indians, but no settled teachers of any kind: and as poor hirelings search all corners for settled maintenance, several such, from time to time, had made their attempts upon this people on that account, but were disappointed; for there was in this island one Nathaniel Starbuck, whose wife was a wise

discreet woman, well read in the Scriptures, and not attached to any sect, but in great reputation throughout the island for her knowledge in matters of religion, and an oracle among them on that account, insomuch that they would not do any thing without her advice and consent therein. When such hirelings came to preach among them, and attempted to have a settled maintenance, she always opposed it with solid arguments, as being contrary to the practice of the apostles and primitives, and the nature of the maintenance of a gospel ministry; but would consent so far, as that when any preachers came among them that they liked, and staid some time, and took pains among them, every family might give to such what they pleased, for the help of themselves and their families, if they had any, as Indian corn, or such other provisions as they happened to have at the time to spare; and wool, &c., for clothing, but nothing certain or settled.

Finding a concern at this time [to visit Nantucket,] on the 13th day of the fifth month, about the tenth hour in the morning, we set sail for the said island in a shallop belonging to our friend Peleg Slocumb, and landed there the next morning about six. At our landing, we went to the house of the widow Mary Gardner; where, after some refreshment, came to us Nathaniel Starbuck, husband of Mary Starbuck, before mentioned, and his son of the same name; and we proposed to them to have a meeting that day; but there being a court to sit then by special commission, we found it improper at that time.

On the 15th we had a meeting at the house of Nathaniel Starbuck, the elder; which was pretty large and open, several of the people being tendered, and generally satisfied with what they heard and felt of the goodness and mercy of God.

On the 16th, being the first of the week, we had another meeting there; which was not so large as was expected, by reason of two priests, an elderly man and a young one; the first from the isle of Shoals, and the other from Martha's Vineyard, who had a meeting near us; the former being come to try if he could obtain a settled maintenance among that people: and several being curious to hear this new preacher in the Presbyterian way, it made our meeting something less than otherwise it might have been; yet it was considerably large, very open and encouraging; for the good presence of the Lord was with us.

Many of the inhabitants of this island are convinced of some points of the doctrine of Truth, and some of them have been reached



by the divine virtue and power of it; but some other things they do not yet see; and if there were no cross, would, in all appearance, come generally under our profession. Some few are for a priest, and to allow him some certain maintenance, for they walk not by faith but sight, but the majority is against it: so that one of these, not being able to effect his purpose, went home in a few days, but the other staid a little longer.

That afternoon we went about visiting several people at their houses, and they were generally very well pleased, kind, and respectful; but one justice Gardner, an ancient man, who had much sway in the affairs of the government of the island, soon after we went into his house, uttered some invectives and reproaches against Solomon Eccles, George Fox, and others of our friends.

He also told us, that thirty or forty years since, a Quaker at Salem denied that the body of Jesus Christ ever rose from the dead. I replied, "That is nothing to us, seeing we hold no such error, nor ever did, as a people, but deny all such holders and their tenets." Then Susannah Freeborn, one of our company, informed us what gave occasion to this report, and that it was one who had been denied by Friends before that time; so that we were not accountable for his error. I said to the justice, "I perceive thou hast long been convinced of Truth; but not liking the cross, thou hast laid hold on such trifling occasions and pretences as these, as excuses for thy disobedience, which will not cover thee in that day which is hastening upon thee, when no such fig-leaves will hide thee from the face of an all-seeing, all-knowing Judge;" and advising him to repent and return to the Truth, if not already too late, I left him.

On the 18th we had a large good meeting there among the people; and on the 19th another large good meeting at Nathaniel Starbuck's, the elder, his wife Mary, as before hinted, being the first in that island who had any regard to the way of Truth as among us; but now her three sons and daughters, and sons' wives, are all in a hopeful way to the knowledge of Truth, and liberty of the sons of God, with several other tender people at this time in that small island.

To this meeting came Thomas West, the elder of the priests aforesaid, and staid till I had done, though many things had been opened concerning the hiring priests, the merchants of Babylon, their doctrine and maintenance; yet I heard after the meeting, that he said, there was a good life and power in that meeting; but I having spoken of the universal grace of God, through Christ, unto mankind, he could not receive that

part, being prepossessed by false principles against it.

On the 21st we had a meeting at Stephen Hussey's, which, in the beginning of it was a little hard; but the Lord favouring us with his good presence, several were melted and tendered under the influence of the power of Truth before it was over, and it was a good meeting. That night I lodged there, and observed the woman of the house full of questions and fault-finding. The first thing she began with, was an expression she said I uttered in some former meeting, viz: To say that man may be saved in his sins by a bare belief of Christ's outward coming in the flesh, is a doctrine of devils. I did not remember the expression, but owned the thing to be true; and proved to her before the company, that without the inward work of the Spirit of Christ, nothing else can complete our salvation. The next morning she had folded down many leaves and places of Scripture about predestination, and I confuted the sense that sect commonly put upon them; showing her how she misunderstood and misapplied them; that she was seeking a false rest in her sins, and Christ without his cross, and knowledge without life; and answered all her questions, contrary to her desires or expectations; removing those perversions she had received upon divers Scriptures, both of the Old Testament and the New. At length, finding herself hedged round, and her way blocked up on every hand, she burst out into weeping, and endeavouring to hide it, went away a while, but came again, and we had some more discourse; but she could not say much then, being in tears again; and still loath to submit to the cross of Christ; she went and came several times, still striving against the Truth in herself and me, and at last was silent, and sighed deeply, till being quite still for a time, and new life springing in her soul, she became very gentle, loving, and sweet spirited, and would have had us stay longer. But being otherwise engaged, we returned to Nathaniel Starbuck's, the elder.

On this 23rd of the fifth month, being the first of the week, we had another large open meeting at Nathaniel Starbuck's, senior, where several were tendered and comforted; but it was a little exercising and painful to my body, for having a sore throat, and not willing to spare myself, I spit much blood in the time of my ministry. Esther Palmer and Susannah Freeborn being there, had good service. They were living ministers, and their testimonies reaching and affecting the people, all objections were removed against women's preaching without the labour of dispute or contention, or jar about it. One night before we returned



from this island my sleep was taken from me under a concern of mind for the settlement of a meeting there. And though there were two men under the profession of Truth among them, they had not been faithful, or of good report, but as stumbling blocks in the way of the weak, for they could not agree between themselves; and one of them was at odds with many of his neighbours; so that they were set aside. The chief instrument pointed to in my thoughts by the Truth for this service, when we should be gone, was Mary Starbuck, before mentioned, to whom I made it known; and in the opening and mind of Truth, laid a charge upon her to endeavour to have a meeting established in their family once a week at least, to wait upon the Lord, with all who were convinced of Truth in the neighbourhood, and in the island, as they had conveniency.

This she received with Christian gravity, and it affected her much, and became her concern. Having first mentioned it to the Friends who were with me, I proposed it likewise to her children, who were all discreet young men and women, most of them married and hopeful; being all convinced of Truth, they were ready to embrace the proposal. Then I advised them to wait sincerely upon the Lord in such meetings, for they had no instrumental teachers, and assured them that I had a firm confidence in the Lord, that he would visit them by his Holy Spirit in them in his own time, if they were faithful, and did not faint or look back. Accordingly, some time after we departed the island, they did meet, and the Lord did visit them, and gathered many there unto himself; and they became a large and living meeting in him, and several living and able ministers were raised by the Lord in that family, and of others, to the honour of his own arm, who is worthy for ever.

On the 24th of the fifth month we went on board a vessel in order to return, accompanied by several of our new and tender Friends, who provided plentifully for our voyage, and parted with us, and we with them, with great reluctance and tenderness. Being under sail, there came on a great fog, and the wind abating, it was almost dark before we arrived in the channel near Old Town, in Martha's Vineyard, an island between Nantucket and the Main, and we anchored there that night.

In the morning we went up to the town, and after some refreshment had a meeting in the afternoon. It was small but pretty open; we had another meeting next day: the truths of the gospel opened well in the life and power of it in good degree, and the people, though not Friends, seemed well satisfied; only one man

affirmed in the company, that I had said in the meeting, that water was the only thing proper for baptism; but his neighbour, who remembered the matter better than he, opposed him therein, for I had not said so; and meeting with him, I informed him what I had said, That water baptism is properly washing with water, or going into water; but water baptism being ended by the beginning or manifestation of the baptism of the Holy Spirit, as the dispensation of Christ in his church; that only remains in force to the end of the world: which none of them opposed.

After the meeting we set sail under a fair and fresh gale, and before it was dark, arrived safe in Tarpauling cove, where we had a good harbour till next morning, and then sailed for Dartmouth, where we arrived in the afternoon, and lodged that night at Peleg Slocumb's.

On the 28th we went to Warwick to a yearly meeting, which was to begin there the day following at the house of Benjamin Barton, and continued by adjournment to the meeting-house at Providence the next day, being the first of the week.

On the 31st I was at Greenwich at another meeting, where I was concerned to speak against divers enormities, and especially whispering, backbiting, traducing and vilifying, as the works of the evil one, and of the flesh; and after the meeting several persons went to Ebenezer Slocumb, an honourable and able minister of Truth, and made confession of things they had unjustly reported against him, asking his forgiveness. On the first of the sixth month I had a meeting at a new meeting-house in Narraganset. It was not large, but some persons were well satisfied and confirmed in their understandings against the pernicious doctrine of predestination, and for the sole baptism of the Holy Spirit.

On the 2nd we had a meeting in Conanicut, which was small, but tender and comfortable, and that evening I went over the Sound from this island to Newport on Rhode Island.

On the 3rd I was at their meeting, where likewise was Thomas Chalkley, and the Lord gave us a comfortable time in his good presence. I rested two days, and on the first-day of the week following we were both there again, and the meeting was in the main well: but an inconsiderate busy-body living thereabout, started up to preach when he ought not, and thereby altered the whole course of the meeting, and hurt the true and full service of it, to the grief of many, and my great burden in particular.

On the 8th we had a meeting at Taunton at an inn, a Friend having obtained leave of the inn-keeper the day before; and several



Friends coming with me to the place, we found the justice of peace there, as the tool of the priest, labouring with the inn-keeper to refuse us his house. But he proved to be a man of his word, telling the justice he had promised us his house for a meeting place for that time, and seeing he did not know of any law against it, he would not disappoint us. The priest was very angry, and threatened the inn-keeper; and he and the justice did what they could to hinder us. The priest having boasted some times before how he would confute the Quakers if any of them should come there, one Teasdale, a young man of the town, having a love for Friends, invited the priest to the meeting, telling him, that if he could, he had now a fair opportunity to confute us; which he did on purpose to expose the priest in his cowardice.

The meeting being set, there came a company of the baser sort of the people into the porch and entry of the house, and behaved themselves rudely by talking loud, and attempting to read some scurrilous, false, and libelous matters in an almanac, written by one Daniel Leeds of New Jersey, a rude, invidious apostate; but at my request a lawyer went to them and invited them to come and hear with attention, and if they had any thing reasonably and soberly to object after the meeting they might do it, and he heard; but that it looked rude and unmannerly to stand cavilling there, and opposing they knew not what, for they had not yet heard any thing to object to. The more sober sort came in and staid the meeting, and the landlord would not suffer the rest to come in and read the almanac; but told some of them who inveighed against him for letting us have a meeting in his house, that we had bespoke a dinner, and it was making ready, and if we had a mind to exercise some devotion in the mean time, we being a devout religious people, what was that to him or them? The meeting being fully gathered, in came the ancient, grave and weak justice, with a message from the priest, if not with words put into his mouth by him; and being uncovered, addressed himself to me to this purpose, "Sir, I do not approve of this; we have a pastor of our own, we need not strangers to teach us; neither ought any stranger to teach here without his leave among his flock."

Then said the lawyer, who was much our friend, "If they break any law you may prosecute them by the law;" but he knew they had no law then against our meeting. Then said I to the justice, "We know nothing of any pastor here, and we force none to hear us." He replied, "We cannot help your ignorance." I answered, "A man may be ignorant of that, and know more of the things

of God than your pastor. But as to the other point, 'where there is no law there is no transgression;' if we break any law, thou may use thy authority in prosecuting us; but if there is no law thou oughtest not to be displeased with us, or disturb us; for the law ought to be thy pleasure in all thy office, so far as it is according to the will of God; nor shouldest thou meddle without it."

Upon this the justice was willing to be going, saying, "I cannot dispute." Then I acknowledged his civility in retiring so peaceably, which was only into a closet adjoining the room where we met, where he staid all the time of the meeting. Many things were opened to the people, and several of them were tenderly affected under the testimony of Truth. But in the time of the meeting came in a very angry bigotted member of the priest, and violently forced his son, being a youth, out of the meeting with a rude voice; but the power of Truth being over all, so it continued to the end over all opposition, and the Lord, being with us, gave us a comfortable time in his good presence; the hireling pastor never appearing to save his flock. The meeting being over, the lawyer gave me thanks, as their manner is, for the good counsel given, as he called it, and went away very well satisfied.

Then came in an ancient man and asked me, "What Scriptures have you for women's preaching?" some of our preachers of that sex being there. I asked him again, "What is the reason of thy question? Dost thou ask it as presuming there is no authority for women's preaching, or to be better informed about it?" Upon this he was a little down, but recovering his assurance he said, "Paul permitted not a woman to speak in the church."

I replied, "That we ought not to interpret the apostle's words in that place so as to make him contradict them in another; for that would destroy his authority, and render his testimony null. But seeing he told the disciples in that day how women as well as men ought to be qualified and circumstanced, and how to behave themselves in the time of their public exercises of preaching and praying in their congregations, he could not be against all women's preaching in the church; but only against such who themselves wanted instruction. Besides, if women were not to appear so in the church, the prophecy of Joel could not be true and fulfilled; which consequence all Christians ought to guard against, and be cautious how they oppose the ministry of women more than of men, being alike included in this prophecy." Upon this the man was silent, and sat down.

But two of his sons being present, one of



them asked me, "How do you know that it is not a spirit of delusion which you are guided by, seeing God sends such a spirit upon men as well as a good spirit?" I answered, "That if he had known the Spirit of Truth, which leadeth into all truth, he would have known him to be a most self-evidencing Spirit; and when he appears in the heart, man cannot deny, but assent that he is Truth; and that the things which he manifests and requires his servants to declare, are true. But those who asked such questions knew him not, but were in darkness." Then I asked him, "By what medium does thou discover the sun in the open heavens?" but he made me no answer. Then I continued and said, "That as the sun is not to be seen or known but by his own light, neither is the Spirit of Truth, which is divine, eternal light, known or knowable but by himself; but is self-evident unto every eye which he hath opened, though the children of the darkness of this world do not know him. He who believeth hath the witness in himself; and he who hath not the Spirit of Christ, who is that Truth, is none of his. But as to God's sending a false spirit to deceive men, I know what thou means, as all such ignorants do, that none can be certain by what spirit they are led, whether truth or error; which is the same as to say that all mankind are in utter darkness, and must ever so remain." Then I demanded his proof. He instanced in the false prophets, mentioned in the first book of the kings of Israel, where it is said, "Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him: and the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth and do so. Now therefore behold, the Lord hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets; and the Lord hath spoken evil concerning thee." "Here," said he, "is a plain instance where God sent a lying spirit into the mouths of all the king's prophets, to delude and deceive him; and what hath been may be. How then can you be certain whether you are deluded or not? Whether led by a right or wrong spirit?"

I answered, "Ahab was a very wicked king, and did evil in the sight of the Lord above all who went before him, and yet the Lord suffered him to reign in his course. For the punishment of Ahab for the neglect of his duty, in not executing the will of the Lord upon Behdad, a wicked, boasting blasphemer, the man the Lord had appointed to utter

destruction, for his pride, injustice, and wickedness—and Ahab killing Naboth, and continuing in idolatry, filled up the measure of his wickedness; and then the Lord, by the prophet Elijah, denounced his heavy and just judgments upon him—and that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled upon Ahab, who trusted in his four hundred lying state prophets, he suffered a lying spirit to deceive them all, and himself also, to his final destruction.

"And as such false state prophets are always flatterers and deceivers of kings and great men of the earth, having their persons in seeming admiration, because of the interests, preferments, and advantages to themselves; so here we have a notorious instance of it, and in the behaviour of Zedekiah, the most impudent and chief-like of all these impostors, to Micaiah, the prophet of the Lord, smiting him on the cheek, with a lie in his mouth, before two kings, without reproof from either of them, especially not from Ahab his own prince; which partial indulgence and approbation is common with such rebellious persecutors, throughout all generations to this day.

"But this being a particular case, it no way follows that God sends a false spirit to deceive such as sincerely seek unto him for help, direction, and counsel, in the way of life and salvation; but on the contrary, inviteth all mankind to look unto the Lord himself, as he is the only true God, for salvation.

"Again, the apostle Paul, speaking of the Gentiles, and the means which God had afforded them for the knowledge of himself, and by which also they had once known the Lord, hath declared, 'That when they knew God, they did not glorify him as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened, and they degenerated into miserable idolatry: wherefore the Lord gave them up to their own lusts and vile affections; and even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient;' and then enumerates a large black catalogue of mortal sins, as the consequences of their apostacy from God, and knowledge of the Lord, which once they had.

"It was not therefore, nor is it, by any act of God, or sending a spirit of delusion into mankind, or any of them, that they are deluded, deceived, or misguided; but it is the natural consequence and fruit of their own neglects, acts, and doings. For the Lord Jesus Christ gives encouragement unto all to



come unto the Father for help; for after he had reasoned tenderly with his hearers after the manner of men, he draws this gracious conclusion, 'If ye then being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him.'

"By all which, duly considered, it appears that the Lord doth not send a spirit of delusion upon mankind, or any of them, to deceive them, without a cause in themselves, especially those who believe in him, and seek unto him for the help and guidance of his Holy Spirit; but for the punishment of the ungodly, leaving them to themselves and their own lusts for their punishment and destruction, when they have forsaken the Lord, and not that the Lord sends a lying spirit to deceive any before they have grievously offended him, as thou hast falsely suggested. But as for such as seek the Lord in sincerity and truth, desire after and love him, he hears their prayers, and grants them the greatest of all blessings, the manifestation of his Holy Spirit, to lead and direct them out of all evils and errors, into all righteousness, truth and salvation."

And finally, recommending this perverter to the consideration of what the apostle wrote to the Corinthians, "Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith; prove your own-selves: know you not your own-selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates," the whole matter ended, to the honour of Truth, and satisfaction of many present: and after refreshing ourselves at the inn, we went back that evening to Wiccoppsit.

On the 9th we went to the island of Cananicut, and lodged at William Anthony's; but calling at Samuel Hicke's in our way, we were staid there by a shower of rain, and in the mean time came in a Baptist teacher, who pleaded the necessity of the temporal sword in general, and the continuance of it under the gospel, as well as before, under the plea of the suppression of robbers, thieves, murderers, and other evil-doers; and when any one nation would unjustly invade another, and her rights, property, and privileges, and the like. So that since the magistrate and the king as chief, beareth not the sword in vain, it is not wholly taken away by the gospel, so long as magistracy and the cause and use of it remain.

To this I answered, "That the sword there mentioned is not, as I apprehend, the sword of destruction, nation against nation, nor the necessity of the use of such a sword in the civil state; but rather the sword of civil justice in execution of civil, temporal, and righte-

ous laws; whereby the civil magistrate is, or ought to be, 'a terror to the evil-doer,' and a safeguard 'and praise to them that do well.'"

He replied, "That if force by arms were not to be used in apprehending thieves, robbers, and the like, they would not submit to be apprehended and brought to justice, but go on by force to do those mischiefs."

To this I replied, "That magistracy being God's ordinance, to that and other good and salutary ends, the countenance of God is with the civil officer in his just prosecution and execution of his office; and the Almighty having power over all spirits, for the most part strikes a terror into evil-doers, when they are discovered and accused; so that it is very rare that any such resist the powers by force, but by stealth only; however, force may be allowed in this case, in the hand of a proper officer, whose business and duty it is to apprehend and bring to justice furious and incorrigible transgressors of the righteous laws and ordinances of men, for the just rule of countries and nations. But here I must distinguish between the kingdom of Christ, and the kingdoms of this world, in order to bring this matter to a right understanding and period. The Lord, by several of his prophets, hath foretold, that 'he shall judge among many people, and rebuke strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.' This is to come to pass under the new covenant, of which Christ the Son of God is Mediator; whose doctrine tends to the fulfilling of it, in all who believe and obey the gospel. For he saith, 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that hate you; and pray for them who despitefully use you, and persecute you;' and that we should not be angry without a cause, nor lust. He preached perfection, which being accomplished in the heart, by the holy powerful spirit of him who preached this doctrine, all lust is taken away and destroyed, whether it be the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, of vain-glory, of power, domination, self-exaltation, covetousness, the lust of envy, revenge, pre-eminence, and the like; which are the ground and cause of wars and fightings among carnal men, as saith the apostle James, 'From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not from hence, even from your lusts that war in your members? Ye lust and have not; ye kill and desire to have, and cannot obtain; ye fight and war, yet ye have not, because ye ask not.



Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss, that ye may consume it upon your lusts: ye adulterers and adulteresses, know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God? Now, though the kings and kingdoms of this world may be at war, and do and will make war one against another for a time, until the kingdom of Christ shall prevail over all, yet the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, as he said unto Pilate, 'If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is my kingdom not from hence.'"

To this he answered, "It was only at that time that they would not fight; for if they had fought he had not been delivered to the Jews to be crucified; and so his death and all the advantages of it to mankind hindered; but upon any other just occasion they might, and still may fight."

To this I replied, "That this interpretation, or rather perversion, of the Scripture would destroy the kingdom of Christ in the nature, infancy, and end of it; denying Christ to have a kingdom on earth, but only during his bodily presence with his disciples, and would obstruct the way for accomplishing the prophecies of the prophets before mentioned, and oppose the whole tenor and end of the gospel. For the proclamation of the celestial harbingers of the Prince of peace, in notifying the birth of the First-born into the world, for the salvation, not destruction of the lives of mankind, was after this manner, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth, peace, good will towards men.' And as he was sent into the world in the love of the Father, so the whole tenor of his doctrine and example of life, was for peace and love; and in that love, and the power and divine virtue of it, he yielded up his life and body on the cross, an adequate propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and to declare the mercy of God to all mankind. And it is evident that the Jews crucified Christ in defence and support of this same political principle and doctrine of self-defence by war and fighting, for the preservation of their state against the Romans; though their policy proved their utter ruin in the sequel. For, said they, after Christ had raised Lazarus from the dead, 'What do we? For this man doth many miracles; if we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him, and the Romans shall come, and take away both our place and nation.' This plainly demonstrates that the disciples and followers of Christ were not of fighting principles, but otherwise taught by him to love even their enemies; and his whole doctrine tended to mercy, peace, truth, and love. And the apostle saith concerning the

members and subjects of the kingdom of Christ in this world, 'For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh; for the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds, casting down imaginations, (or reasonings) and every high thing which exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ.'

"Again; 'Finally, my brethren be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might: put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil; for we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places: wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day; and having done (or overcome) all, to stand. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth; and having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace: above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; and take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God; praying always with all prayer and supplication in the spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance, and supplication for all saints.'

"As the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, he governs by his Holy Spirit, in such as are not of this world, but are given him out of the world; over whom, in all ages, he hath ruled in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; and shall yet reign, till by degrees, the 'kingdoms of this world shall all become the kingdoms of our God and his Christ.' Then shall be an end of all rule and dominion but that of God and the Lord Jesus, who shall be all in all among the children of men. But until this be finished by degrees, as it is now begun and proceeds, the kingdom of Christ on earth is, and shall be, as at the first, a holy nation, a royal priesthood, a peculiar people, zealous, not to fight and destroy, or to meddle with the kingdoms or rule of the world, but of good works; against whom there is no law founded upon righteousness and truth. But until this be accomplished, nation will lift up sword against nation, and they will learn and exercise war: but as to us, we, through the mercy and goodness of God, are of those in whom this prophecy is begun to be fulfilled, and we can learn war no more. For as a nation shall not be born in one day, so this prophecy shall not be fulfilled in one generation, but in seve-



ral; but being fulfilled, shall not fail any more for ever. As for you, who are yet in wars and fightings, how are ye his subjects, or members of his holy nation, his royal priesthood, or peculiar people? Or how can you be, until you obey his doctrine, to love God above all, to love one another in him, to love your enemies, do good unto them who hate you, and pray for them who despitefully use and persecute you?

"We who do not fight with carnal weapons, meddle not with you who do, otherwise than to persuade you to leave that off, and be enlisted under the saving banner of the Prince of peace; to believe in the divine light of the Son of God; to come out of the spirit of this world, in which is all trouble, into the Spirit and kingdom of Christ, in whom there is perfect peace. If ye will not do this, we must leave you to fight one with another, until you are weary, and have the recompense of it, one by another, in the natural consequences of that destructive evil; with this caution of the apostle nevertheless, 'That if you bite and devour one another, take heed lest ye be destroyed one by another.' I desire you to leave us to the Lord, to serve him unto whom we belong, and fight in his name, under his banner, against the enemy of our souls; against whom we find warring sufficient, and fighting enough daily, though we war not among you to destruction, nor one with another to the breach of peace."

By this time the spirit of my opponent was overcome, and he was much under for a while; but he began a discourse about water baptism, in which I found him subtle, but not weighty. We went through John's water baptism, and antichristian rantism; through dipping to sprinkling, and from the whole to the one only permanent baptism of Christ by the Holy Ghost, into one holy body the church; "which is his body, the fulness of him who filleth all in all." The particulars whereof I omit here, and closed the dispute on this manner: "That since the apostle Paul was the minister of the gospel to the Gentiles, and completely furnished with every qualification necessary to a gospel minister in so great an office, and yet had no commission to baptize with water, it is great vanity and presumption in any one in this age to pretend to it." This striking at the foundation of the image, he could not bear any longer, but hasted away, and we parted friendly; which I ever endeavour to do with all men, after every contest for the faith and doctrine of Christ; my chief aim being to convince and open the understandings of the auditors.

On the 10th I was at a monthly meeting for worship, at Portsmouth. It was an open

and good meeting, wherein the honest minded were comforted, but the hypocrites rebuked.

On the 12th I had an appointed meeting at Joseph Wanton's, which was not large, being a very rainy day, but a pretty good time through divine goodness.

On the 13th, being the first of the week, I was again at the meeting at Newport, which was large, and the best and most tender I was ever at there. The doctrine of the gospel opening large and clear, and Truth in full dominion, and reigning over all, many hearts were broken, some of whom were bold and hardy commanders of privateers, to the great honour and glory of the Lord; which happened at this expression in the authority of Truth: "Many there be, who are so courageous as men, that they dare go on undaunted in the face of great ordnance and cannon shot, as contemning death, and yet are subdued and laid prostrate by the soft and melting reaches of that divine love in their hearts, in which the Lord Jesus laid down his precious life for the redemption of their souls."

On the 14th I went over to Boston-Neck, where I met again with Thomas Chalkley, who this last week had been visiting Narraganset; and we having a meeting appointed in our way homeward, were there the day after. It was an open, good meeting, wherein many were comforted and confirmed in the Truth; and after this we went on our way, about ten miles, to Samuel Perry's, and there lodged.

On the 16th we went thence to an inn near Seabrook ferry, where we lodged; and the day following proving very rainy and heavy riding, we put in at Killingsworth, where, in my first journey I had a dispute with an old priest, but had no discourse with any of the people at this time, they all being now silent. We set forward, but the rain returning, we stopped in Guilford, where being made sensible of the operation of Truth, and the love of it springing in my heart, I waited to know the mind of the Lord therein, and found a concern for a meeting in that place, with which I acquainted Thomas Chalkley, who liking the proposal, I told the inn-keeper, we desired to see some of the more sober sort of the place, and have a meeting with them. But he apprehending that the magistrates, by means of their minister, might blame him, and do him some injury for letting us have a meeting in his house, as is common with them in such cases, I desired him to put some he could trust upon giving notice among the neighbourhood, that there were some Quakers there, and that would draw them, and so we might have an opportunity with them; for though as to ourselves we feared not any



thing they could do, yet we were cautious lest we should draw our landlord into blame, or hazard of his license to keep an inn, which they might have deprived him of on that account. This took with him, for he was a frank-tempered man, and no enemy to us, and accordingly there came pretty many young men in the evening, and I put the landlord upon acquainting some of them privately with our inclinations to have a meeting, to which they were very ready; and then I stood up and informed them openly what we desired, and they were all willing. I told them our way is to sit in silence, to wait upon God, until he might please to open something in our understandings for the auditory; so we all sat still. The Lord having prepared my heart, I was quickly ready, and had a very open acceptable time among them; but not being long, Thomas Chalkley concluded the meeting in prayer, and some of the people declared openly their satisfaction with what had been said; and we had great peace in the Lord. We lodged there that night, and on the 18th went forward to Stratford, where, at the inn, in the next room to us, was a very rude company of the professors, Independents or Presbyterians of that place, who kept almost in continual laughter and folly. As we were at supper our landlady and a young woman came in, and the young woman addressing herself very modestly to us, said, "I have often heard of your people and profession, but have never seen any of you before, and I would be heartily glad to have some discourse with you about your principles; for I desire to know the Truth, and to follow it." Then said I, 'Remember what the Lord Christ said, 'Wo unto them that laugh now, for they shall mourn;' and what the wise man said, 'It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of mirth.'" Adding, that God was about to turn the world upside down, that that which is uppermost may be brought undermost, and that which is lowest may be exalted above all; and this put them both to deep and solid silence. There are a sort of people in the world, who profess to believe in Christ the Son of God, yet live jovial, airy, wanton, unconcerned, unmortified lives, and know no cross to their own wills, but live and die in their sins; and yet dream of salvation at last, though under woes from Christ, the Saviour of all who believe in, follow and obey him. As man's own lusts reign in him, in his natural state, and the evil one ruleth him therein, and is uppermost, so the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, and crucified in Sodom and Egypt, the dark, ignorant, and depraved hearts of wicked and ungodly mankind

lies undermost in themselves; but the Father of all, by his divine Light and Almighty power, is come, and coming more and more, to destroy the kingdom of darkness and ignorance, and the power of it, and to advance and establish the kingdom and reign of Christ the Lord in the hearts of mankind, of the increase of whose kingdom, government, and peace, there shall be no end. It growing late, we soon after retired to our bed-chamber, recommending them to the Lord.

On the 19th we went on to Mamaroneck, where we arrived late in the evening, and the next day, being the first of the week, we came in time to the meeting at West-Chester, which was small but comfortable: after which we went to visit John Forrest's family, his wife, son, and daughter being ill, and that evening we went over the Sound into Long Island.

On the 21st we went to Flushing, where, being well received, and kindly entertained, we staid till the next day, and then had a meeting at Jamaica, which was small but comfortable. And here we went to visit our friend Samuel Bownas, still a prisoner for the testimony of Truth, by the lawless arbitrary imposition of that government under the administration of Edward Hyde, commonly called Lord Cornbury, an unreasonable and unjust persecutor.

On the 24th were at their week-day meeting at Flushing, which was large and well, and on the 25th went to William Mott's, at Great Neck, where the Lord favoured us with a comfortable meeting. On the 26th, being the seventh of the week, we were at the quarterly meeting at Westbury, which held two days, and was very large and well, only some of the ranters in that island came and made a howling and hideous noise, as is common with them, and thereby gave the meeting some uneasiness; but all ended in great quietness and peace.

On the 28th I went to New York, and the day after had a good and comfortable meeting there; and though I had heard two months before I went from home, that Lord Cornbury had threatened, if ever I should come into his government he would confine me for some words falsely alleged to have been spoken by me in my testimony some time before in Maryland, about the national church of England, her sacraments, order and catechism; yet I did not go one step out of my way, nor at all shun him about it, either in my going into New England, or now in my returning, though the common talk in those parts was, that a warrant was lodged in the sheriff's hand against me, at whose house I was several times; yet the Lord preserved me free, to the service and honour of the blessed Truth.

On the 30th we set forward for Philadel-



phia, and the same day got into East-Jersey, and the next day we rode fifty miles, to Burlington. On the 1st of the seventh month we reached Philadelphia, where, that evening, and the next two days, I felt more oppression of the Seed of life in my mind than in all my travels among the blind professors and savages of New England; the cause whereof may the Lord himself discover, reprove, judge, and amend, as in his wisdom and goodness it may please him, to his own glory: to whom, for his mighty aid, many preservations, and great love in this journey, be immortal honour, saith my soul. Amen.

Having finished my journey to New York, Long Island, Rhode Island, and New England, on the 1st of the seventh month, 1704, I settled to the business of my offices at Philadelphia; in the mean time visiting meetings in town and country, as occasion offered, until the 14th day of the second month, 1705; and then I went from Philadelphia, in order to visit Friends in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, and next day was at Concord meeting, where the Truth was over all, and things were well.

On the 17th we arrived at William Pecket's in the afternoon; who, though not under the profession of Truth, yet was zealous for it. He received us kindly; and after some discourse with him about a meeting to be next day at his house, he was very willing, and sent his servants several ways to give notice in the country. In the mean time he told me of some discourses which had happened among the people in those parts since I had been there before. For in a great meeting on that side the bay, I had reminded the members of the national church of England, sincerely wishing the eternal salvation of all who bear that name, of what they call their baptismal vow and promise, made in so solemn a manner before God and man, when they are sprinkled, which they think is their baptism. For they promise and vow three great things by themselves or sureties; 1st, To renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanity of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh. 2ndly, To believe all the articles of the Christian faith. And 3rdly, To keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of their lives. This they are taught by their priests to believe is their duty; and as by their public confession, [in the service] they had broken all those promises and vows, and from being made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, in their baptism, have so far renounced it, and are so far fallen and degenerated from that state, as to have erred and strayed from the

ways of the Lord like lost sheep; followed too much the devices and desires of their own hearts; offended against the holy laws of God; left undone those things which they ought to have done, and done those things which they ought not to have done; so that there is no health in them, but are miserable sinners; and so, from time to time, year to year, to the end of their days still go on in the same way, and yet call Christ the Son of God, their Lord and Saviour, and God their Father, though they live and die in their sins, and are not saved from them if this confession be true. Therefore it might justly be charged upon them by the Almighty Creator, and Judge of the world, as perjury in his sight; and for that cause, and in zeal for their salvation, and if possible to awaken them from this deep sleep of sin, I had cried aloud in that meeting, "O sinful nation! O perjured people! how greatly dost thou provoke the Most High, by so great apostacy and departure from the living God? how canst thou answer the Lord in that day which is hastening upon thee as the wings of a glorious morning?" Exhorting them to repent, amend, return to the Lord, and perform their vows, with all diligence and sincerity, that so their great sins might be pardoned, blotted out, and remembered no more. And William Pecket informed me that John Hall, a man of eminence in that country, and a member of the national church at that time, and some others, had been at that meeting, and were offended with what I had said, and that he had invited him to this meeting, which was held at William Pecket's, according to appointment, where all were still and attentive, and we were favoured with divine goodness.

After this meeting I inquired of John Hall, what it was he and some others had taken offence at in that meeting some time before? And it was chiefly what is before related, and that they thought I had said, if a man was once in a good state, it was impossible to fall from it. As to the first, I had said no more in effect than William Perkins, a learned minister of the church of England had written, William Pecket happening to have the book by him, in his Exposition of Christ's sermon upon the mount, page 151, which appears in these words: "Having showed what perjury is, with the kinds thereof, let us see whether we be free from it. After examination it will appear that men's lives are full of perjury; for where there is much swearing usually, there cannot but be much perjury; because they who swear in their common talk do forget their oaths, as they do their communication. But say we are clear from perjury, yet are we in danger of God's heavy judgments, for the breach of our vow in baptism; wherein we promise to



believe in God, to serve him, forsaking the world, the flesh and the devil. Now, the breach of this vow is as ill as perjury; for therefore may baptism be called a sacrament, because of the oath and vow which a Christian maketh to God therein: for the word sacrament properly betokeneth the oath which the soldier maketh to the captain for his fidelity. The breaking of Joshua's oath unto the Gibeonites, by Saul, caused three years dearth, and was not satisfied but with the blood of seven of Saul's kindred. And Zedekiah's perjury to the king of Babel, was one cause of the Lord's fierce wrath against Jerusalem and the princes thereof. Now, shall one man's perjury cause such judgments, and shall we not think, that among other sins, this our perjury unto God, in breaking our vow in baptism, bringeth upon us God's heavy wrath, by plague, famine, and unseasonable weather? Wherefore, let the consideration hereof persuade us to temperance, and a more conscionable care of performing our vow unto God."

"Thus this learned and religious author of the church of England makes the breach of their baptismal vow plain perjury, or full as bad, incurring the wrath and judgments of God; and if so, then O perjured England! In saying whereof, you may see I said nothing in that meeting, on that head, but what a famous minister of your own church had said and written long before; and you are not yet reformed, but still remain the same, or like miserable sinners.

"And as to your alleging I said, If a man were once in a good state, it was impossible to fall from it, I did not say so; for that would have contradicted what went before; and I have ever been of another judgment. And besides, that would have been contrary to the known testimony of the Scriptures; for Adam and Eve were once in a good state, yet fell from it: and the author to the Hebrews teacheth, that 'it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come, if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame.' And again, 'For if ye sin wilfully, after that ye have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries.' So that you have all mistaken what I delivered in that meeting, and have not done well to lie under it so long, but should have told me of it then." They owned that, and I added,

"1st; That if mankind in their infancy were members of Christ, they were without sin; for 'he is holy and separated from sinners;' and is not head of a sinful unclean body, but of a pure holy body, the church, 'which is his body, the fulness of him, who filleth all in all.'

"2ndly; He who is a child of God, is born of God; 'and he who is born of God sinneth not, nor can do so; for the Seed of God remaineth in him, and he cannot sin.'

"3rdly; He who renounceth the devil and all his works, at the eighth day of his age, or sooner, according to your canon, renounces all sin, for all sin is of the devil. And if he forsakes all sin at that age, he never sins at all if this be true.

"4thly; He who keeps God's holy will and law, and commandments, and walketh in the same all the days of his life, never sinneth. And if all this be done, it is perfection indeed.

"5thly; He who believeth all the articles of the Christian faith, cannot err in faith; but seeing faith is not man's acquisition, but the gift of God, no man can procure it for himself, much less can he procure or falsely engage it for another. But if it were true that all this were had upon your baptism, as ye call it, in your infancy, then see what a miserable and dreadful state ye are fallen into; for after all this, even in your old age, instead of renouncing the devil and all his works, you [confess that you] have erred from the way of God like lost sheep; and it is the spirit of error, not of Christ, which leads mankind astray from God, for the Spirit of Christ leadeth into all Truth.

"6thly; You say that you have offended against the holy laws of God, and such offences are not of Christ, but of antichrist: you have left undone those things which you ought to have done, and done those things which you ought not to have done; and from members of Christ and children of God, you are become miserable sinners: so that if that be true which ye pretend to in your baptism, how great is your fall! He who is an inheritor, is in possession of the inheritance, and enjoyeth it, as he who is only an heir waiteth in expectancy, until the time of inheriting shall come. If then ye had been inheritors, that is, possessors, of the kingdom of heaven in your infancy, with Christ and his holy angels, you must now needs be fallen from heaven, and from Christ, and from the company of the holy angels of God, with the apostate angels, and in communion with them, by your own assertion. How then shall you be restored, being as the withered branches, out of your own mouths condemned, cut off from the body of Christ, from being members of him? For the members of



Christ, while such, are not miserable sinners, but are redeemed from all iniquity by the life of Christ, and purified as a peculiar people unto God, zealous of good works, and not devoid of saving health; but healed by Him, who is the health of all nations, to be testified in due time. But the doctrine ye are taught cannot be true; ye are not regenerated nor born again in your rantism, as you ignorantly imagine; your dark and blind leaders have caused you thus to err, and lead you thus astray; for if you had then been born again of the incorruptible Seed and Word of God, so many gross sins would not now be reigning in you, since he that is born of God sinneth not."

To this purpose was what I had said, and now repeated to them, who did not contradict any thing, but were very kind; and John Hall in particular told me, that though he had been blamed for suffering a meeting in his house, yet he had stood his ground over them who did so, having a right to entertain in his own house, such sober persons and neighbours as he thought fit. I parted with the company in very good friendship after some more conversation with other strangers, who had also been in this meeting.

That evening we went forward and lodged at John Hay's, he and his wife being friendly, and on the 19th had a meeting at Patapsco; we were favoured with a sensible degree of divine life with us, but not in such aboundings as at some other times. There had been several lately convinced in those parts, and particularly Richard Cromwell, who had been a justice of the peace, and having been convinced of Truth the last time I was that way, he stands nobly, having divested himself of all those troubles attending that office, and other incumbrances in the way of true religion. On the 22nd, being the first of the week, we were at West-River meeting, which was shut up and hard in the beginning of it; but at the pleasure of him who openeth, and none can shut, and when he shutteth, none can open the way and fountain of life, Truth broke through at last, and all was well and comfortable. After the meeting we went up to Samuel Galloway's, his wife lying very ill; with whom, and the family and some Friends, we had an open comfortable time in prayer, the love of God and his good presence being plentifully with us; and she was much refreshed, saying, That though the Lord had not been wanting to her, yet she had not had such a season of his goodness for about six months before.

On the 26th I went to West-River meeting, which was very comfortable; and on the 27th I had an appointed meeting at Herring creek, which was likewise very open, and Friends

generally satisfied. On the 29th, being the first of the week, we had a meeting beyond the river Patuxent, where no meeting is settled, nor had there been any in that place but once before. It was indifferently large, being at an out-settlement, and was quiet and well.

On the 1st of the third month the quarterly meeting being at Samuel Chew's, we were there: it was well and open, and on the 6th, being the first of the week, we had a comfortable meeting at the meeting-house at the Cliffs, the powerful and blessed Truth being over all.

On the 7th we went to Patuxent, and the day following had a meeting at the meeting-house there; and on the 9th had a meeting at the Cliffs. On the 10th had a meeting about three miles beyond the river Patuxent, near Benedict-town, where there had not been any before, nor anywhere near it, many of the people in those parts being Papists. It was not large nor open, but rather dark and heavy, yet quiet; and many truths of the gospel were delivered to them, as the Lord gave utterance, and we left all friendly.

Henry Child having come with me as my companion from the Cliffs, we set forward after this meeting, accompanied by several Friends, about half an hour after three, in order for Virginia. It rained fast all the way, with lightning and thunder, and we got to a house near Cedar-Point, on Potomac river, about eight in the evening, all thoroughly wet, and weary with our heavy clothes; but having very good quarters, we were well refreshed by the morning, and though plentifully entertained, our clothes dried, and horses taken care of, yet the master and mistress of the family would not receive any recompense from us for it. And he added to this civility; for this hospitable person, by himself and servants, set us over the river next day, about seven miles, and up a creek, in his own boat, and all free, only what we could persuade him to suffer his servants to receive as a gratuity for their extraordinary pains.

On the 13th, being the first of the week, had a meeting about a mile and a half in our way, at the house of one Benjamin Berryman. It was not large, but Truth was over all, and the people were very loving and respectful. That night we lodged with a Friend, who sent one with us next day to guide us to our friend Elizabeth Wilson's, about forty miles. Our guide not being perfect in the way, we missed it several times, and were almost swamped twice; but through good Providence we arrived safe there in the evening, where we had good reception and accommodations.

The 15th proving very wet, we staid till about the second hour afternoon, and being then fair we set forward, with a guide to Ma-



tapony river, about four miles, and on the other side we missed our way; but about nine we arrived safely at Charles Fleming's, beyond Pamunkey river, about twenty-six miles in all, where we were kindly received, and the next morning he sent notice of a meeting to be at the meeting-house called Black-Creek.

According to appointment the meeting was held on the 17th. It was not large nor open; but appointing a meeting there the next day, it was larger, and a good meeting, the truths of the gospel opening fully, to general satisfaction.

On the 19th went to a monthly meeting at William Porter's, and had some service there. On the 20th, being the first of the week, we were at Curles' meeting, which was large and well, and that night and the next we rested at Jane Pleasant's. On the 22nd we had a meeting at James Howard's, which was pretty large, and things opened well, and the people were sober, so that we had a comfortable time among them.

On the 23rd, in the morning, we set forward with a guide to James's river, and got well over at Merchant's Hope; proceeding thence, we missed our way, but growing uneasy, and observing the course of our way to alter, we turned into a by-road, and coming to a plantation, found our error; but being directed by a planter, we got well that evening to Benjamin Chapman's, near fifty-six miles. On the 24th we had a meeting there, which, for the time, was pretty large, and very open and well.

On the 25th we had a meeting at Levy-Neck, but not large, nor very open; on the 27th, being the first of the week, we went to the meeting at Chuckatuck, which was indifferent large and open; but as I was speaking, there came a very strong and sudden blast of wind upon the broadside of the house, and the door being open, the house was thereby the more in danger, and sensibly moved by the violence of the storm. Many of the people were surprised, and some went out; but the power of Truth being over all fear in me, I continued speaking, advising the people to be still; and the meeting being quieted and settled, the Truth came over the assembly. The storm abating in a short time, many drew nearer, and were very attentive; for the matter was weighty, it being concerning the coming of Christ in the flesh, his office, and end of his coming, both outwardly and inwardly, as a sacrifice for sin, and destroyer of the kingdom of Satan in all who believe; and the meeting ended comfortably. Several trees were broken by the violence of the storm, but no other hurt done there.

On the 29th we had a meeting at the West-

ern branch of Nansemond, which was pretty large and very open; and on the 30th at the Southern branch; which was not large, but open. There Henry Child, who had hitherto been with me from Maryland, returned homeward; and I went that evening with Nathan Newby towards Carolina. On the 3rd we had a meeting at his house, which was not large, but comfortable.

On the 1st of the fourth month I went to Carolina, about fifty computed miles, to Gabriel Newby's; and on the 3rd day following, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Perquimans, which was large and comfortable. On the 5th had a meeting at our friend John Barrow's, at Yawpin, beyond the river; and that evening returned with Francis Tomins. On the 6th, being very rainy, and exceeding bad way, I went down to Little river, and lodged that night with Thomas Simons. On the 7th we had a monthly meeting at Caleb Bundie's, at New-begun-creek, in Pasquotank; where the Lord gave us a very open and comfortable time in his good presence.

On the 8th we had another meeting, which was likewise comfortable. On the 9th we went over the creek in the morning to Emanuel Low's, and returned thence to Joseph Jordan's, in order to settle a meeting place; which being done by the concurrence of several of the most competent Friends, we returned to Emanuel Low's, where we met with the governor of North Carolina, with whom I had much discourse about matters of government, and informed him of the methods taken by some in other governments, in favour of us against the severity of some laws; and found him very inclinable to favour us so far as could be consistent with his office.

On the 10th, being the first of the week, we went over the river Pasquotank, about four miles, to a meeting at the house of our friend William Ross, which was large, many of the country people being there, who were generally sober; and the Lord opened the truths of the gospel very clear, and with authority. On the 11th the Lord favoured us with a very open comfortable meeting, at Little river; and on the 12th we were at Upper Perquimans; which was the best and most powerful meeting I had in that country.

On the 14th I was at the monthly meeting at Chuckatuck, in Virginia, which was very large, and the whole public exercise of it fell on me. On the 15th we had another meeting there, which was also large; and many things opening in my testimony concerning government and the duty of magistrates, according to the Holy Scriptures; I understood afterwards there were three in that station present,



who came to me after the meeting was over, and were very respectful; though the priests and people, who buy and sell, and make merchandize concerning matters of religion, were sharply reprimanded.

On the 17th, being the first of the week, I went back to Nathan Newby's, about twenty miles, to a meeting appointed there; which was large and open, truth being over all, to its own glory. After this meeting, in our return towards Robert Jordan's, the company was overtaken with the greatest storm of lightning, thunder, and rain, that ever I remember, insomuch that the fire and water seemed to be commixed in their descending upon us, and the thunder so sharp and sonorous, and so near, as if it had been bombs splitting among us. I being the second in the company, looked back several times to see if any were slain behind; and it was attended with a stifling smell of sulphur. The storm abating a little, it was quickly renewed with equal show of terror; so that we had it for the space of about eight miles in the first, and three in the latter, in a very dreadful manner; but the Lord preserved us from all harm. And though I was a little concerned at the first approaches of such terrible threatenings by an irresistible Power, though from natural causes; yet feeling the Creator near, who ordains it, and that his all-ruling authority was above and over it and all things, I was much comforted in him, in the time of the most apparent danger: for which I was greatly thankful to the Lord, and for our preservation; for we observed that several great trees had been shattered to pieces by it. We got safely to Robert Jordan's that evening; but another storm, with much thunder and rain, coming on in the night, awakened the family, and some of them were much terrified, the thunder breaking out near the house; but upon my retiring inward, I had great peace in the good presence of the Lord, and his holy love ejected all fears.

On the 19th had a meeting at Benjamin Small's, near that place, which was large and open, several points of doctrine, especially baptism, and redemption from sin in this life, being cleared to demonstration; and several magistrates being there, all was quiet and satisfactory.

On the 20th I was at a meeting at Dirasconneck, which was pretty large, but in the beginning of it something hard and dark, till the divine and powerful truth arose as the sun, and dispelled the thick clouds and fog. In the time of silence my mind having been exercised about the multitude of religions professed by mankind at this day, and how remote they all are, save one, from the truth,

the first thing I had to say was this: "What religion art thou of, friend?" And my face being directed at the time towards a person of some distinction, several thought I had spoken only to him; but upon this followed proper matter, and a distinction between names and things; that false names are often imposed upon true things, and good names given to bad things, with respect to matters of religion. And among other things I had occasion to speak of a necessity of freedom from sin in this life, in order to fit us for the kingdom of God. As soon as I sat down, the same man stood up and offered some opposition to some part of what I had said; but I desired him to be silent at that time, for our meeting was not over; and he sat down quietly. Then another Friend stood up and preached truth; and during that time I perceived this opposer was as a snake in fair colours, lying as hid in the grass, to wait an opportunity to bite and vent his venom: and the Friend having finished, I concluded the meeting in prayer. Then this opposer stood up again, and directing to me, said, "Sir, I have heard you with much attention, and you have delivered many very good things: do you mean by freedom from sin in this life, such a freedom, as that a man never sins after he hath embraced the Christian religion?"

I answered, "No; for as all are liable to be tempted after they have believed in Christ, and known something of the work of conversion, a man may sin, if he adheres to the temptation of the adversary; but if he continueth to follow the Spirit of Truth, which leadeth into all truth, he sinneth not after he is converted; but through the grace of God, come by Christ the Lord, may live a holy, righteous, and sinless life, to the end of his days in this world."

"I ask you then," said he, "did ever the apostle Paul sin after he was a minister, and converted?"

I answered, "That is not a proper question to ask me concerning a person so eminent, departed this life so many hundred years ago, and to whose secret failings, if any he had, I was never privy; but if I may judge of him by his doctrine, as I think I ought, and that he was one in conversation and attainment with what he preached unto others, I may justly conclude, he lived free from sin, from the time of his conversion to his dying day."

He replied, and said, "I prove out of the word of God, (pulling out a Bible) and from the apostle's own words, that he was a sinner after he was an apostle." Then said I, "Who art thou? Of what communion professing the Christian religion?" for I perceived by his accent he was a Frenchman by nation.



He replied, "I am in communion with the church of England, and am a minister of that church." "Dost thou then, said I, here in this auditory, many of whom are of the same communion with thyself, charge the apostles of Christ with sin?" "Yea," said he, "the apostles were sinners after they were converted, and at the same time when they were ministers of Christ, as I shall prove by the seventh chapter of Paul's epistle to the Romans, and first chapter of the first epistle of John." Then he read, "For we know that the law is spiritual; but I am carnal, sold under sin: for that which I do, I allow not; for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I." Again; "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us."

I answered, "It is not to be admired that the people are so ignorant, who have such blind guides: but the saying of Christ is now again fulfilled in this generation, as it was among the Jews who crucified him; 'If the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall in the ditch.' I have told the auditory already, in the testimony I have borne among you, that the apostle in that epistle to the Romans, was not speaking of the state which himself or any of the apostles were in at that time when he was writing it; but personating and representing the state of the Jews under the law, and of mankind in general under the fall of the first Adam,—in whom all mankind were virtually included at the time of his transgression—before they came to the belief and knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ, the second Adam, and Saviour of all. For in that epistle the apostle proves that both Jews and Gentiles were under sin; the Gentiles by breaking the law written in their hearts, and the Jews by transgressing the law of God by Moses: so that the transgressing Jews and Gentiles were all alike sinners in the sight of God, the Creator and Judge of the world; and more especially the Jews, as having had the knowledge of the law of God, both inwardly and outwardly, and had transgressed both dispensations, by which their sins were aggravated; so that every mouth is stopped, and all the world become guilty before God: for God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all. Again; the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them who believe.

"But are mankind still to remain in their sins to the end of their days, and inherit the kingdom of God at last? No surely; for if we live and die in our sins, whither Christ is gone we cannot come. Though all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God,

yet being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; this redemption is not, by any means, consistent with sin, but contrary to it; for Christ came not to save us in our sins, but from them; and sin being the cause both of defilement and condemnation, until that is taken away there can be no redemption or salvation.

"It was not the hearers only of the law who were just before God; but the doers of the law should be justified; and by their fruits men are to be known. And saith Christ the Lord, 'Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father who is in heaven.' The workers of iniquity, though they have prophesied in his name, and cast out devils, and done many wonderful works, will be disowned at last, and commanded to depart. And it is the hearer and doer of the sayings of Christ who shall stand upon the rock when the time of trial shall come; and every one who heareth the sayings of Christ and doeth them not, is on the sandy foundation, and all his building shall fall, and be destroyed with great destruction in the end.

"The advice and doctrine of the apostle James is, that we be doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving our ourselves; and faith without works is dead. The Son of God hath said, speaking of the law and of the prophets, 'Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven; but whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven.' He closeth that chapter of his excellent and most moral doctrine, with this preceptory exhortation, 'Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father who is in heaven is perfect.' Such therefore who are perfected, through the eternal Word who preached this doctrine, shall be settled and established in Him, and with Him, for ever in heaven; when such as assume to teach others, and act contrary to the doctrines they preach, or teach mankind to sin against God, and break the least of his commandments, either by doctrine, disputation, or evil example, shall be condemned and excluded."

This enraged the priest to a great degree; and then he repeated his charge against the apostle Paul with vehemence, saying, "He speaks in the present tense, I am, I do, I do not: 'I am carnal, sold under sin; for that



which I do, I allow not; for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I; and so on to the end of that chapter. So it is clear that the apostle was in sin at that time. 'So then,' saith he, 'with the mind, I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh, the law of sin.'

To this I answered, "That though the apostle, according to the holy Scriptures, convinceth all men of sin, yet in great part of that epistle he preacheth perfect and absolute freedom from sin, through Christ, even in this present world. In the beginning of the sixth chapter of that epistle, he saith, 'Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid. How shall we, who are dead to sin, live any longer therein?' And then, alluding to the death and resurrection of Christ, which was absolute and perfect, he draws this comparison, 'that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life. Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. For he who is dead is freed from sin.' And still prosecuting the same doctrine throughout all that chapter, he adds, 'For in that he (Christ) died, he died unto sin once; but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God. Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin; but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' Again, 'When ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness; but now, being made free from sin, and become servants of God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.' In all which he speaks in the present and preterperfect tense, as of a state already attained by many of the disciples of Christ, through faith in his holy and powerful name.

"The apostle still proceeding in the same doctrine, in the beginning of the seventh chapter, but under another similitude, alluding to marriage, saith, 'Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ, that ye should be married unto another, even unto him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God: for when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death: but now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held; that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter.' And in the next chapter he further explains this, where he saith, 'The carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God,

neither indeed can be: so then they that are in the flesh cannot please God; but ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now, if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.'

"The apostle having clearly finished the glorious and most comfortable doctrine of present redemption from sin, he resumes, in the seventh chapter, to speak of the state of the Jews, as hath been said, under the law only, and not of the condition, either of himself, or of any other under the gospel. In the first place, in the latter end of the seventh chapter, he gives thanks unto God for his deliverance from the wretched state of sin and body of death, through Jesus Christ our Lord. And secondly, confirms his doctrine in the eighth chapter, saying, 'There is therefore now no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit: for the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death; for what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and [as a sacrifice] for sin, condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit: for to be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace.' Now, whosoever contradicteth himself in testimony, destroyeth his own credit, and renders his evidence void. If therefore the apostle should, in the seventh chapter, contradict the doctrine he preaches in the sixth and in the eighth, he would have rendered his doctrine null to all men of understanding, distinguishing things that differ. And to be sold under sin, and under captivity to the law of it, and to be free from that law of sin at the same time, is a contradiction in matter and terms, and ought not to be admitted in favour of sin by any Christian, against so great an apostle and minister of the Lord Jesus. But such impostors and deceivers as plead, wrangle and dispute, and contend for sin term of life, and salvation in the end, cannot themselves be innocent, but even therein sin against God, and as far as they can, propagate and advance the kingdom of satan, in opposition to the kingdom of Christ in mankind, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God; and wrest some places of this seventh chapter to the Romans, and other Scriptures, not only to their own destruction, but of those also, who, through the lusts of the flesh, eyes, and pride of life, believe and follow them. For the apostle, in this chapter, is not preaching up the power of sin, which



hath no power in itself without the law, but the weakness of the law against sin, which it only discovers, but cannot destroy."

The priest was again in a rage, therein repeating his charge against the apostle John, where he saith, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us;" but did not offer any comment or argument upon this text, as supposing it sufficiently cogent of itself to prove his charge, which he again and again insisted upon and repeated.

Then I replied, "Thou hast already brought thy charge, and we all understand it without repetition; it is to maintain sin term of life, by a misapplied text of the first epistle of the apostle John; and that no man ought to pretend to obtain freedom from sin while in this world. Thou hast brought in the apostles of Christ, the best and most perfect of men, not only guilty of sin, but living in it, and preaching it, that thereby thou mayst fortify and establish thyself in thy own sins, against the plainest convictions of truth in full and plain contradiction to thy false charges. But let this apostle be heard for himself and Truth."

Then I observed to the auditory, "That this apostle, in his general epistle, begins first with the testimony which himself and the rest of the apostles had borne of God to the people, when first sent unto them, that is, to the Word of Life, which is Christ in Spirit, and to God, 'that he is Light, and in him is no darkness at all.' Secondly, he proceeds to set forth the sinful and ignorant state mankind were in when the apostles were first sent to them, as in this doctrine, 'If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us;' which is explained in the tenth verse thus, 'If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.' That is, as we are men under the fall, in the first Adam, before we know Christ the second Adam, and redemption from sin by him; if in that state we say we have no sin, or have not sinned, we deceive ourselves and lie against the truth, and give God the lie too, who hath declared he hath sent his Son to redeem and save us from our sins, if we had not sinned at all. But the apostle proceedeth, and saith, 'If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' And to set forth the liberty of the sons of God, and freedom from all sin and evil, both in this world and in that which is to come, the apostle further adds in the sequel of this epistle, 'He that saith he abideth in him, (Christ,) ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked.' And wilt thou say that Christ walked in any sin?"

"Again, 'I have written unto you, fathers,

because ye have known him that is from the beginning: I have written unto you, young men; because ye are strong, and the word of God abideth in you, and ye have overcome the wicked one.' Fathers in Christ are not in sin as such; for the keeping of the commandments of God is their evidence and assurance that they know him. Neither are young men in him overcome of sin, when they have overcome the wicked one, the author of it, through the divine power of the Word of Life, which abideth in them. 'Let that therefore abide in you, which ye have heard from the beginning. If that which ye have heard from the beginning shall remain in you, ye also shall continue in the Son, and in the Father.' And as there is no sin in the Son, nor have sinners, while such, any communication with him, for he is separated from sinners, so the Father is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity with approbation. And if ye know that he is righteous, ye know that every one who doeth righteousness is born of him. And 'every man that hath this hope in him, (to see God as he is) purifieth himself, even as he is pure;' and thou wilt not venture to say that God is not perfect in purity. 'Be ye holy, for I am holy, saith the Lord;' and they could not be holy and sinners at the same time; for these two states are opposite one to another. The apostle carries this doctrine of freedom from sin in this life, yet further, and saith, 'Whosoever abideth in him, sinneth not: whosoever sinneth hath not seen him, neither known him. He that committeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning: for this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his Seed remaineth in him, and he cannot sin, because he is born of God.' Thou therefore who art pleading and wrangling for sin term of life, which is the work and kingdom of satan, art proclaiming thy own benighted state, that thou hast not abode in Christ, if ever thou hast in any degree known him; and that though he is the true Light, which lighteth every man who cometh into the world, and the new and everlasting covenant of God, thou hast neither seen him, nor known him. Thou mayst see by this doctrine of the apostle, which thou art opposing, whose son thou art, and that the Son of God is not manifested in thee, so as to destroy the work of the devil, which thou art supporting with all the might and subtilty he hath given thee; and that thou art not a child of God, but overcome of the world, and of the evil one who rules therein."

The priest being very impatient to see the



apostle justified by his own doctrine from those false imputations, vehemently repeated his charge, that the apostles had sin at the same time when they were ministers of Christ, and preaching salvation to the rest of mankind by him: "If we say we have no sin we deceive ourselves," &c. Here he plainly includes himself and the rest of the apostles and primitives, in the present tense.

I replied, "That the apostle likewise speaks in the present tense, and preterperfect tense, in handling that doctrine; 'Every one who doeth righteousness is born of him. Every man who hath this hope purifieth himself:' and so of the rest of the texts I have mentioned before, and many others in the same epistle of like import. And the apostle being led into those truths of the gospel, could not contradict one part of his epistle by another; only thou dost not understand him, nor mind the context. And besides, as the apostles had been born after the flesh, and been sinners as well as others, and by nature, children of wrath, and in that state not children of God more than others, they sometimes condescended in the manner of their expression, to the states and weakness of the people; as for instance, the apostle Paul saith, that he 'became all things to all men, that he might by all means save some; unto the Jews he became as a Jew; to them who were under the law, as under the law,' as before in his epistle to the Romans; 'to them who were without law, (in a religious sense) as without law: to the weak he became as weak,' that he might gain them also. Timothy was circumcised under that consideration; and he baptized several with water, though no part of his mission, and preached the law of life and salvation unto the Gentiles, who, at that time, were not under the power of the law of God, but without God in the world, and subject to wild and unreasonable idolatry. And yet the apostle did not condescend so far as to sin in any degree with sinners; for that would have brought him under condemnation, and rendered his testimony of none effect, and would not have tended to the salvation of his hearers, but to their destruction; as doth thy false doctrine to such as hear, believe, and follow thee.

"Again, the apostle James condescendeth to the weak in the like manner of expression, where he saith, 'The tongue can no man tame; it is an unruly evil, full of deadly poison: therewith bless we God, even the Father; and therewith curse we men, who are made after the similitude of God. Out of the same mouth proceedeth blessing and cursing. My brethren, these things ought not so to be: doth a fountain send forth at the same place sweet water and bitter? Can the fig-tree, my

brethren, bear olive berries? either a vine figs? So can no fountain yield both salt water and fresh.' Here this apostle, as the apostle Paul, speaks in the first person, and time present; and who, unless thyself, in favour of sin, will say, that the apostle was at that time, if at all in any time of his life, a curser of men? And so far was he from indulging mankind in sin, that he teacheth, 'That if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors: for whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.'"

Then he moved another charge against us; That we never pray for forgiveness of sins, and consequently we never confess we have been sinners.

I answered, "It is not to be admired that thou chargest us falsely, seeing thou hast made so bold with the apostles of Christ and primitives; for though we do not think it our duty to confess our sins to any priest, who might be as sinful, or more so than ourselves, yet we confess them to God, who knows us as we are, with all our infirmities, and who, we know, by happy experience, is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all sin; which no priest, but the High Priest and Bishop of souls is able to do, who, through infinite mercy and goodness, hath freely done so to many penitent and humble ones in this age, as well as in times past, to his own glory." I proved him false in this also, appealing to the people present, whether, even in that meeting, I had not, in prayer, given thanks unto God in behalf of our community, for his gracious pardon through Christ, of our many sins and failings; and for his great love also since; and for the flowings of it in the hearts of the sincere among us, even at that time. But since we were favoured with the evidence of the Spirit of the Son of God, that the Father, through him, had pardoned all our sins past, there was no need, nor was it proper to pray for what, through grace, we had already obtained; and yet I had prayed then also, that if the Lord, who seeth in secret, saw any sin or evil lurking in any of us, it might please him to discover it to us, and do it away. Thus his false charge in that point also was turned upon him. Then I repeated his charge against the apostle Paul, and his reason for it, viz: Because he spake in the present tense, and read the second verse of the eighth chapter to the Romans, where he saith, "The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death;" which is not the law of Moses, the mediator of the first covenant, which was of works, but of eternal life, freely given us of God the Father,



through Christ our Lord, who is the only Mediator of this covenant. And here the apostle, speaking in the preterperfect tense, as of a thing already accomplished, it was fully conclusive against him, since it is impossible that the apostles could be in these two repugnant states at one and the same time.

This contest detaining us late, we went, within night, to Matthew Jordan's, and the 21st we had a large good meeting at Pagan Creek, where also came Joseph Glaister; and that evening we went together, with several other Friends, to Benjamin Chapman's, in Surry. On the 22nd we had a meeting in his house, called Lyon's Creek meeting, which was very open and well; and the next day, being the seventh-day of the week, we crossed James river and went to the house of our friend Edward Thomas, at Queen's creek, the first house I was in when we landed in this country from England.

On the 24th, being the first-day of the week, began the yearly meeting there, and held the next day also. It was open and comfortable; but a wanton company of both sexes from Williamsburg and other adjacent places, by their levity in the meeting, were troublesome, and some exercise to Friends and other sober people, and a hinderance to the right concern and end of the meeting, which was to worship God, and propagate the gospel among them for their salvation. But the meeting concluded well; the divine power, virtue, and goodness of God, came over all before we parted.

On the 26th we set out in order to repass James' river, and in our way I called at Williamsburg to see Colonel Nicholson, then governor, who was kind beyond expectation. The governor and I discoursed for some time on various subjects; one point whereof was, liberty of conscience in matters of religion, and that it is most reasonable, that all people who are of opinion they ought to pay their preachers should pay their own, and not exact pay from others who do not employ them, nor hear them; and concerning tithes, and the ill application of them at this day; and about human government, and the nature and end of it as an ordinance of God, and the great safety and many advantages accruing thereby to mankind under a due administration of it; and of the kingdom of Christ on earth, which is not of this world, though in the world; and the difference between that and the kingdoms of men, and their various services on earth; that the kingdoms of men ought not to interfere with the kingdom of Christ. Though the governor was attached to the national church and its interest, he heard with candour, and took no offence.

We lodged that night with our friend Anne Acres, and had a meeting there on the 27th, where we had the company of the most reputable people in those parts, and the Lord gave us a comfortable time.

On the 28th we rested there, and in the evening made a visit to Miles Carey, secretary of the county, who being absent, his wife, a Friend, prevailed with us to stay to supper; upon occasion whereof we had a comfortable time in the divine presence in prayer, before we ate, to the tendering of the hearts of several of our company, and especially the Friend of the house who invited us. For which especially, and the provision before us, we were humbly thankful to the great and gracious Giver of all good things.

On the 29th we went to Kicquotan, where we had a meeting at our friend George Walker's house; to which came Colonel Brown, one of the provincial council, and several commanders of ships, and others of note, who were generally well satisfied with the meeting.

That night we lodged at George Walker's, and had much discourse with his wife about matters of religion, she being one of George Keith's daughters, and following him in his apostacy and enmity, and naturally subtle like himself; but we kept the testimony of Truth over her, so that she got no advantage in any thing, but confessed after the meeting, that we were *orthodox*, preaching undeniable doctrine; but cavilled at some expressions in the books of some of our ancient Friends, which we explained to her and the company, so as to take off that odium cast upon our Society therefrom, by our implacable adversaries.

About nine in the morning, being the seventh of the week, we set forward from Kicquotan by water towards Nancemond, and continuing rowing till there came up a gust of wind right ahead, and the tide turning, the waves became high, and also against us. We strove a while, but in vain, and then set sail towards the shore, in order to row and drag along under it, and by that means accomplished our voyage to Nancemond town about sun-set; and horses being provided, we rode about three miles to our friend Benjamin Small's, and there lodged.

On the 1st of the fifth month we went to the meeting at Chuckatuck, where came Colonel Bridges, one of the chief inhabitants of the country, and some other strangers; and the Lord favoured us with his good presence. Here we had an account that James Burtell, the French priest, had been at our friend the widow Jordan's, the next day after he and I had discoursed as aforesaid, to inquire when and where there would be another meeting,



he being desirous to come to it, and to dispute with me, or any of us, as there might be occasion; having also boasted, as if I had not answered his last challenge in the former meeting; which was not true.

This night we lodged at the widow Jordan's, and on the 2nd Benjamin Jordan went from Joseph Glaister, to acquaint the priest he was come to know what he meant by his conference? The priest answered, that it was nothing from other men's books, but from himself; and desired it might be at Colonel Bridges, next Thursday, where they had disputed before, but would not send any account upon what subject: yet Joseph Glaister assented under all these disadvantages.

In the mean time we had appointed a meeting at the Western Branch on the third-day, of which I sent the French priest word, that he might be there if he thought fit, where I should be ready to answer what he had to say against me.

On the 3rd we were at the meeting at Western Branch, which was large and peaceable, many truths of the gospel being opened to good satisfaction, both concerning the sacraments, so called, and sinless perfection through Christ the Lord, in this life.

[On the 1st of the seventh month, 1705,] we had a meeting at Chuckatuck, where several strangers were present, and things were open, and a good meeting and very comfortable, through the good presence of the Lord, which was with us; after which we drew up some particular heads of matter to discourse the priests upon, we having as much right to propose and insist upon matters for debate, and the manner of proceeding, to them, as they had to do so to us.

On the 5th, being the time appointed for the conference, we went accordingly, and met in Colonel Bridges' great hall, where we had a large auditory of all ranks of people in the country, six justices of the peace, several colonels, majors, captains, and other military officers, lawyers and others. My friend Joseph Glaister and I were very low, inward, and humble in our minds, the multitude being generally against us, and the honour of Truth concerned in the management and issue of this engagement on our part; yet the Lord was on our side. And on the other hand, Andrew Monro, the priest, being the person more immediately engaged, as Joseph Glaister on our side, he would not enter into any conference upon these heads which we had drawn up and proposed, but only in his own way; yet Joseph Glaister having the mind of Truth, engaged him under some seeming disadvantages in the case.

[The two first questions argued between

Joseph Glaister and Andrew Monro were water baptism, and the possibility of being made free from sin in this life. When they were about to commence on the third, which was, whether Christ did ever give command or power to any of his apostles or ministers to force a maintenance,] Andrew Monro would not enter upon it, but said, "Mr. Glaister, you are a much younger man than I am, and stronger, and can hold an argument longer. I confess you have a close way of reasoning, though I think I have the truth on my side, but can hold out no longer." And being hot weather, and he an elderly man, grew so weary, weak and faint, that he could scarcely be heard; but called for a pipe of tobacco and a tankard of ale, for his refreshment; and so it ended on his part in drink and smoke.

Then one came and told me the French priest was going from thence, so that if I had any thing to say to him, I must do it quickly. Whereupon I went from the table, and found him with some people about him, and spake to him in their hearing, concerning our meeting upon his challenge. This put him into a fresh rage, but he would not hear of any further dispute; pretending he had appointed that day for it, and I did not go, and therefore he was at liberty. I replied, "Neither did thou go there; and thou ought not to decline meeting me, since, upon thy own challenge, I came back from beyond James' river with some difficulty, charge and hazard, on purpose, and am ready to meet thee at thy own place to-morrow." But he utterly refused it, and yet by degrees we came upon the same point of sinless perfection in this life, or sin to the end, and further debated it.

Being exceedingly loath to yield up this beloved doctrine of sin term of life, and the kingdom of heaven at last, he struggled yet a little further: and, upon my saying, that no man can serve two masters, nor God and sin at the same time; he replied, as in our former dispute, "that a man is never properly a servant, unless he obey his master in all things: so a man cannot be a servant of sin, unless he obey it in all things."

Then I urged, "that if none can be the servants of sin, unless they obey in all things; so, by a parity of reason, one may say, none can be the servants of God, unless they obey in all things. And then none of you priests, who plead for sin term of life, pretending to serve God and sin at the same time, can be servants of God, or ministers of Christ; since ye do not, by thy own confession, obey him in all things, if in any one thing."

So many of the people as were present, being generally very quiet during the time; were satisfied, for any thing that appeared



to the contrary; and, it growing late, we at last parted friendly, my adversary taking me by the hand, called me brother. Several of the people were very kind, Truth having dominion over all in the end; to the praise of his own arm, to whom alone it is due, now and for evermore. And many being now well satisfied concerning the way of Truth, who had not been so before, we returned that evening to the widow Jordan's.

On the 6th we went over Nancemond river, to Benjamin Small's, and rested there that night; but, in our way near the ferry, we heard that James Burtell had left a note there, advertising a new challenge for a further dispute with me. And as we were conferring what could be the meaning of it, we espied him just putting off from the shore in a boat a little before us, and we made haste towards him; and, calling, he staid till we came up, and enquired what he meant by it; for I thought he had been satisfied before.

He replied, "as for my own part I have no more to say, but some gentlemen of my communion were very desirous of some further satisfaction in some points; so I desire we may meet upon it this day week." I objected against the length of time; that it was not reasonable I should be so long detained in those parts about it, seeing I had, at his former request, returned over James's river to meet him, as before.

At last he agreed to the third-day following; but, though often urged, he would not discover what were the points those persons desired further satisfaction in.

On the 8th, being the first of the week, we went to the meeting at Chuckatuck; to which came several colonels, majors, justices of the peace, and many people, for the country was much alarmed by our being among them, and a good open meeting the Lord gave us in the main; yet, for my own part, I came not fully easy from it, but rather under a secret burden from some unknown cause.

On the 10th we returned over the river to major Thomas Jordan's, to dispute the French priest, where many people were assembled on that occasion. The time appointed was nine in the morning, and he came not till twelve; so that many of his party seemed to doubt his coming, and were troubled; they having great dependence upon him as their only remaining champion in those parts. But at length he came; and the first salutation I gave him was a gentle reproof for delaying so long after the time appointed by himself, which he endeavoured to excuse; though the real meaning of it was taken to be, to shorten the time, so that night at least might end the controversy, into which he had been so unwillingly brought.

My antagonist, being very volatile, made his assault instantly, without a word of any preliminaries, or stating any question, and thus attacked me: "Why do not you, the people called quakers, use the Lord's prayer in your assemblies? I prove that Christ taught his disciples this prayer, offering to read it, and commanded them to pray so; and I also prove that they who do not use it are no Christians; but you never use it; because, if you did, you must then pray for forgiveness of your sins, which your own supposed righteousness will not allow. You are therefore none of his disciples. You are no Christians."

I replied, "the charge is founded upon a false suggestion; for though we do not frequently use the very words of that prayer in our meetings, as the manner of some is, yet we sometimes use it verbatim, and often the sum of it in other terms; and we often likewise explain the nature, end and substance of it in our meetings, for the information and edification of the people; and how can we explain it, and not refer to it? And how canst thou say we never repeat it, having been at so very few of our meetings?" He replied, "I never heard you; and who else here ever did?" Then arose a voice and cloud of witnesses, both of Friends and others, saying, "I have; I have; I have;" and, amongst the rest, a lawyer said, "I have heard Joseph Glaister, now present, in particular, use it, and others also." "O then, said the priest, I have no more to say on that account."

Then I informed the auditory, "That though we sometimes used that prayer in form, and often the substance of it in other words, in our supplications to the Almighty; yet it was not proper for the state of every man to use it, nor to be done in men's own wills and times; when, and as often as we please; for there is a qualification necessary to be known in them who use it rightly with acceptance. For though all men be the children and offspring of God by creation; yet none can call God father truly, in an evangelical sense, but such who have the evidence of the Spirit of God, that they are, at least, begotten of him, by the influence of his divine Word and holy Spirit; and must be come to a good degree of righteousness, and holiness also, by the sensible operation of the holy Spirit, in their own hearts.

"The introduction, or address of that prayer of prayers, is to the Almighty, as he is the father of all; with acknowledgement that his habitation is in heaven, above all. And the first petition is, that his name, or by what word soever the divine Being is meant, expressed, or designed, may be mentioned with reverence and awe, as the most holy thing; and not blasphemed, lightly used, profaned, or



taken in vain. And the second petition is, that his kingdom, rule, dominion and government, may come, be made manifest, and established over all the earth and every soul therein, throughout all generations, as explained by the next words therein; that is to say, 'thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven;' which implies the highest degree of perfection and exaltation human nature is capable of in this life. For, if the will or law of God is to be done in earth as in heaven, then there can be no more possibility of sin, unrighteousness, or evil, among the children of men, to the end of the world; for the expression is unlimited, including all persons, ages and times. And all the holy angels of God in heaven, and the spirits of the just made perfect, continually and for ever do the will of God to all perfection, in which also standeth their life eternal. And we are here taught to pray, that it may likewise be the same here on earth. And the next petition in this divine and most perfect prayer, regardeth ourselves, with respect to our present personal divine nourishment and sustenance while here on earth, and for ever; and that is, 'give us this day our daily bread;' even the true bread which the Father giveth from heaven, the bread of life, which giveth life unto the world, of which mankind may eat and not die; the living bread which comes down from heaven, of which whosoever shall eat, he shall live for ever; which is likewise that flesh which Christ giveth for the life of the world; and unto him whosoever shall come shall not hunger or thirst any more. This is that everliving and heavenly bread which giveth life unto the world. This is the hidden manna, more excellent than that in the wilderness. The tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God. By the breaking of this bread is the Son of God made manifest unto him who eateth thereof, to be that meat which endureth unto everlasting life. This is the same heavenly bread which the apostles and primitives loved, desired and prayed for, that they might be continual partakers of it; and which we also have prayed for, do pray for, and are mercifully and graciously heard of the holy One, unto whom we do pray. By this bread we grow and increase from stature to stature, and from strength to strength, unto eternal life, and everlasting establishment and perfection in glory, in and with him who liveth and reigneth over all, in all, and above all, and is worthy for evermore.

"The next petition is, 'forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them who trespass against us.' This petition also is suited to general or universal communion. For as all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God, all, and every one ought, being con-

vinced of sin by the holy Spirit, to confess their sins unto him who convinceth them, and to desire forgiveness; whether of God, for sins committed against him, or for trespasses done, one against another. In both cases, confession is to be made to the offended, and forgiveness requested, before we can reasonably expect it, whether of God or man. For as to our sins against God, it is said, 'if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness and sin.' And as to our trespasses one against another, it is said, 'if thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between him and thee alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother,' &c. Or, again, 'if thy brother trespass against thee, rebuke him; and if he repent, forgive him.' And as God is merciful unto all, so he would have us all be merciful one to another; and therefore Christ the Lord commenteth upon this petition in an especial manner, saying, 'if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive your trespasses.' In all which the Lord teacheth us to be like himself, full of goodness, mercy, and social virtue, doing the will of the Father on earth as it is done in heaven, in a state of restoration, redemption, righteousness and true holiness, the end whereof is life eternal; which is opposite to a state of sin, in the nature of things, and [is] the end of the coming and manifestation of the Son of God.

"The next petition is, 'lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.' Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water; and lo, the heavens were opened unto him, and he saw the Spirit of God descending, like a dove, and lighting upon him: and lo, a voice from heaven, saying, this is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness, to be tempted of the devil. Mankind, in general, being already in sin, and under condemnation in the first Adam, and Jesus the Saviour only free, being the Lamb of God, without spot or blemish; it was necessary, in the counsel of the Father, that he should be tempted of the evil one, the common enemy and tempter of mankind; that thereby, even as man, he might have a fellow-feeling of our weakness and infirmities, and be the supporter of such as should believe and trust in him, and be tempted of evil; which petition is also obtained by those who are his through faith in his name. For as God tempteth no man, nor is he himself tempted of evil, those who are tempted, [yield to temptation] are led aside of their own lusts, and enticed;



so he suffereth none of his to be 'tempted above what they are able, but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that they may be able to bear it;' and it is no sin to be tempted unless we yield. These temptations are suffered upon those who believe, and are thereby become the children of God, that they may have full trial of the manifold grace of God towards them, of their faith, patience, and love toward God, and one toward another in him, and experience his blessing upon them, and come forth from under the weight and burden of temptations, as from the furnace of affliction, as pure gold seven times tried therein; and not as reprobate silver or dross, remaining as we are by nature, in a sinful, sensual, polluted condition, ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the Truth, or salvation by him.

"The last and concluding part is, a just and sincere acknowledgement unto the Father, that we can do nothing without him, but by him; 'for his is the kingdom, and the power' to enter therein, by which alone we can do all these things, and our whole duty unto his holy requirings, whether with respect unto the Lord himself, or one toward another, as we ought. And therefore, as we have no power or sufficiency of our own, no glory or praise belongeth unto us for the work required and wrought, either during our conduct and abode in this world, or in the world to come." And so this matter rested without reply.

"Now," said I, "It is my right to propose the next subject matter to discourse upon; and therefore I ask thee this question,

"Whether or no did Christ, or any of his apostles, demand, force, or receive any maintenance or thing from any person or people, who did not receive or own them and their ministry? And when did the Son of God give power unto any of the princes or powers of the earth, to concern themselves, or intermeddle with the proper affairs of his kingdom; which is not of this world? Or to ordain ministers in his church? Or appoint, direct, or assign them any support or maintenance?"

James Burtell assumes the affirmative, and Thomas Story denies it: and agreed that the matters shall be determined by express Scripture proof only, or by fair, natural, and unforced consequences deduced from thence.

James Burtell having assumed the affirmative, offered his proofs as followeth. "The apostles and ministers of Christ being sent to preach the gospel, were to live and be maintained by it; as plainly appeareth by the doctrine of the apostle Paul on that subject, where he saith, 'Who goeth a warfare any time at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Or who

feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.' Again, 'If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things? Do ye not know, that they who minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple; and they who wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar.' And those Scriptures the apostle expressly applieth to the maintenance of the apostles and ministers of Christ, in preaching the gospel, and exercising their ministry in the various branches thereof, according to their several callings and gifts. And this they claimed, not only as voluntary contributions or donations, at the option of the people, but of right, by virtue of the power they had over them, and as an ordinance of the Lord, that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel."

I answered, "This is a sophistical way of reasoning, and doth not answer the first part of the question for which he adduceth it, nor proves his assumption therein: for that part of the question is, whether Christ or his apostles did ever demand, force, or receive any maintenance from any who did not receive or own them and their ministry? which is the case between your ministers and us. And not whether any support or maintenance at all be due of right to the apostles and ministers of Christ, from the people who receive them as such, and believe in Christ as the Messiah and Saviour of the world. But he only attempts to prove that some support or maintenance, but saith not what, or how, is due to the apostles and ministers of Christ in preaching the gospel, which we have never denied; by which he would elude that part of the question, and impose upon us a fallacious and pretended proof of what is not therein. For these texts of Scripture do not prove such a maintenance due, even to the true ministers of Christ, or to be had by such means as your ministers now demand, exact, and receive them, not only from such as believe they are ministers of Christ, but likewise from us and others, who do not believe it; being assured that no such wages, hire, or maintenance as they demand, is due to any ministers of Christ, and much less to them, by any command or ordinance of Christ, or doctrine or example of his apostles. For, when Christ first sent forth his twelve apostles, it was in the power and wisdom of his own Spirit; in which they had power to preach, to heal sicknesses, and cast out devils and unclean spirits.

"And as to their protection and maintenance, they were to depend immediately and absolutely upon the providence of God, and



travel in that work, under great natural disadvantages. For they were not to provide beforehand, either gold, or silver, or brass, in their purses, nor scrip, or two coats a piece, nor shoes, nor staffs, except one only, nor bread.

"And when the Lord appointed other seventy, and sent them likewise by two and two, they also were prohibited to carry with them either purse, or scrip, or shoes. And as to any reward from men, either for preaching, healing, or any other part of their work, they were not to have any save their meat; for as the power was, and is, of God only, they were not to make an advantage or gain of it to themselves; and therefore he said unto them, 'freely ye have received, freely give;' yet the workman is worthy of his meat. Neither were the seventy to have other wages from those to whom they preached or whom they healed, than the twelve had; that is, to eat and drink such things as they to whom they preached gave or set before them.

"Neither were they to have protection from any temporal power, such powers being universally against them; but on the contrary, were sent forth as sheep among wolves, and cautioned against the cruelties of men. Neither were they to premeditate what to say, when brought before governors and kings for the sake of Christ and his testimony; but to depend upon the immediate assistance of the Spirit of God in themselves. By all which it is evident that the apostles and ministers of Christ were not, and are not, to demand, force, or receive any other maintenance or thing from any, save only their meat, drink, and personal necessities, during the time of their ministry; which clearly explains the doctrine of the apostle Paul in all those texts now adduced by your minister: that is, that no other way of maintenance is ordained or allowed to the apostles and ministers of Christ, or to live of the gospel, than their meat, drink, and reasonable and necessary sustenance, in the exercise of their ministry, and from them only who receive them as ministers of Christ, and give it freely.

"But though this be a privilege given and due to the apostles and ministers of Christ, what is that to thee and you? Who hath made you ministers of Christ? Who sent you? And to do what? for they who run when God sendeth them not, do not profit the people in the things of God at all."

James Burtell replied in short, "Notwithstanding what hath been said, this apostle, and consequently the rest, must have had support from the believers in those days; for he saith, 'I robbed other churches, taking wages of them to do you service.'"

I answered, "It is to be observed, that the several churches or congregations in those days had certain common public stocks or funds, out of which the necessary charges of the ministry in preaching the gospel, were defrayed, and the needs of the poor saints supplied; which arose from the love, goodwill, and charity of the believers in Christ; every one giving, without any other law or compulsion, according to his own free will and purpose, which began in Christ and his twelve apostles, by the love and gratitude of those who had been great sinners, or under personal maladies, and been forgiven and healed by him. For it is testified of Luke the evangelist, that 'certain women who had been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary called Magdalene, out of whom went seven devils, and Joanna, the wife Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susannah, and many others, ministered unto him of their substance.' And they had a common purse, or bag, which was carried and managed by the most unworthy among them, by Judas, the thief and traitor; out of which they sometimes, as they had occasion, bought bread and necessities for themselves, and likewise gave to the poor; but nothing was particularly appropriated, either to Christ himself, or any of his apostles, save what covetous and unfaithful Judas might rob them of. And as the disciples increased and multiplied in number, so did this order and usage, with respect both to giving and receiving, and to the same happy ends and purposes, for the promulgation and propagation of the gospel of Christ, and salvation unto mankind by him, and the exercise of charity as a great fruit of his coming; and not to appropriate any part to any particular person, like Judas, greedy of filthy lucre, or Balaam, 'who loved the wages of unrighteousness,' to the enriching of themselves and families at the expense of the church, as happened among them, in process of time, and remaineth among you by succession unto this day.

"And as to the apostle's robbing other churches, and taking wages of them to serve the Corinthians, it is only an elegance of speech, for he was learned, and an orator, and no way importeth that he appropriated to his own separate use any thing he received on account of his ministry; but that when he first preached unto them of Corinth, he was not chargeable to any man, but did it freely, as to them; his necessities and charges of his travels to them, and his ministry, being at the same time supplied and sustained at the charge of the church in Macedonia, which had been settled before them; or by some brethren who came to him from thence. And as in all things he had kept himself from being burden-



some to them, so he resolved to continue to keep himself; intending thereby to cut off all occasion of reproach by certain false apostles then among them, who were deceitful workers, transforming themselves, as many do at this day, into the likeness of the apostles of Christ, the ministers of righteousness. And the apostle Paul was so far from receiving any thing to himself, or for his own private separate use, for, or in respect of his ministry, or the exercise of it, that he commonly wrought with his hands to that end, being a tent-maker; and towards his latter end, taking his last and solemn leave of some elders, who had the oversight of the flock of Christ at Ephesus, and in appeal to their knowledge of him, and his conduct on that account, and to excite them by his example to the like practice, he saith, 'I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel; yea, ye yourselves know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and to them who were with me: I have showed you all things, how, that so labouring, ye ought to support the weak; and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.' Which were the last, and as it were, the dying words of the apostle to them."

To this he offered no other reply than to repeat his assertion in like terms, "That the temporal powers have full authority and right in the case; and upon them," said he, "we will leave it."

During the discussion of this point, some of the people were uneasy, and others interrupted; but the greatest number were silent and attentive; which being ended, the priest immediately moved another subject of debate; which, I suppose, was the main point that the people were most desirous to hear fully argued, and was thus:

"Our Lord and blessed Saviour Jesus Christ commands his disciples to 'go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;' but ye, the people called Quakers, do not obey him therein; therefore ye are none of his disciples; ye are no Christians."

I answered, "What is it to thee and you what Christ commanded his apostles in their ministerial character; for ye are no apostles? And if the neglect or omission of the performance of that be a proof that such are no disciples of Christ, and no Christians, then you yourselves are no disciples, and no Christians; for ye do not practise any thing here instituted or commanded, in any proper sense, but an invention of your own, under pretence of it."

Then I signified to the auditory, "That as

that person had proposed a discourse, and I had accordingly met him, yet it did not follow that he ought to assume to state any question in his own method, and draw thence his own arguments and conclusions, in favour of his own notions; nor ought any question at all to be stated, but what should relate to the known principles and practice of both parties."

Upon this Andrew Monro, the confuted priest aforementioned, started up, pressing to be heard, pretending to expose some gross errors out of our ancient Friends' books; and the Frenchman, my antagonist, was very ready to give him way: but I utterly refused it; and with my friend Joseph Glaister, suppressed it. Then stood up Major Jordan, and declared to the auditory, that meddling with old books was contrary to the terms of that dispute, as offered by the French minister to a Friend, who had accepted his challenge on my behalf, in his hearing; and that it ought not to be insisted upon, or suffered; for it could not be reasonably expected that we, in itinerant circumstances, and upon such a surprise, could be prepared for a proper defence. That quieted them a little; and then I offered a state of the question on the text mentioned, which might include the principles and practice of both; for we own baptism as well as they.

This he and his party would have evaded, and clamorously opposed; but several of the justices said it was so reasonable, it could not be denied; and yet the priest, and his raging party, for some few such there were, rudely pressed for such a state of the question as might bring it wholly relative to our principle, of the baptism of the Spirit, of which they were no proper judges, or only upon water baptism in its greatest latitude, which they do not practise; and not to be confined to sprinkling, which is their only practice, or to words necessarily including it.

Then I made a short harrangue to the auditory, and observed to them the evasions of their ministers, and the reason of them; that is, lest their own practice should be detected, and made appear to be extra-scriptural. And then urged him over and over, to establish such a state of the question as might comprehend both our principles and sentiments, and his practice upon the subject; and the greatest part of the people also, at last requiring it as very just, and more particularly one of the magistrates, who said openly, that if they could not defend their baptism now in use, it was high time to look for a better: at last he conceded, but with much reluctance; and then the question was stated thus:

"What baptism is intended in these words, 'Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in (or into) the name of the Father,



and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost? Is it water baptism only, or the baptism of the Holy Ghost? And is sprinkling of infants on the face only, in those names, with water, signing them on the foreheads with a sign of a cross, where no sign remains; with god-fathers and god-mothers, making them promise and vow, as in the catechism of the national church of England, commanded and warranted by that text?"

"James Burtell affirms and assumes, that water baptism only is commanded in that text; and that the present practice of the church of England, as relative thereunto, is included and supported by that command. Signed,  
JAMES BURTELL."

"Thomas Story denies that water baptism is commanded in that text; but that the baptism of the Holy Ghost is there intended. Signed,  
THOMAS STORY."

My opponent having thus assumed, that water baptism only is commanded in the text, I put him upon the proof of it, which he essayed thus, viz: "There is some baptism commanded here to the apostles, and that baptism must be such as they were capable to perform; they were not capable to perform the baptism of the Holy Ghost, but with water they could baptize: therefore water baptism only is there commanded."

I answered, "You may observe here, that the force of your minister's argument lies in this, that the apostles of Christ could not baptize with the Holy Ghost, but only with water; and therefore it must be water baptism. I grant that the apostles could not baptize with the Holy Ghost at their own pleasure, when, and whom, and where they would, in their own wills, as your ministers can, and do administer what they call, and have taught you to believe and think is Christ's baptism; but that the apostles could not instrumentally baptize with the Holy Ghost, I deny. For that institution is introduced after this manner, 'And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth: go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in (or into) the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' 'And he said unto them, (at the same time) Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.' 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.' And that this was not water baptism, plainly appeareth by what the Lord

further commanded his apostles at the same time, that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which he had told them of before he suffered; 'For John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the holy Ghost not many days hence.'

"This baptism here commanded is not water baptism, for the apostles were in the practice of water baptism in John's time, before the institution of this baptism; and it is here contradistinguished, as belonging to John's dispensation, and which some practised, though we have so few instances of it, that it can hardly be called practice with propriety, after the beginning of the ministration of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, which none can administer without the immediate presence and power of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Christ, given to that end. But some apostles both could and did administer water baptism, in the proper dispensation of it, without the power of the Holy Ghost, which was not then given as a dispensation, and which any bold and busy undertaker at this day, can, and some do, administer, by the ordinary powers of nature, without the assistance of the Holy Ghost on that account, which they neither know nor believe in. But the baptism here commanded, neither the apostles themselves could, much less can any one else administer, but by the immediate power of the Holy Ghost, co-working in them, with them, and by them; and therefore Christ promised that they should 'receive power after that the Holy Ghost was come upon them;' and then, and not till then, they were his proper witnesses, but could not baptize with the Holy Ghost until they themselves were baptized therewith. And as He who hath all power in heaven and earth, promised to be with them by that power alway, in that and all other works of the gospel ministry, to the end of the world; so they went forth and preached every where, 'the Lord working with them, and confirming the word with signs following.' And this promise relates not only to them then present, but to all the true ministers of Christ, according to their various gifts, degrees, and services, from thenceforth throughout all ages; yet, as a just check and prohibition to all bold, forward, and presumptuous spirits, it is also written concerning the Holy Ghost, that he shall not 'speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak; and he will show you things to come.'

"And as Christ himself is the Truth, and in the days of his flesh, was always subject unto the Father, and under his direction, and imputed all his words and works to him; by this text it appears to be so still, and ever will



be, in all the work of the redemption and salvation of mankind. Then what and who art thou, O dark, carnal, sinful, polluted man, of all thy fallen kind, who darest assume upon thyself to intermeddle with the things of God, which thou dost not understand, nor so much as believe that the Holy Ghost is now to be given, and waited for, as the immediate guide, leader, and director in the things of God, and work of the gospel? Thou art an unbeliever, and therefore in a state of condemnation; thou art not saved thyself, and how then canst thou be a saviour upon Mount Sion; instrumentally to save others in the Spirit of Him who is the great Saviour of all?"

Then James Burtell questioned whether there is such a text in Scripture as, that "John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence;" but my companion Joseph Glaister, who was very ready that way, producing the place, the priest was silent as to that.

Then I insisted, that since I had been interrupted before I had finished the point I was then upon, it was but reasonable and fair that I might, without further interruption, proceed to finish it; and so proceeded thus, viz:

"Having proved that the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and not water baptism, is instituted, in the text and context in question; and the full capacity of the apostles and ministers of Christ to perform it in his Spirit and power, I now proceed to prove, that they did baptize with the Holy Ghost accordingly. But before I proceed any further, that we may not beat the air through any misunderstanding, or different applications of words to things, favour me with thy definition of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and what thou understands by it, that I may know whether we, by the same terms, mean the same things."

He answered rightly, "That the baptism of the Holy Ghost is the descending of the Holy Spirit into the hearts of those who believe and wait for his coming." "Very well," said I; "but is this all?" And upon a short pause, he answered, "No, he worketh in mankind the work of regeneration; and this is his complete baptism."

I answered, "Well, then I now prove, that the apostles in the wisdom and power of the Spirit of Christ, were instrumental ministers of this baptism. First, when Peter preached to Cornelius and his household, 'the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word.' And in his relation of the passage, in his defence before the apostles and elders, before whom he was accused, as if he had committed an error, and broken the law or custom of the

Jews, by preaching to the Gentiles, and eating with them, though their mission was expressly to all nations, he defines the falling of the Holy Ghost upon them to be the baptism of the Holy Ghost mentioned by Christ in the text in question, or context, in these words, 'And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them as on us at the beginning; then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.'

"Here the apostle applies this event to the terms of the text, which saith, 'Go teach (or disciple) all nations, baptizing them;' which shows that this baptism is sometimes administered in the time and act of teaching in the power and wisdom of the Holy Ghost, whereof the tongue is chiefly instrumental; as if teaching and baptizing were one and the same act, emblematically signified by the likeness of cloven tongues of fire, sitting upon the apostles, at the time of the first descending of the Holy Ghost upon them; which is more expressly illustrated where it is said, that 'while Peter yet spake these words (viz: which he preached) the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the word.' And according to the message of the angel to Cornelius, in directing him to Peter as his minister, 'he should tell him words, by which himself and all his household should be saved,' and not by water baptism. For though Peter himself, who, with the rest of the apostles and elders, had but so lately understood the meaning of Christ in that institution, and the rest of the apostles and elders not all hitherto, though about eight years after, said to those believing Jews who came with him from Joppa, and for their sake, the Jews being always pertinacious of all types and shadows, in neglect of the substance, 'Can any man forbid water, that these (Gentiles) should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?' for which there could be no other reason but to obviate any offence those Jews might have taken at those believing Gentiles, if they had wanted any circumstance which they imagined necessary, and John's baptism, which the Jews had generally been baptized with, being at that time remaining in reputation; yet it doth not appear by the text that they were so baptized, nor could there be any real need of it, seeing they had received the words of salvation, and gift of the Holy Ghost; whereby alone the great work of regeneration and salvation is begun, carried on, and perfected. For, 'after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by



the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour; that being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life.' So that hence it follows clearly, that the baptism of the Spirit is well defined, and that the apostles were ministers of it, and Christ himself by them. For this baptism is the promise of the Father to the Son, not of water, as John; but by the Holy Ghost; and by the Son doth he baptize his ministers by the same Spirit: and when they have been baptized by the Holy Ghost, and received power in him, then are and shall they be witnesses unto the Father and the Son, by the Holy Ghost, unto the uttermost parts of the earth; and then shall they 'go and teach (or disciple) all nations, baptizing (or washing) them in the name or power of the Father, and of the (eternal) Son, and of the Holy Ghost. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.' And then also can they teach, or disciple, to observe all things which Christ himself hath commanded them, and to be with them alway, not only in that age, but likewise in all ages in succession, in the same work, and to the end of the world.

"Again, for illustration, remember what is said by Christ, 'I have manifested thy name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the world: thine they were, and thou gavest them me; and they have kept thy word.' 'As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I also sent them into the world.' And also, 'He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water; but this he spake of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not glorified.' Again, we are 'able ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit; for the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life.' And the apostles frequently laid their hands on the disciples, and they received the Holy Ghost. 'And Paul laid his hands on certain disciples, and the Holy Ghost fell on them.'

"By all which it plainly appears, that though the Lord Jesus is the only baptizer of souls by his own authority, having all power in heaven and earth from the Father, and in whom all fulness of the Godhead dwells substantially; yet that the apostles and living ministers were, and are instruments of the baptism of the Holy Ghost, no man who believes the Scriptures, and understands them, can doubt, nor support thy reason for the continuation of water baptism in the church, which I leave to the auditory to consider."

Then the Frenchman advanced a fresh argument for water baptism only, without the Spirit, in the text, thus: "As this commandment was to the apostles of Christ, so they either understood it, or they did not understand it. To say they did not understand it, were to make the commandment of none effect by practising another thing, and omitting the thing intended. But that they understood water baptism to be commanded, is clear from their frequent practice of it, after the coming of the Holy Ghost; as I prove by several instances.

"1st; When Peter preached the gospel to the Jews, and they inquired what they should do, he advised them to repentance, and baptism in the name of Jesus Christ, 'for the remission of their sins, and they should receive the gift of the Holy Ghost: for the promise was to them, and to their children, and to all that were afar off, even as many as the Lord our God should call; then they that gladly received his word were baptized.'

"Again, 2ndly; The eunuch was baptized by Philip, and here James Burtell read the passage, 'See, here is water, what doth hinder me to be baptized? And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest, &c., and he baptized him.' So that you may see two clear instances of water baptism by the apostles after the coming of the Holy Ghost; and that practice shows fully what baptism was intended in the text in question."

I answered, "In the first place, I observe one thing from these two texts, which I desire thee to remember anon, upon the second part of the assumption; that is, that those convinced by Peter, and also the eunuch, were first to believe and repent, before they were baptized, which infants are not capable of.

"2ndly; That the baptism was not in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but in the name of Jesus Christ only; and this shows it was no other but a continuance of John's water baptism, of which they were in practice before Christ suffered, and before the command in Mat. xxviii. 19. That it has no reference to infants, though the word children is there: for all Israel young and old, are called the children of Israel, as one generation; the aged as well as infants are the children of their ancestors. And the promise there mentioned has no relation to water baptism, but to the gift of the Holy Ghost, promised of God by the prophet Isaiah to Israel, 'I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring,' &c. And I deny thy conclusion barely from the practice; for the apostles practised circumcision, vows, shavings, &c., and were in the practice (as said) of water baptism, before this com-



mand was given. The apostle to the 'weak became as weak; to all men all things, that by all means he might gain some. But his practice in all he did, is no warrant to others to follow him; for he baptized with water, and yet confesses fairly he was not sent of Christ to do it: so that neither his practice, nor that of the other apostles, is cogent.

"And further there is not one instance in all the New Testament where any apostle baptized, or commanded any to be baptized with water in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; but where any water is used, it is only in the name of Jesus Christ, and for the most part to the Jews. For, as the Jews were to have remission of sins by faith in Christ, as born of the Virgin; and the Spirit, upon that faith, is a gradual manifestation; so the Gentiles were to have remission of sins by faith in him, as he is the 'true light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world.' So that baptism was no means to them of receiving the Spirit, whatever it might be to the Jews, or Jewish proselytes.

"Again, you may note, that the apostle Paul, who was sent to the Gentiles in a particular manner, denies that baptism with water was any part of his commission; for he saith expressly, 'Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.' Now, since this great and first minister of the Gentiles had no commission to baptize with water, we may justly conclude it was not necessary to that work; and if not to our forefathers, then not to us. And if he had no commission, then none could succeed him in a commission; and then the pretences of all to baptize the Gentiles is vain."

I added further, my adversary being almost on ground, "That though the apostles did baptize some, especially of the Jews, and it may be some others, in the beginning of the gospel dispensation; yet it does not follow that there was any necessity for its continuance. For as Christ said, 'I have yet many things to say, but you are not able to bear them;' so also the apostle, 'I could not write unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal: I have fed you with milk, and not with meat; for hitherto you were not able to bear it, nor are you yet able.' And so soon as the church was able to bear this doctrine of baptism in its spirituality, the two great apostles, Peter and Paul, both explained it unto them. And as for a time, and under divers administrations, there had been divers baptisms, yet at last all centered in one baptism; for John was to decrease, and Christ to increase. That which decreases comes to an end, but that which increases never ends. John has decreased near seventeen hundred years, and is

come to an end, and Christ hath increased as long to some, though the beginning of his kingdom is not yet known unto many. Paul, or the inspired author of the epistle to the Hebrews, speaks of baptisms; but to the Ephesians he saith, 'There is one Lord, one faith, and one baptism;' and what that one baptism is, he also informs us in his epistle to the Corinthians, 'We are all baptized by one Spirit into one body, the church; which is his body, the fulness of him that filleth all in all.' Again, Peter saith, 'Tis not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection (i. e. revelation) of Jesus Christ.' Here it is both negatively and positively defined, what it is not, and what it is; 'it is not the putting away the filth of the flesh,' then not water, which extends no further, 'but the answer of a good conscience;' which never can be but by the work of the Holy Ghost descending unto us, as my adversary hath defined the Spirit's baptism, and sanctifying our hearts, working the work of regeneration, and a holy conformity to the will of God, even through that 'power that raised up Jesus from the dead, by the glory of the Father, so also should we walk in newness of life.' And this is the inseparable effect of the one only spiritual and permanent baptism of the Holy Ghost, in which Christ is with his ministers, unto all that are qualified to receive it, to the end of the world." I had room enough by this time, and that made me more large; but my antagonist to this made me this unexpected return:

"It is true there is one baptism, but that baptism hath two parts; the one is water, the other Spirit: for as the body and soul make one man, so water and spirit make one baptism."

To this I demanded his proof out of Scripture, wherever the Spirit and water made up one baptism, or concurred in the act of baptizing, as the Holy Ghost, and preaching the gospel in the power and wisdom of the Spirit, had done.

He answered, That wheresoever John's baptism was duly administered, the Holy Ghost was given at the same time; which being so palpable an error, I greatly admired at this answer, and returned, "I will prove the direct contrary by plain Scripture, though it is thy part to make good thy assertion, if thou canst, viz: Acts xix., where the apostle asked certain disciples, whether they had received the Holy Ghost since they believed? And they said, 'We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost.' And the apostle replied, 'Unto what then were you baptized?' They said only, 'Unto John's



baptism,' (i. e. water baptism) and were so far from receiving the Holy Ghost at the same time, that they had not so much as heard whether there was such a thing in being.

"Again, Simon Magus had water baptism duly administered, and yet had neither part nor lot in the Holy Ghost.

"And also, though it is not necessary to prove a contrary, where no proof is offered for a position, I prove, by several instances, where water was without the Spirit, and the Spirit without water; the former in the case of the three thousand, and in the Samaritans; and the latter in the case of Cornelius."

My adversary only repeated his assertion, That as the body and soul make up one man, so the water and Spirit one baptism. Thus, like a door on the hinges, he shifted to and again, without proceeding forward one jot.

Upon which I said, "Friend, thou art in utter confusion and self-contradiction;" and noted to the auditory, "That his last position was against the state of the question, and his first assumption: for the question is, Whether it is water baptism only, or the Spirit's baptism; and the first he has assumed."

Then he twice denied that the question was so, or that he had so assumed, not knowing what he said, till I produced it upon the table, having kept it in my hand all the time; and further noted, "That the question was alternatively stated, whether water only, or Spirit; and *or* being a disjunctive, it could not be both, but one or the other intended; and therefore his last assertion was only a fruitless shift, and did not help him."

All the reply he made to this was, That if I would not receive what he said upon it, he would proceed no further.

Then I noted to the people how short he was fallen as to water baptism at large, and then put him upon his proof of the second part of his assumption, viz: That the present practice of the church of England, sprinkling of infants, sign of the cross, god-fathers, vows and promises in their name, was supported by the text.

To this he offered little answer, but began to make away from the table, through the crowd, only mentioning that text, "Suffer little children to come to me," &c.

To this I replied, "That as in the text Mat. xxviii. the subjects of baptism are such as are capable of being taught, and of observing whatever Christ had before commanded them; which children are not: so in this latter text it is plain there is no reference at all to baptism of any kind; for the people having faith in Christ, brought their children, that he might lay his hands on them, which he accordingly did, and blessed them; testifying to their in-

nocence and purity, saying, 'Of such is the kingdom of heaven.' And if so, then they need not any thing to qualify them to enter, or to take away original sin, as ye suppose. For though, under the law, the Lord said, 'I will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children;' upon which arose a proverb in Israel, that 'the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge:' that is, the fathers have sinned, and the children are punished for it; yet, under the gospel God gives more grace, and saith, 'As I live, saith the Lord, this proverb shall cease; he that eateth the sour grape, his teeth shall be set on edge; the soul that sins shall die.' Now the apostle saith, that 'where there is no law, there is no transgression.' Sin was in the world before the law, but sin is not imputed where there is no law. Little children, though they have a seed of sin in them, as descending from Adam, the common father of all, yet that is not imputed; because Christ is a 'Propitiation for the sins of the whole world.' And as many suffer under the effects of Adam's fall, who never heard of it, so many receive benefit by Christ that never heard of him. 'As in Adam all died, so in Christ all are made alive.' And children being incapable of any law are also of transgression, and consequently of sin; so that there is nothing to condemn them; 'for of such is the kingdom of heaven.'"

This passed off without any reply, and then the Frenchman slunk out of the company; but forgetting his gloves, came back to see for them, and then I asked him if he was going, and he said yea: so we parted friendly, wishing one another's welfare, all the company being very grave and silent.

The whole dispute being ended, we kept the field; and having dined, or rather supped, with Major Jordan, who kindly entertained us, we returned that night over Nancemond river to Robert Jordan's, where I staid next day writing letters, and some part of the dispute.

On the 12th, being the fifth of the week, we were again at Chuckatuck meeting, which was large and well; and the court-house being in our way, we called there, and all the magistrates were kind to us, as well those who had seemed rough and zealous for their priests at the disputes, as those who had shown us favour and countenance. Major Jordan and his son left the bench and walked with us half a mile, till a shower of rain occasioned their return, parting with us in great respect. As we walked along, he told me that he had heard since the last dispute, that we had fifty to one on our side among the people, and that it was thought most of them were turning



Quakers. I told him I was glad to hear it, but thought I had rather heard they were turned, than turning; for the cross is too hard for many there, as elsewhere, who are truly convinced, but not obedient, because of the glory and friendship of the world. That night we returned over Nancemond to Benjamin Small's, and lodged there.

On the 13th, in the morning, I set forward for Kicquotan, and went to Nancemond town; and being upon the river, there came a gust, which brought up a storm right ahead, and a great sea, so that we returned to Robert Jordan's that night.

On the 14th, in the morning, we set forward again, and the wind being still high, and against us, we rowed over the river, and arrived about sun-set. It being then near low water, we were forced all to get out of the boat about a quarter of a mile from the shore, by reason of the shoals. We made ourselves a tent with one of the sails and some pine tops, and a fire at a distance on each side; and there we lay (but I slept little) till about two in the morning. Then the tide making, we took our boat and set forward over the river, about twelve miles. The wind freshened as day broke, and the waves were high enough to think ourselves safe; but the Lord preserved us, and we arrived at George Walker's, at Kicquotan, about six in the morning.

It being the first-day of the week, and no notice being given of any meeting, we could have none. I set forward after three, and went about twenty-five miles that evening, to our friend Anne Airey's, where I staid several days. But before I departed from George Walker's, he told me that the people there were generally displeased with their priest, Wallace, who had been very busy in his pulpit against us, ever since Joseph Glaister had disputed with him, calling us deceivers, devils, &c., insomuch that one of his hearers, one day after sermon, had taken him to task about it, telling him that they went to church to worship God, and hear something that might be for edification in matters of religion, and not railery against honest people.

On the 16th I wrote letters for England, and the day following had a meeting at Anne Airey's house, which was not large, but a good meeting.

On the 18th I had a meeting at William Trotter's, about ten miles over the Neck, which was not large, but open, and the people very still and quiet, and some tender.

On the 19th I went to Queen's creek, and on the 20th had a good meeting at James Bates's, at Skimino; and that night lodged at his brother John's. On the 21st I went about

thirty-five miles, to James Howard's; and the day following, being the first of the week, had a meeting there. There being but few Friends, and many people, and they very dark and hard, the meeting was not very open, but ended well, and I was easy, and that evening travelled about eleven miles, to Jane Pleasants'. Next day had a meeting there, which was large and well, and I had great peace.

On the 25th I went to Charles Fleming's, and the next day had a meeting at Black creek. On the 27th, the morning being rainy, I set forward and arrived at Elizabeth Wilson's in the afternoon. On the 29th I had a meeting there, being the first of the week, which was pretty large, and a good meeting.

On the 30th, about the sixth hour in the morning, I set forward for Potomac, and arrived at our friend Peter Skinner's, about three in the afternoon, being about fifty miles, and that evening sent notice about the neighbourhood of a meeting to be there next day, which was very large for the time, and very open, though there are but a few Friends in those parts, and these but weak.

On the 1st of the sixth month I had an open meeting at Benjamin Berryman's, to the honour of the Lord, who alone is worthy.

I was set over the great river of Potomac next morning by Major Thornton's servants, and that night arrived at the widow Hutchins', where I was well refreshed after a tedious journey. On the 3rd, in the morning, I went to Abraham Jones', and in the evening to see his father and mother, both ill. On the 5th, being the first of the week, I was at their meeting about five miles off, which was a good open time.

On the 6th I set forward to Samuel Chew's, and on the 7th was at the quarterly meeting there, which held also the next day, and were large and good meetings, through the goodness of the Lord, who is not wanting to his people in all their assemblies.

On the 9th we had a meeting at West-river meeting-house, which was not very open, but ended well.

On the 13th, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Patuxent, which was pretty large and open. On the 14th we went to William Picket's through some difficulties, the great rains having raised the rivers and brooks, and the next day had a meeting there, where there are few Friends, but several friendly, and generally sober and satisfied.

On the 17th I arrived safe and well at Philadelphia, to the praise of the great name of the Lord, who was with me in all my exercises, in his mercy and loving-kindness, and by his holy Arm sustained me in things



too hard for me; to whom be thanksgiving, through Christ Jesus my Saviour, for ever and ever. Amen.

[On the 10th of fifth month, 1706, Thomas Story was married to Ann Shippen, the daughter of Edward Shippen, of whom he makes mention in his Journal: see page 108 of this volume. Their union, however, was not of long duration; for on the 19th of sixth month, 1710, she departed this life.]

*A Journal of my voyage to Barbadoes and the Western Isles, in the year 1708-9.*

HAVING had a concern upon my mind for some years to visit Barbadoes, Jamaica, and some other islands in the West Indies, in the service of Truth, and the Lord having wrought a willingness in me, in the course of his providence, made way through many difficulties: on the 18th of the eleventh month I sailed from Philadelphia in the sloop Unity, Henry Stephens master, and that evening, about seven, we arrived safe at Newcastle. It having snowed most of the day, and a strong gale blowing, with much rain in the evening, we anchored at Newcastle; and the next morning about eight went on shore, and staid there that day, to see if the weather would settle.

On the 21st, being the sixth of the week, we set sail with a small breeze at north-east, but the wind being slow, and continuing in that point, the master did not think fit to descend into the bay, but came to anchor.

On the 23rd, being the first-day of the week, we weighed anchor about six in the morning, the wind near north, and with a fresh gale entered the bay, and by the good providence of God, arrived safe and well at Barbadoes on the 9th of the twelfth month; so that we had but about fifteen days passage from the capes to the island; for which I was truly thankful to the Lord, the overruler of all things.

I was welcomed by my good friend Edward Singleton, who came on board to that end, and invited to the house of our friend John Grove, where I was openly and kindly received. Two meetings falling of course that day in Bridgetown, where we landed, I was there, to my great comfort and satisfaction in the Lord, who was pleased to give me a full confirmation in myself concerning my call thither, though he did not appear much by me then, other than in greatly tendering my spirit before him in silence.

Being well refreshed every way, the next morning arrived our friend Samuel Wilkin-son, who had been at Pennsylvania from Ireland; and another meeting falling in course, we had some service, the Lord being pleased

in some measure to concern us to minister among them, and things were well and comfortable, though the meeting was but small, and of them several were strangers.

On the 13th, being the first-day of the week, we had another meeting at Bridgetown, which was larger than before, and a good meeting, many strangers being there, and things well opened.

On the 15th we had another good meeting at the Bridge, and that evening, accompanied by our friends John Grove, his wife, and some others, we went into the country, where we lodged with our friend Joseph Gamble.

On the 16th we had a meeting at Spring meeting-house, where we had several strangers, and generally satisfied.

On the 27th, being the first-day of the week, I went again to Spring meeting, where I had some concern; after which I returned to Joseph Gamble's.

On the 17th of second month, being the first of the week, I went thence to Pumpkin Hill, where we had a hard, laborious meeting; and that evening returned to William Derrie's, at Spikes, in great heaviness, under a sense of a spirit of apostacy and uncleanness in that part of the island, more than I had felt in some other places.

At Spikes I staid till the 19th, and had another meeting there; which consisting for the most part of such as come to meetings, the testimony for that day, after a long and heavy time in silence, went against such as had professed Truth, and were not faithful; but rather secretly encouraged their children in such things as the testimony of Truth is gone forth against in this generation, in mixed marriages with such as know not Truth, nor regard its ways, in the glory of the world, and love of it, and in training to arms. After the meeting I went, indifferently easy, to Joseph Gamble's, where I lodged that night.

On the 22nd we went to Abigail Braithwaite's, and that afternoon to see our friend Nathaniel Curtis, who at that time was very weak, and not likely to recover; and after some time with him, returned that evening to our friend Braithwaite's. On the 23rd we repeated our visit to Nathaniel Curtis, with whom we had some time in prayer; after which he expressed great satisfaction, and said, "It is in vain to make promises to the Lord, considering the weakness and frailty of man; but if it may please the Lord to restore my former health, I hope to be more circumspect, and spend the remainder of my days more to his glory. He is a merciful God, and has been near to help in some times of great extremity;" with several such like expressions, in a very weak and broken condition of body.



and spirit : and so, after some expressions of respect on both sides, we parted.

[He attended the meetings in this island as they came in course, besides appointing many others, until the 7th of third month, 1709, when he embarked for Antigua, and arrived there the 13th. Of his visit to this island he says:]

Our friend William Haige met me on the wharf, and from thence conducted me to his house, where I staid till the 15th, being the first-day of the week, and then had a meeting in town, which was indifferently large and good, the blessed Truth being in good dominion, and the people very sober.

On the 16th I went into the country to see our ancient friend Jonas Langford, being now above eighty years of age, and without natural sight ; but otherwise hearty. He met me at the door in the porch, and as I took him by the hand, he looked upward and said, taking off his hat, in reverence to that Name he was about to take in his mouth, "Blessed be the Lord, who gives unto the righteous the desire of his soul." And so, without any more words between us for some time, keeping me by the hand, we sat down together in the hall ; and after some time in silence, we discoursed of such things and affairs of truth as then occurred ; and being freely received, and openly entertained both by him and his wife, there I remained till the fourth-day following, being in the mean time visited by several Friends.

On the 18th, being the fourth of the week, I went to John's-town, where the meeting fell in course. It was not large, or very open, yet many things opened clearly, and the meeting ended indifferently well ; after which I returned to William Haige's ; and from thence that evening to Jonas Langford's, where I staid till the 20th ; and the meeting falling there in course, was at it, which was very small, but open and well.

Continuing here till the 22nd, being the first of the week, and the meeting being there again in course, it was larger than before, and the blessing of the Lord was plentifully among us, to the praise of his holy Name, who is worthy for ever.

On the 23rd I went to John's-town, and lodged that night at William Haige's, and the next morning went to see General Park, then governor in chief of the Caribbee islands, who was very respectful and free with me on several heads. The packet boat being then in, and being free in my mind, I took my passage in her for Jamaica ; but tarrying till the 25th, about six in the evening, we set sail for Montserrat, where we arrived next morning about seven, having had a meeting with Friends at Antigua the day before we sailed thence.

At Montserrat we arrived well, and there tarried till the 28th, in the morning, and thence set sail for Nevis ; where, with a strong gale, we arrived half an hour after eight the same morning. Here I went ashore ; and the next morning, being the first-day of the week, we went into the country, about eight miles off, the worst way for stones that ever I rode, to the house of Mary Wilson, an honest Friend ; where, in a meeting of about eight or nine persons, the Lord was pleased to give us a comfortable season of his love together, to our great refreshment.

On the 30th, in the morning, we set sail and arrived safely at Jamaica about half an hour after four in the evening, on the 8th of the fourth month.

Soon after our arrival came on board our friend John Ward, and with him I went on shore, and lodged at his house that night, and the next morning, the 9th, viewed the town and forts ; where I saw great effects of the dreadful earthquake, still remaining, though the people were gradually filling up divers deep places with stones, in order to raise new buildings, most of the ground being already built upon that was left by the earthquake in that point. The earthquake here was such as has scarcely been paralleled in any age or country ; and was followed by a dreadful fire, which hardly left a house in all the town unconsumed. Such are their wicked expressions, their oaths, blasphemies, profanations of the holy name of the Almighty God, their curses, and rude language in all their conversation, even amongst both sexes, that sober men, who never heard them, would hardly believe, if it were told them, that human nature was capable of so great degeneracy ; insomuch that it looks as if, when sunk into the earth, they had been baptized in hell, into the very nature and language of it, whose expressions I will not defile my pen to repeat ; and yet I believe the day of God's mercy is not quite over to some among them. O that they might see it, in the remaining time of it, to their great redemption !

This view finished I went on board Charles Wager, rear-admiral of the blue, of whom there have been accounts in the public prints, and his great achievements in martial marine affairs. My business was only a civil visit, where I was courteously received, he being a person of a calm, sedate temper, naturally courteous, and no way elevated. As he is a man of war, we discoursed on that subject ; and as I am a man of peace, we conversed religiously, and not martially ; he for the punishment of privateers and pirates, as breakers of the peace, and robbers ; but I was for saving life, that poor sinners might



have time to repent and be saved; though what passed between us, was with the greatest civility and temper, the meekness of Christianity being more apparent in his deportment than any martial harshness. Having staid so long as I thought suited our circumstances on both sides at that time, and received invitations from him to further acquaintance, I returned on shore, and that afternoon went by water up to Kingstop; and was entertained kindly there by our friend Stephen Web, with whom I took up my quarters.

On the 10th we had a meeting at Stephen Web's house, which was very small and poor, there being but three or four Friends in town. On the 12th, being the first day of the week, we had another meeting at the same place, which was a little larger and better; though at that time I was under some indisposition of body.

On the 13th I went to Anne Pennock's, where I was that night, and the next day had a meeting there, where were several people, and most of the Friends of Kingston and those parts, and Truth came over all.

On the 22nd we had a meeting at the house of Captain Hewit, at Port-Royal; who, though not of our communion, readily gave up his house, as he had written in his letter, to the service of God. Being at his plantation, a Friend wrote to him about it; and he ordered his cousin, a Friend, who looked after the house, to make preparation for the meeting. It was pretty large, and very well, the Lord opening things clear, and people were generally satisfied, and some much pleased, as they signified afterwards. The meeting being over, my company and I dined at the captain's house, by his request, and that evening returned to Kingston.

On the 24th we had another meeting at Kingston, which was very small, but indifferent well; none but such as make some profession of Truth being there, it was harder than the other meeting. On the 26th, being the first-day of the week, we had another meeting at the same house at Port-Royal, which was much larger than before, and many things clearly opened; and the people, though one of the rudest and most wicked places I know of in America, very sober, attentive, and affected, and some of them pretty much reached. And leaving things to general satisfaction, and the honour of the Lord, the Author of every good word and work, I returned with several Friends to Kingston, where I lodged that night.

On the 28th I embarked for Pennsylvania on board the sloop the Happy Return, Jonathan Dickinson owner, and James Wilkinson master; and the wind coming fresh, a sea breeze,

we kept nearer the shore than the rest, and making better way, the next morning we got up as far as the Yellows, and in the afternoon reached Port-Morant, where we put in to water; and the wind increasing, and weather turning bad, we tarried there for the rest, two of which coming in with the port near night, put out to sea again, as we thought, to look for the convoy and company, being all to leeward; but saw no more of any of them whilst we remained in that port, only we heard of some of them being seen off there on the 1st of the fifth month, as we lay at anchor, by the inhabitants.

After they departed, we were becalmed in sight of Hispaniola, and a small island to the westward; but in the evening made a little way with a small breeze, and so proceeded on our voyage.

On the 12th, in the evening, with a fresh gale, we turned the easternmost point of Cuba, and stood our course all that night, and the next evening came near certain sands, called the Hog-sties; and being among several islands, shortened our sail that night, and in the morning, so soon as we could see about, found ourselves on the south side of Long Island, and near the shore, though we did not think it had been that, for we aimed at Crooked island, further to the east; but by reason of the currents, were insensibly driven thither.

But this was not the worst; for soon after we spied a sail to the windward, and after a short time perceived it came down upon us, and stood the same way. We were a while in doubt and suspense what kind of vessel she was, but in a few hours were convinced to our great exercise and damage; for coming within gun-shot, we saw his French pendant, and soon after he fired one of his guns to summon us.

Our captain being of fighting principles, and his men likewise, hoisted the English ensign, and returned his salute, having two guns only mounted, though ten on board in the hold, but no loss happened on either side. They quickly perceived how the matter stood with us, that we were not capable of any great resistance; and therefore advanced within reach of small arms, and gave us one volley; and the master having only two small arms on board, and but about ten fighting men, soon yielded to her, who was but a small sloop, with four small guns, about thirty men, and commanded by Captain Lewey, a Frenchman, and fitted out from Martinico.

We being, by God's permission, fallen into their hands, the captain sent on board his lieutenant, one Captain Cornelius, a Dane, as he said; who speaking good English, told us not to fear, for we should fare no worse than



he; so that they did no personal harm to any of us, but were very kind all along as we sailed to Port-a-pee, on the north side of Hispaniola, where we arrived on the 17th in the evening, and came to an anchor.

Our captors, in the time we were sailing, sung several *Ave Marias*, and were very devout and very merry, and mighty importunate with us to discover what we had but little of, viz: money; for I had but about two pence on board, and there was not much more among the rest of the passengers. However, having a chest of provisions, and a small box with some linen, they still had a jealousy that I had more, but were civil in their carriage all this time.

On the 19th the captain that took us went in a boat towards Cape Francois, to speak with some of their owners concerning the prize; but still having a jealousy that I had money, he ordered me to be searched, but found only my silver spoon, my watch being gone before; so that I saved only two shirts, and some small linen, and what clothes I had on, which were but mean, being provided on purpose for my voyage. However, they were otherwise kind; and the man that searched me desired my forgiveness, since he did it by command, not inclination; and some of them said they would not have done it on any account.

On the 19th we were sent for on shore by the officers aforesaid, and very kindly treated by them; but Jonathan Dickinson [one of the passengers and a Friend] and I were under great exercise in spirit, not yet seeing the particular cause, which afterwards appeared to be this:

It seems the laws of France require an oath of the owners and masters of vessels in such cases, the better to discover the value of vessels and things, which they administer by holding up their hands, then imprecating God to their loss of their part in him, in case of falsehood, but true answer to make to every question.

The master being no Friend, was sworn—there being a man among themselves understanding English, by whom they acted—and they examined him strictly; and when they had finished with him, proposed it next to Jonathan Dickinson, but he refused; which was a great surprise upon them, and some of them began to be a little heated and zealous. Then I told them in Latin, That we were a people differing from all Protestants in several points of religion; and that we never swore, either in judicature or conversation: that we had suffered great hardships in former times in England, for refusing to swear; and many of us had died in prison for that cause:

that King James had given us some more favour than any before him; and that King William in his time had passed an Act of Parliament in our favour, in the case of oaths; and that I believed King James, to whom we were well known, had given the king of France an account of us in that particular, when in his court, in the time of his exile.

They replied, it was a difficult case, their law being very express in the king's books; and looked into a printed book often on this occasion. My spirit being under great exercise all this time, especially whilst they were thus striving with Jonathan Dickinson, who stood firm against swearing; at last I found great ease and comfort in that holy, blessed and overruling Truth, whose testimony we were thus called on to bear against so great a power as the French, then an enemy, and we their prisoners; and very soon after, they took his testimony without swearing, or any other asseveration, save only a bare and sober relation, by promise only to answer truly.

After they had began their examination of him, the comfort of our blessed Lord, whose presence and shield was with us, so increased in my heart, that my spirit was broken in a consideration of his goodness and faithfulness to us, though I had a full recompense for all I had suffered. And some tears running down as I sat by, one of them observed it, and being in a surprise and admiration of it, they inquired the reason by the interpreter; but I made them a sign of silence, which they all took, and were still a short time, and then proceeded in their examination. Then I told them, when that was over, I would relate the cause of those tears.

The examination being over, which was done both with gentleness and strictness, then they inquired the cause of my brokenness; to which I answered:

“That though it had pleased God to permit us to fall into the hands of these men, and bring us under so great a power, and many dangers, yet perceiving he had been pleased to inspire them with so much gentleness and favour towards us, my spirit was so broken as they observed, in humble thankfulness to the Lord, who was thus kind to us in a time so needful; and for their favour we were likewise grateful.” All which they heard with great attention, and bowed themselves, when they understood it, with a gravity, and a serene and gracious aspect.

Things being thus ended to our great ease and comfort in this point, they took us with them to dinner in town, where they were kind beyond common friendship, in all manner of freedom and kind expressions; so that, save the loss of goods and time, our confinement



did not seem so grievous as might well have been expected. They often wished that peace might be proclaimed while we were with them; and one of them, viz: Judge Danzell, had Jonathan Dickinson, his wife and family, to his house, about three miles off, where they were kindly entertained. We went on board again after this time, they giving us leave to be on shore, or on board as we pleased, saying it should cost us nothing either way: but the vessel unloading here, I went on board the 21st, and the next morning coming on shore in the boat with some of the goods, our captain's boy was coming along also; but some of the privateer's men suspecting him of taking some money belonging to some of our men, left in the vessel, and could not be found, stopped him, and in his going back over the waist of the sloop, they saw the money tied up in his pocket. This drew a suspicion on me also; so that as soon as I came on shore, they ordered me to be searched in a room on shore, before the secretary; but finding no money, nor any thing of theirs, nor any thing valuable, they seemed a little ashamed of their treatment, though a little of that goes far with them; but the officers seemed troubled.

On the 22d, in the afternoon, a papist priest, of the order of Jesuits, being of the family of the Duke of Lorraine, came to the inn where I was. This Jesuit and I had some discourse in Latin; in which, though I had been long out of use of it, and his dialect and mine much differing, we made a shift to understand one another pretty well; and he being a master of the language, was a help to both.

Having a Latin Bible, Old and New Testament, by Beza, and an English concordance, for I had my books and papers given me by the privateer's men, I quoted several passages to him out of both; showing Christ to be the true light that was promised as such, as the object of faith in the first place, to the Gentiles, and then as a sacrifice for their sins. That though it was the same Christ offered to the Jews, yet under another administration, viz: as born of the Virgin Mary, according to God's promise to them; and that He is the "true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." All which he could not deny.

After this he began with their common notions about Peter, quoting Mat. xvi. 18, where Christ says, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, &c.' That Peter, being the head of the church, the popes of Rome had succeeded him until this day, and were in his place, Christ's vicars here on earth, and ought to be regarded accordingly in all things.

To this I replied, "It is true that our blessed Lord, taking occasion to ask his disciples, 'Whom do men say that I the Son of Man am?' some said one thing, and some another, but Peter said, 'Thou art Christ the Son of the living God;' upon which Christ replied, 'Blessed art thou Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter; (i. e. a rock) and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' In all which I do not understand that Christ promised to build his church on Peter; but on the Spirit, power and wisdom of the Father, which opened and revealed that great and necessary truth to Peter. For though his name signifies a stone, or rock, outwardly, yet such a rock is too weak to bear so great a weight as the church of Christ; but the power of the Father being almighty, his Spirit all-quickening, and wisdom all-sufficient, the gates of hell, that is, the wisdom, council, and power of hell—for here he alludes to the kings, elders, and people of the Jews, who often held their political and warlike councils in the gates of their cities—shall not prevail; but the counsel, wisdom, and power of God. And Christ himself, being the wisdom, power, and Word of God, the elect and precious stone, the head of the corner, and binding-stone of all the building, the apostle Paul does accordingly ascribe to him only the headship, and calls him expressly the foundation, viz: 'He is given to be head over all things to the church.' And, 'other foundation can no man lay than that which is already laid, which is Jesus Christ.' But," continued I, "if it had been true, that Peter had been that rock, head, and foundation of the church, as we see he is not, how did they prove that the popes of Rome had succeeded him in that station? And who was Peter's successor, when there were two popes in Rome at one time, both pretending to be Peter's successors?" This question I found was not grateful; and consisting of two parts, he answered only to the latter, and that by another question, viz: "When king James and king William became competitors about the crown of England, how did the people know which was in the right?" To this I replied, "That though I understood his intent and drift by this question, yet there was no parallel; for this was wholly a human affair, and men usually, in such cases, follow the dictates of human understanding, consulting chiefly their own safety and natural interest; but in matters of religion and divine things, it is quite otherwise; for good and truly religious men, following the example of Christ



and his saints, sacrifice all to the cause of religion, though contrary to human reasoning; therein following the revelation, dictates, and openings of the Holy Spirit; which is never wanting to the true and faithful in all such great cases, as the head and foundation of the church of Christ, and his successors, which are only they who follow Christ in a holy, innocent life." All this the good old man, for so I thought he was, heard with great patience, and without any show of anger; but made no reply to the matter, only saying it was near mass-time, and he must attend, and that we might have some further discourse another time; but I saw him no more, though we tarried long enough there for it, if he had desired it. For my part, as I had come off pretty safe after all this plainness, for I had no fear of him, I had nothing in my mind to seek after him, though I had several discourses with many others, who also knew a little Latin; and all ended peaceably, these things being generally new to them.

In my discourse with the Jesuit, and frequently with others, when I brought Scriptures home upon them, and against their sentiments, or for ours, they told me, "This Bible of yours is not truly rendered from the original languages; there are many omissions and undue versions in it." Then I desired one of theirs to compare them; but could not get one among them all to do it. For though they said that persons of any account among them might read the Scriptures, being only prohibited to the ignorant and mean sort, yet none of them could say they had any Scriptures, but generally referred me to the father, viz: the Jesuit, for one; except once, that one of them had a New Testament in Latin, in which I could not observe any difference from mine, though he was averse to compare them, having had it, as I suppose, from the Jesuit.

On the 23rd, being the seventh-day of the week, came Colonel Lawrens, who was governor of the fort here, and of all the precincts; and at table, taking notice of me, inquired more particularly after me and my circumstances, and then gave me an invitation to his house, about two miles off, which I accepted. He ordered me a horse next morning for that purpose when he came to town to mass.

That day, being the first of the week, as we were told by several of their own people, both in Latin and English, there being several that spoke English among the privateer's crew, the above Jesuit made us, our principles and deportment, the whole subject of his sermon; and said, That we were an innocent, religious people, differing in many points, both

of doctrine and practice, from all other Protestants, and seemed to have a right faith in Christ; only we seemed too diffident concerning the saints, our duty to them, the church's power, and the like. But in the end, exhorted his people to keep firm in their own religion; and as this people were thus cast among them, to show their Christianity and respect to them. And so they generally did, more than could have been expected; and several of them said, though too lightly, the Quaker preacher had converted their minister.

In the evening I went with the governor to his house, where I was very liberally and courteously entertained by him, and all his family, who were free with me every way, behaving not as to a stranger, but a friend. He was pleased with the relation I gave him of Pennsylvania, its settlement, name, people, situation, and way of living, often wishing for peace, that he might come and see it, hoping there might be trade between us.

His wishing there might be peace, occasioned a discourse between us about war, and the cause of it; wherein I showed him, that as Christ is the Prince of righteousness and peace, so his kingdom differs from the kingdoms of men, being no worldly kingdom; and as he had commanded his followers to love their enemies, and thereby taken from them all cause of fighting, so he also said, "My kingdom is not of this world; for if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight; but my kingdom is not from hence." And that the apostle also said, "From whence come wars and fightings among you? Come they not from hence, even of your lusts that war in your members?" To the truth of all this he assented, but replied, "That it was not they that desired the war, for they were generally much hurt by it, but the king; and that as God had set a king over them, they were bound in conscience to obey him, who was answerable for all the evil, if any, and not they; so that they ought to give active and passive obedience to all his commands, whatever they were." I then instanced Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; who though in office under the king, and loyal in their duty as officers in the civil state, would not obey the king in any thing contrary to God. Then he said, That was a heathen king, and commanded idolatry; but theirs a Christian, and gives only Christian commands, so ought to be obeyed.

I replied, "That so far as his commands were Christian, they ought to be obeyed; but we see he has commanded many things, which many of his subjects, not thinking consistent with their duty to Christ, had disobeyed, to



the loss and sacrifice of many of their lives, and others had fled, and many thousands of them in the Queen of Great Britain's dominions, to the great depopulating and weakening of his kingdom."

All this he bore without any appearance of resentment; and in the end owned that liberty of conscience is no unreasonable thing; but seemed still to be tenacious of their way of passive obedience and non-resistance.

Here I tarried till the 28th, being the fifth-day of the week, usually coming once a day to town with him; and he several times told me I was not a prisoner, but a free man; in the mean time lending me linen till my own small remnant—for I had but two shirts and a little small linen—was washed; which was done very neatly. But the vessel intending to sail from hence to Port Francois on the 29th, I went on board on the 28th, in the evening; and on the 29th, being the sixth of the week, we set sail, and turned up against the wind to the head of the Isle of Tortuga, where we were almost run upon the great rocks with a fresh gale; but escaping that danger, we soon after espied a sail right ahead, but far distant. The privateer's crew being willing to hold what they had, did not think fit to see what he was, but presently bore down right before the wind; and so in a few hours arrived at anchor again at Port Paix, and there we tarried three days: but they would not suffer us to go on shore again; which I suppose was only to save charges, for they were so kind, that we lived as well, or better than they; and they and we were as friendly as if no ungrateful things had passed amongst us, the only quarrel being our goods, of which having possessed themselves, they had no enmity against us; and we had so much grace from God as to be able to forgive them, and power among them in the truth, as to reprove them for swearing and ill words, and to argue with them even against their present ill employment. Several of them would move their hats, and thank me for my admonitions; and Augustine Cornelius, the lieutenant, who was by nation a Dane, as he said, and spoke good English, having been formerly kidnapped when a boy, into Virginia, would sometimes seriously say, that if he got safely home to Martinico this time, he would take up another way of living; but at other times he would talk wildly. I had much discourse with him on various occasions, and he seldom could resist the principles of truth when opened to him: and many places of Scripture we examined on these occasions; but sometimes when it came close, then he would say our Bible and theirs differed; which notion, I perceive,

is fatal to many of them, being all Roman Catholics. However, I offered, as I had often done to the officers, to write them a whole scheme of doctrine, according to our principles, if they would procure me their own Bible; but could not have one: and I found that what pains soever I might take that way, it was all liable to this perversion, viz: It is not according to our Bible. However, I drew up some heads about the light; that Christ is that light; that he lightens all men, and is the same Word that was made, or assumed flesh, &c., which the Secretary, who understood Latin, casting his eye upon, desired me to permit him to read it, promising to return it; but he did not, and I saw it no more.

On the 1st of the sixth month we set sail again for Cape Francois, near night; and the next morning were up with the head of Tortuga, and so stood along till about three in the afternoon, when we espied another sail; upon which we immediately tacked, and stood again for Port Paix. But in about half an hour's time they perceiving it only to be a canoe, retacked, and stood for the cape; where they arrived next morning, being in all fourteen leagues. Soon after the sun appeared in the horizon we saw another sail coming down upon us before the wind; and though we were within half a league of the town, they were in much concern, fearing it was an English privateer; and this place was more dangerous than all before, the entrance into the haven being very critical, by reason of the shoals on each side; so that their concern increased as the vessel approached, they having a sea breeze, which brought them in, and we a land breeze, which kept us out. We fired three guns for a pilot, but none came; at last the lieutenant of our vessel, being bolder than the captain, ventured in: and so we came safe to anchor before the town about nine in the morning.

At Cape Francois we found some difficulty in getting on shore; which we did not till the next day, they still thinking I had gold about me; and the lieutenant informing me of the people's conjectures, I told him very freely, that it was unreasonable to keep us on board under that apprehension. For as they had searched me twice before, and I had been on shore so long at the other port, it was not fair to trouble me any more; but that as I had told them the truth before, rather than be detained on board, they might search me once more; but they did not; and soon after let us go on shore.

The town is generally built of split cabbage trees, or palms; it lies along the coast behind the cape; has a dry situation; is an oblong square; the ends of the streets to the



sea, and others running across, after the manner of Philadelphia. There were several Jesuits there, but I had no discourse with any of them.

The place is not healthy, by reason of their brackish water, and in a few days I was taken ill of a violent fever; which, in one night's time, caused a question in my mind, whether I might survive it? But we finding out a widow's house, of Irish parents, called Margaret Connel, she gave me the best entertainment she could; and it pleased the Lord to restore me to my health very quickly: but not having any means to clear myself of the effects of it in my blood, it was of ill consequence to me after this.

Though we were not made prisoners at any time, but at liberty to go where we pleased, their forts excepted, yet we did not find the inhabitants of this port so courteous as the former: for here we were left to shift for ourselves, our liberty excusing their allowance; though some of them who had been prisoners with the English, were affable.

We found some Protestants, but *incognito*, among them; and some who could speak a little English, would curse the Jesuits, saying, "We were free till these came among us; but now we are taxed and spoiled to support them in idleness and luxury." There is one great man there who has engrossed all the meat and killing of cattle in town, and none may do it besides; so that meat is scarce and very mean, they not ordering it aright. The governor and fathers—so they term their priests—must be first served, then the other great ones, and the rest in order; and if any fast, it is the poor; though in such forced fasts, their prayers are anathemas against them that force their fast. As with meat, so with fish on all their mock fast days, which are many; the poor come last, and often fast in good earnest, not of choice, but necessity.

One day one of the Jesuits in his pontificals, with bells, cross, and such formalities, passing along with many others, one of our company asking what they meant? was answered, that there was a man in town very sick, and the father was going to administer God unto him;—he meant the consecrated bread they call the sacrament—and whilst the priest prayed within, the people prayed, or seemed to pray, in the street, kneeling.

As we had occasion to pass the streets, the people often viewed us with great seriousness, and seldom derided us. I never saw any seem to do it but once, as I was passing along, two young men coming out at a door, moved their hats; and I not answering them in the like kind, though I let them know I took notice of their intended civility, some on the

other side smiled, and told them I was a Quaker; then they observed me more intently as I went along, and some of them were not without a real respect. I often had occasion to pass by the place of the Jesuits, but they never seemed to take any notice.

We had little money, and fared but poorly; and yet had no want. I often retired alone into a deep valley, a mile off the town, where there were several springs and pools of water, which I mixed with the juice of fresh limes, there growing, and so drank it, and eat some wild fruits I found there; and as often as I had occasion, washed my linen; which necessity had taught me, though unused, to do indifferently well. One day, buying a little loaf of bread, intending to eat it there, it proved very bad, and though I ate but little of it, I was not so well as I had been before.

We staid in this port about forty-five days, and were in a great strait what to do; for it is rare to find any occasion of passage, or correspondence, to any other place, save old France, or Martinico: the first was not our way; and besides, it is rarely any occasion happens directly thither: so that we were forced to solicit a passage in the same vessel we were taken in, where we had already been fully weary of the very unsuitable conversation; and it was not without some difficulty we obtained it for pay.

We sailed on the 17th of the seventh month; but they being all commanders, and none to obey, when we were some way off at sea, on the 19th, we returned near the same port for more fresh water, and next morning sailed again. Reckoning their passage beforehand to be only about two weeks, they proceeded accordingly; but when we were far from all land, and much time spent, having had small winds, we were at last becalmed for about ten days together; and our fresh provisions being nearly spent, and no prospect of proceeding on our voyage, or of any relief, we came to allowance of water, being a quart in twenty-four hours; which not being good at first, was now muddy and stinking, and sometimes we found worms in it.

This was afflicting to all, especially to Mary Dickinson and me, for she was delivered of a daughter at the Cape three days before we sailed, and I was taken ill of a violent flux soon after I came on board; by which, and want of suitable accommodations, I was reduced to a weaker condition than at any time since I can remember. But when they saw how ill I was, the captain, one Pickato, of Martinico, then commanding, allowed me a sufficiency of claret and rusk, so long as he could spare it, and what water I had occasion for, without limitation; which I sometimes



mixed with a little sour oat-meal, and sometimes infused orange-peel, and drank it.

We had Cassava bread and Irish beef sufficient on board, and had no want of such provision; but salt meat being against my distemper, and too strong for my weak condition, my diet was mostly that bread and stinking water: besides, my lying in the hold among the crew of blacks and whites, a mixed and nasty company of rude and blaspheming wretches, where we could not sit upright, and close as a stove, in that hot climate, was no small aggravation of my illness. And besides, I was forced by my distemper to rise five or six times commonly in the night, and sometimes in the rain, and go upon the deck in the night air, out of that hot room; so that at last I grew so weak I was not able to do it, but lay upon the deck in the open air, and often wet with rain and the waves; and at last my legs swelled so big, that the skin would scarcely hold, with divers aggravating circumstances I forbear to add; which had been far too hard for all my own strength, if I had not been upheld and supported by the never-failing arm of the Lord; who never left me wholly to myself in all my afflictions, and in whose blessed visitations my soul rejoiced in remembrance of some of my nearest and dearest friends, who by this time had looked long for us, and were ready to give us over for lost; and yet through the grace of God, I was fully resigned to his blessed will, in dying or suffering, in death or life.

At length it pleased God to give us a fair wind, also a little to abate my distemper, and we fell in between Antigua and Montserrat, with the French island Guadaloupe right ahead; and there they put in for fresh water and other refreshments. On coming to an anchor, the governor of the island heard of us, and sent us word that there was a flag of truce belonging to Antigua, then at Martinico, which he expected at Guadaloupe in a few days, and advised us to come on shore and stay for the flag; and so we did, being extremely glad at this unexpected deliverance.

From the shore we went to an inn, I leaning on two of our men, not being able to walk alone; and staid about a week before the flag came, and we were much refreshed, the people being kind.

The flag being come, commanded by Captain Birmingham, we made known our condition to him, and he was very kind, giving us considerable credit with the French for our passages and expenses; and on the 26th of the eighth month we set sail for Antigua, by way of Montserrat, and on the 29th, near night, arrived safe in the harbour. That evening, being a little cheered in my spirits

to meet with some Friends, and again returned among our own nation, I went to Jonas Langford's, where I was kindly and openly received and entertained, and nothing omitted in order to my recovery, being much overrun by this time with a scorbutic humour over my body, especially my legs; from which both my good friend Jonas and his wife took great pains to recover me, and with good success; though I got not fully clear for some time after.

[On the 8th of second month, 1710, Thomas Story attended the first weekly meeting of the ministering Friends of Philadelphia—it is therefore probable that he had arrived shortly before, from this protracted, and in many respects, painful engagement. The following minutes were made on the occasion, viz:

“Our dear friend Thomas Story, being at this our meeting, after his return from the West Indies, reports that at Barbadoes the Friends that are left keep their integrity, are living in the truth, and in pretty good unity. Many flock to meetings and seem to be affected with the testimony of truth. He had a pretty good time and service amongst them.

“At Antigua there are but few Friends, and they are indifferently well for the present, and many other people flock to the meetings and are quiet and seem affected.

“At Jamaica there are but very few Friends, and truth at a very low ebb, but there are some who keep their integrity. Many other people came to the meetings at Port Royal, and some were affected and tendered.”

After his return home, there is a chasm of between four and five years in his journal, of which time no account has been found among his papers. In the year 1710 he buried his wife, and was probably mostly employed in the duties attached to the several public offices he filled, until the year 1714, when he again found his mind religiously engaged to visit Barbadoes, England, &c.; of which service he gives the following account, viz:]

*A journal of a second visit to Barbadoes, &c., in the year 1714.*

On the 3rd of the second month, 1714, under a suitable concern I set sail from Philadelphia in the Hope Galley, John Richmond, commander, and that night arrived at New-castle upon Delaware, and next day being the first of the week, was at a meeting there; where it pleased my great Lord and master to favour me with his good presence and the consolation of it, which I received as a testimony and confirmation that he was pleased with that undertaking.

The winds standing southerly, and we being becalmed some days, it was the 15th of the



third month before we saw the island of Barbadoes, and that evening landed at the Bridge, where I met with a kind reception from my friends and some others of the inhabitants, and took my lodgings at my dear friend John Grove's, where I had been so kindly entertained in my former visit to that island.

On the 16th, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting in that town, where divers sorts of people appeared, and some Jews, and all were generally sober; and things well and comfortable. On the 18th I was at another meeting there, where were many of the inhabitants, and I found rather an increase of the testimony of truth; and things were plain and well, truth being over the minds of the auditory in a general way, and several broken and comforted. On the 20th, being the fifth of the week, I was at the monthly meeting at the Bridge, which was open and well, and my certificates were read there.

On the 23rd, the first of the week, I was again at the Bridge; the meeting was large, and some Jews there, and things clear and well, the Lord's power and presence being with us.

On the 29th we went with our friend Edward Harrison, to visit his mother, brother, and sister, the two women being under some convincement; but his brother being a major, and young, seemed not much apprehensive of the way of truth; but yet was courteous, and made us very welcome. My spirit was much comforted in a sense of the love and visitation of God towards his mother and sister; and my hearty desire and prayer to God was, that they might embrace the merciful offers of the Lord, whilst he was pleased to continue them; of which I was not without hopes, considering how near they were to truth; waiting at home in silence together for the Lord's teachings, and in some measure then sensible of it.

On the 30th, in the evening, I went to Thomas Jackman's, and there rested that night; and next day was at the meeting at that place, which was larger than before, and pretty many strangers; the Lord affording his blessed presence, and the testimony of truth coming pretty close home to several of them: that evening I returned with John Grove to his house at the Bridge.

Next day was their six weeks' meeting, where I was present; but being rather a meeting of business, and but few left in the island taking cognizance of the public affairs thereof, it was very small. The 1st of the fourth month was their week-day's meeting of course; it was heavy in the forepart, but truth wrought through in some measure, and I had comfort in it.

On the 4th I was at an appointed meeting

about five miles from the town, at the house of our friend Bridget Peirce; which was for the most part made up of young people, and generally sober, several being a little affected. On the 6th, being the first of the week, I was at another appointed meeting at Alice Thorpe's, which was larger than expected, and things opened fully; and some were reached and touched with the power of truth.

On the 8th, being the third of the week, I went to the quarterly meeting at Spring, which held till the fifth of the week, inclusive: it was very open and several of the gentry there, and generally satisfied.

On the 11th, being the sixth of the week, we went to our friend Mercy Evans' house, and thence to the Windward meeting on the first-day following; which, as usual, was small and heavy, there being no constant meeting at that place; Mercy Evans and Anne Gettings being the only Friends there; whereas in time past there was a large meeting, and the house will hold some hundreds: so great is the falling away there, as also in all parts of the island.

On the 30th we had an appointed meeting at James Clement's house, which was pretty full, and a good meeting; things opening clear to general satisfaction.

[After attending several meetings as they came in course, he says:] On the 2nd of the fifth month, being the sixth of the week, we were at Speight's-town meeting, where things came close upon such as despise the day of small things, neglecting the plain language, plain apparel, &c., and such as basely equivocate about the priests' dues, and appear in arms on training days, and the like; which was of service, as I heard since, some being guilty of all these things.

[Having been employed in attending meetings at the Bridge, Pumpkin-hill, the Thickets, and at some private houses, he says:] On the 6th [of the seventh month, 1714.] I went up to the Thickets, accompanied with our friends Edward Harrison and John Oxley; and on the 7th, 8th, and 9th, we were at the quarterly meeting there; where were several great ones of the world, and truth was over most of them: the meetings were well and comfortable, though great heaviness usually attended in the beginning of them.

On the 9th, at night, I returned to the Bridge; where I staid till the 22nd, and had some private conference with one Acourt, an Episcopal priest, who asserted that the church of England had power to work miracles; and gave this instance, viz: "That the Archbishop of Canterbury having this power, as the rest of the bishops, and laying his hands upon the king or queen, or anointing them, devolved



that power on them." This being an allegation I had never met with before, my curiosity led me to ask some questions upon it.

1st; What kind of miracles these were?

2nd; Whether that bishop and the rest of them, could work the same miracles? But all I could find in this was curing of that distemper commonly called the king's evil; which none of the king's bishops of England, I presume, will pretend to cure by miracle: and then *Nemo potest plus in alium transferre quam in sese habet, an virtualiter, an formaliter*: What he hath not in himself he cannot transfer to another. What mean shifts will men fly to in support of a bad cause! For the question was, whether they were ministers of Christ? He affirmed they were, and had their power by laying on of hands; being the same power that the apostles had; and consequently, as he supposed, were obliged to affirm working of miracles necessary to that calling. He said also, "That the church of Rome is a true church, though corrupt; and that ministers made by the Pope and that clergy are true ministers: that the church of Rome was calumniated, and not so bad as reported; that they had excellent things among them; and that our martyrs of the church of England had no need in those days to insist so much on these points as they did; but that many of them might have saved their lives by just condescension;" with more to this antiprotestant purpose. To which I answered, that it was apparent which way they were driving; but now God had been pleased to throw a block in their way, which would stop their career: the news of the accession of King George I., having been come a little before this.

We touched also on baptism. He alleged that the text in Mat. xxviii., in the Greek, is most properly rendered, "To baptize all nations, teaching them," &c. Putting baptism first, to answer their own usage of infant sprinkling, or rantism; which being confuted by Edward Harrison,—being present at the conference—I had no occasion to say any thing to the language, but to note to my friend Acourt, that such little shifts rather ruined than advanced their cause; and that the due application of the element in the mode of baptism, was to be regarded by all those who apprehend water to be meant, as well as the proper subjects of baptism; in all which Christ was only sufficient, and left nothing to be amended in any institution of his in his church, by any successor or representative, or pretender of that kind. I put him upon proving their practice, viz: "Whether Christ had at any time instituted sprinkling infants in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy

Ghost, signing them with the sign of the cross, with godfathers, &c., and obliging them to promise as they do; and annex regeneration to this as a necessary consequence?" Which not being able to do by Scripture, he fled to the power and tradition of the church in such cases; which being only their own pretence, for what they please to impose in their way, as the church of Rome in theirs, was justly rejected as unscriptural; and so matters ended.

[He continued diligently engaged in the service of truth, and near the close of his visit to the island, remarks:] On the 24th I was at a meeting at Speights-town; it was small, but well in the end, though heavy in the first part; there being some unfaithful still in point of sufferings on account of priests' pay and training. Here I staid till the 26th, which being the first of the week, the meeting was pretty large, in which were some Jews, to whose state things opened much, and we had a good meeting; but the unfaithful were judged with great sharpness. That evening I returned to the Bridge, where I staid till the 17th of the eighth month, which being the first of the week, and about to take leave of the island, the meeting was large, open, and free, and truth in full dominion to general satisfaction: and as many of different persuasions had frequented the meetings during my abode there, so divers expressed their concern at my departure; and I parted with them all in peace and love, leaving the end of all my labours among them to the Lord, for whose sake I was so long there.

On the 20th, about four in the afternoon, I took leave of the Friends there in tender and mutual love, and immediately embarked on board the Bond frigate, Captain Peter Blackston commander, for London.

After as good and comfortable a passage as could reasonably have been expected, the time of year considered, the wind falling away, we were becalmed about two in the morning, on the 25th of the ninth month; and as soon as the day afforded a sufficiency of light, we found ourselves to the north of the Land's-end, and between that and the isles of Scilly, and both in view; and in the evening we got into the chops of the channel, but by reason of contrary winds, landed not at London till the 6th of the tenth month.

The Lord having been with me to comfort me, and bear up my mind through divers exercises, arising from weakness of body and the fatigues of my voyage through the great ocean, his goodness continued with me, and tendered my heart after I arrived at this great city, both in my retirements, and also in meetings; where I declined to appear in public, as



long as I could be still in peace, but suffered under the burden of the word of truth, and a right concern in it, by reason of some forward spirits, who, having accustomed themselves to talk of the things of God, in their own power and wills, left me no room in some meetings to discharge my mind of those things incumbent upon me; though Friends who had formerly known me were very kind, and we were mutually comforted one in another, both in conversations and meetings; the Lord's presence being gloriously with us in some meetings, to the honour of his own holy name and our consolation.

As I returned to my native land in the drawings of the love of God and the power of his holy commandment, in the simplicity of the blessed truth, I appeared as the Lord was pleased to make way for me, being reconciled to God and to all men, and unengaged in their various feuds, strifes, and emulations; which I found to be many. On the 12th, being the first of the week, in the meeting at Grace-church-street, in the morning, I prayed for the king, as my concern was at that season; from which some made this remark, that I was no Jacobite,—a distinction now on foot, it seems, among such as concern themselves in the states and kingdoms of men, and are in emulation in their minds who shall rule, and who shall not—supposing me, as I may collect from hence, to concern myself, as too many even among our own selves, unwisely do, in the advancement of particular persons to the thrones and dignities of this world; which I never took to be my business, but to leave it to God, and pray for those he advances in the course of his providence, that they may rule in righteousness and truth, and we be protected, relieved, and defended by them, against all those who would oppress or injure us, in things pertaining to this present world.

On the 15th, being the fourth-day of the week, accompanied by John Crouch, with whom I lodged, I went to Ruscomb to visit William Penn and his family. He was then under the effects of an apoplectic fit, which he had had some time before. His memory was almost lost, and the use of his understanding suspended; so that he was not so conversable as formerly, and yet as near the truth, in the love of it, as before. Herein appeared the great mercy and favour of God, who looks not as man looks: for though, to some this accident might look like a judgment, and no doubt his enemies so accounted it; yet it will bear quite another interpretation, if it be considered how little time of rest he ever had from the importunities and the affairs of others, to the great hurt of his own, till this

happened to him; by which he was rendered incapable of all business, and yet as sensible of the enjoyment of truth as at any time in his life.

When I went to the house I thought myself strong enough to see him in that condition, but when I entered the room and perceived the great defect of his expressions, for want of memory, it greatly bowed my spirit, under a consideration of the uncertainty of all human qualifications, and what the finest of men are soon reduced to. Nevertheless, no insanity or lunacy at all appeared in his actions, and his mind was in an innocent state, as appeared by his very loving deportment to all that came near him: and that he had still a good sense of truth was plain, by some very clear sentences he spoke in the life and power of truth, in an evening meeting we had there, wherein we were greatly comforted; so that I was ready to think this was a sort of sequestration of him from all the concerns of this life, which so much oppressed him; not in judgment, but in mercy, that he might have rest, and not be oppressed thereby to the end.

On the 18th, being the seventh of the week, I went to Reading, and was at their meeting next day, which was a pretty good one. That evening I returned to William Penn's, and on the third-day following to London; where I staid till the 6th of the first month, [1715] being the first of the week, and was accompanied by several Friends to Winchmore-hill meeting, which was large and well. That night I went to Bush-hill, to Samuel Waldenfield's, and tarried there for the advantage of the air, till the 9th, and then went to the meeting at Hartford, which was not large, but comfortable and well.

On the 10th, being the fifth of the week, I went to Hitchin, where I was at their week-day meeting, which was likewise small. The occasion of my going into the north at this time was on account of my father, who hearing of my being in Britain, had written earnestly for me to come to him, he being then about the eighty-fourth year of his age, had lost his sight and was ill of an asthma, and very desirous to speak with me before he departed this life, which he expected would be quickly; so that I took meetings as they fell in my way, not appointing any: but here we had a fresh meeting, and that of Baldock being the next day, I sent word thither of my intention to be there.

This meeting was a little larger, and was indifferently well; only some were too much under a dull heavy spirit, of which I admonished them, as greatly hindering the growth of all that give way to it. I staid the meet-



ing on the first-day following, which was large and open, and generally well satisfied, the love of Truth being with us, and things clear and well.

On the 16th, being the fourth of the week, I was at Hockslyme, near Aplegyse, where the meeting was not large, and at least half not Friends; but things opened pretty well, and we had a good meeting; and that night I went on to Newport-Pagnal, and next day was at their meeting, which was open, and some not of our communion were touched, and generally well satisfied, the testimony being against covetousness, and a drowsy spirit. That evening we had a large meeting at Sherrington, where most were strangers, and many things being opened among them, tending to convincement and faith in the divine light, all were very still, attentive and solid, and I departed in peace.

On the 20th, being the first-day of the week, I was at Leicester meeting, which was open, large, and tender, and many strangers coming in, several were pretty well affected with the testimony of Truth.

On the 22nd was at Nottingham meeting, which was attended in the forepart with a heavy, drowsy spirit, which being overcome, the latter part was clear and free, and some persons were broken and tendered, so that it was a good meeting.

On the 23rd I went to Mansfield meeting, which was small; and though a drowsy spirit was too much over some, yet it proved an open good meeting in the end, and Friends were very loving and free after it. I went that evening to Balber-Hall, to John Rhodes's, where I was kindly received by him and his mother. Here I staid several days, and had good conversation with them, being very open-minded and courteous, and of a good understanding in the things of God. He was convinced when young, and held his integrity through many temptations; but his circumstances differing from most among us in some respects, he lived unmarried, having a great aversion to all that were wanton, light, or vain; and though under some disadvantages in this world for the sake of Truth, yet he stands steady and true, preferring the simplicity of Truth, and the enjoyment of it, before all other things.

On the 27th, being the first of the week, he went with me to the meeting at Hansworth-Woodhouse, to which he belongs. They are mostly young people, and some of them not much acquainted with Truth; but though my exercise was a little laborious, yet we had a pretty good meeting, and several were tendered.

On the 29th I went forward to Burton, and staid that night there with Francis Harrison,

where I had great peace and comfort in the blessed Truth; and where I had a secret opened to me by my dear Saviour, which my soul humbly desires of him may be recorded in me for evermore. On the 31st attended Leeds meeting, which was very open and tender to many, and a very good time. Here I met with my old friend and companion Aaron Atkinson, and we were glad one of another in the Truth; and Friends' hearts being opened, several came to see me after the meeting.

On the 3rd of second month, being the first of the week, I went on to Bentham meeting, and on the 4th, in the morning, got to Kendal, where I was at the yearly meeting of ministering Friends, and had some time in public therein, which was acceptable, and I was easy and well. The meeting was very large, but not so thoroughly seasoned as might have been, by reason of the forwardness of some, which is too often the case of such meetings, where those of least weight and service are often in the way, obstructing the service of such as have the real concern, and are better qualified for the work; a distemper the church labours too much under in many places at this day, and hath been of great hurt; but in the main we had a good meeting, the Lord being near the faithful, and I having a little time therein one day, was pretty easy.

The meeting ended on the 7th, being the fifth of the week, and I went on to Penrith next day, accompanied with my old friend and companion John Bowstead, who, with many other Cumberland Friends of my acquaintance, and others raised up since my departure, were come to the meeting; and we were mutually glad of each other.

Next day had a meeting there, which was very small but lively; and being refreshed in the Truth among them, on the 9th I went to Carlisle, where I was kindly entertained, and several of my old acquaintance came to see me with respect; which they expressed as fully as I could receive in their way, and more. Notice being had of my being at the meeting there the next day, the curiosity of many drew them thither, and things were indifferently well in the forenoon; but there was a greater gathering in the afternoon, and greater openness, and the Truth came over them in a good degree, and being much spent in the meeting, I staid there that night.

On the 11th I visited some old acquaintance, and then went to Justice-town to visit my father, who was very aged, and without sight, but exceedingly glad of my arrival, and very kind. Here I staid till the 13th, and then went to the meeting at Solport, which was not very large, being their seed-time, but indiffer-



ent well. On the 14th I went to see my sister at Kingfield, and staid one night there, and then returned to Justice-town to my father, and there staid till the first-day morning, and then went to Kirklington meeting, which was large, but not so open as I could have desired, the expectation of the people being too much outward.

On the 23rd I took leave of my father in great tenderness, who was much troubled to part with me; but having overcome that difficulty, I went that afternoon to Carlisle.

On the 24th, being the first-day of the week, I went to Wigton. At this place lived William Robinson and his brother John, who, with Job Pearson and his brother Lot, and some others, their wicked accomplices, were the most violent opposers of us in our meetings that have ever yet appeared; occasioned by their being denied for their ill behaviour, and contentious and imperious spirits, as appears by the minutes of the monthly and quarterly meeting against them.

The meeting was large, there being Friends from divers parts, but not fully gathered, when John Robinson and his wife began in the meeting, with hideous noises, and false accusations against Friends in general; to make great disturbance; accusing me also as a persecutor, like Bonner, before I said any thing in the meeting, the woman being altogether a stranger to me, and I had been but little acquainted with the man, and not seen him for about twenty years; but their implacable rage is against the divine Truth and all that dwell therein, and I had only at this time a taste of what Friends there and elsewhere, have endured from these wicked people.

Henry Atkinson stood up first to speak, and at the same time, close crowding by him, stood this woman, the most hardened and impudent of any I ever saw. As soon as he began, she set up her noise, which was very loud; and in the same time he uttered every sentence, she also uttered these words, Persecuting Quakers, with some others at some times, containing reproaches against some of the magistrates by name; so that much of what he said could not be heard. When he had done I stood up, and though I had not given her the least provocation, she served me the same way; but my voice being stronger than hers, and finding out the time she kept in her words, I spoke in the intervals of hers, and so disappointed her in some degree, being rather better heard than Henry. For all their design was, to vex and grieve us in our meetings, so as that our minds might not be exercised in the virtue of Truth, and to drown our voices, that the people might not hear. Thus she continued during the greatest part of

the meeting; but when she ceased, then her husband began to prate, pervert Scripture, and utter many false accusations against us, which usually he did in times of our silence, having but a low voice.

Richard Wait praying towards the conclusion of the meeting, she roared out aloud all the time, in the same strain of wicked language as before; but notwithstanding all the rage of satan, in these his instruments, the Lord's blessed presence was with us, and in the main we had a good meeting.

In the afternoon the meeting being gathered, was very large, and more people of the world there, and she acted the same part against Henry Atkinson and me; but my voice, and his also, being above her, and Truth over the meeting, her voice was little minded, so that in the main the Lord gave us a comfortable meeting, and honoured us with his holy presence, to the great rage and torment of these people. After I had done I gave the people an account of them, and why they were thus enraged, saying, "That all the various sects and professors of Christ in the world had certain and respective rules of discipline, and terms of communion, that all their several members were subject to, whilst of that communion or sect; which rules, or terms, being transgressed by any, whilst of the profession, such transgressor was dealt with, and proceeded against according to their known and stated rules; but, persisting in the offence, was denied communion until reformed.

"That Christ had commanded, that 'if a brother offends, tell him of it between him and thee; and if he hear thee, (that is, leave off the thing offending) thou hast gained thy brother;' gaining him being the true end of dealing with him: 'If he hear thee not, (if he persist in his offence) then take one or two more with thee, that in the mouths of two or three witnesses every word may be established; and if he will not hear them, tell the church; and if he will not hear the church, then let him be unto thee as an heathen man, and a publican.' That is, to deny him Christian or religious communion, which, by some, is called excommunication.

"Now, we have our monthly, quarterly, and yearly meetings, in which we negotiate all the affairs of our community, as touching the poor, the discipline, the Christian rule and order of our society; that all may be preserved in a due decorum and deportment, in all things becoming our holy Christian profession: that nothing immoral, uncivil, or unrighteous, or of evil report, or tendency, may take place among us: and these men maintaining practices which some were offended at, have been proceeded against according to



our said method; and persisting in their offences, we have seen cause to deny them communion, as not being of the same spirit and practice with us. This excommunication extends neither to life, limb, liberty, property, or good name, other than as the matters of fact they have done are disreputable in their own nature; yet the evil spirit that rules in them, is so enraged, and they by it, that they have, from time to time ever since, behaved themselves in this violent and wicked manner, as you have this day observed, and abundantly worse at many times and places. All this was borne for some years with great patience, till our peaceable meetings were not only by their means turned into stages of contention and disturbance, but great violence done by them to many of us, especially our ministers, in the time of their ministry; by which their health hath been impaired, and even their lives, by consequence, endangered, till the civil magistrate taking cognizance of them, exerted his just authority for their suppression, and security of our persons from their violence, to which we have right with all other subjects of the kingdom, as members of it; upon which these aggressors bawl out Persecution, persecution, as you have now heard, though they themselves are the only persecutors in all these things.

“Now observe, if this were the case of the church of England, or Presbyterians, or Papists, or Baptists, to be thus used by persons excommunicated by them respectively, how would it relish to any of them? Would they think themselves obliged to sit still under such violences, without any regard to the civil peace of mankind, thus invaded on the most solemn occasion? I do not believe they would. Why then should we, who are equally privileged to the protection of the civil magistrate, who is ordained of God as a terror to evil doers, and a praise to them that do well? I think no rational considerate person can blame us, if we have, or yet should, excite the magistrates against all such, notwithstanding any unjust clamour of persecution against them and us for so doing, since these people’s cessation from violence will release them, whenever they think proper to be quiet.”

That evening I went to Lawrence-Holm, and lodged with my honourable friend Robert Atkinson, a clear and faithful minister of the gospel of peace, and a great sufferer on account of tithes, and accompanied by him the next day, I went to Holm meeting, which was not large, but a good open time the Lord gave us together.

On the 27th I was at the meeting at Allansby, which was small, but very fresh and open, and on the 28th I was at Pardsay-Crag meet-

ing, which was in the main, a good meeting. That night I went with James Dickinson, who was lately returned from North America, from a visit to Friends in those parts. On the 29th we went together to Broughton, where the meeting was but small, but enlarged in the enjoyment of life; for it was very open, and things clear and well.

On the 1st of the third month, being the first of the week, I was at Cockermouth, where the meeting was large, and pretty well, there being a great mixture and variety of spirits and states, but in the main, well in the forenoon, and better in the afternoon. On the 2nd I went to Whitehaven, and on the 3rd to the meeting at Westside, about three miles from Whitehaven, where came John Gilpin, his wife, their Presbyterian minister, (Thomas Dixon) Justice Gilpin’s eldest son, a very discreet youth, and several others of that sort, and also of the church of England. And though I had at that time a great cold upon me, and my voice more affected thereby than in all my life before, yet things opened clear, and I was intelligible to them, and much better as I proceeded in my exercise; and it was a pretty good meeting. We all returned that evening to Whitehaven; but I had a sense upon my mind, that the Presbyterian minister was not pleased with some things, though he had been very quiet in the meeting, and said nothing. The points I had most in hand were freedom from sin in this life, the necessity of it, and baptism; setting forth the general fall of man, and redemption by Christ, offered to all in the grace of God come upon all through him; and also the baptism of the Spirit, as the only true, permanent, and saving baptism; and that since every apostle of Christ had every qualification necessary to so great a work, without any dependence on any other in any part of his ministry; and as the great apostle Paul was not one whit behind the chief of them, and sent in a more especial manner to our forefathers, the Gentiles, and exercised his ministry where Christ had not once been named, yet this great apostle confesseth Christ sent him not to that work of water baptism; by which it appears it was not necessary, or any part of the gospel dispensation. And since he, the first great minister, thus peculiarly sent to them, had no authority from Christ to baptize with water, no man could succeed him in what he had not himself. And therefore all pretences of that kind at this day are vain and groundless; with many Scriptures to the same purpose.

On the 4th I appointed a meeting at John Nicholson’s about a mile from Whitehaven, where went John Gilpin, his wife and servants, Justice Gilpin’s daughter, and some of their



servants, and many people from the town, so that there was a large meeting, and most of them not of our communion; and a good meeting it was, Truth being over them, and things largely and clearly opened; so that I did not hear of any objection.

On the 6th arrived at Broughton-Tower, at the widow Anne Sawrey's, sister to John Gilpin, and an old acquaintance; but being long absent, she did not know me for some time, but was courteous, and when known, very respectful. I staid two-nights, and had some discourse with the family on several points, as baptism, the supper, inspiration, the maintenance of ministers, &c. She was an ingenuous and wise woman, and her two sons, young men, very sober and hopeful, and her daughter also. I left them all with much affection and respect.

On the 8th, being the first of the week, I went to Swarthmore meeting, which was pretty large and open; to Hawkside meeting on the 10th, which was very open and well; and on the 11th to the meeting at Height, which was also very open and tender.

[After several other meetings he says,]

On the 20th, being the sixth of the week, we had a large meeting at Wolverhampton; notice being given privately, that there was a stranger from America, and rumour magnifying me above what I was, raised a curiosity in many both to see and hear me, so that the place was crowded with persons of some rank not of our communion, and the Lord was pleased to condescend to them, so as to open some great things, in a degree of power and light, satisfactory to most, which some of them were heard to declare as they passed the streets; and Friends also were pleased and comforted.

The day following we went on to Birmingham, and lodged with John Pemberton, where we were courteously entertained, and the next day had two meetings there: that in the morning consisted mostly of Friends, and was pretty open, but Truth appeared in majesty and dominion; and in the afternoon, things were largely and clearly opened, in the wisdom and dominion of the power of Truth, and many strangers being there, were generally brought under, and the hearts of Friends very open.

On the 28th, being the seventh of the week, we proceeded to Oxford and lodged with Thomas Nichols, jun., and that afternoon went to most of the colleges in the city, and viewed the buildings and gardens, which, in their kinds, are pleasant and commodious; but that very great load and power of darkness which I felt (not the like in all South Britain) was so much an overbalance to any satisfaction I had therein; that I think I shall never see them any more. And this power

soon after showed itself by its fruits; for in the evening a great mob of the scholars and others attacked the Presbyterian meeting-house, and broke all the windows, doors, benches, wainscots and seats, carrying them away, and burning and destroying them, which made a great uproar in the city.

On the 29th I was there at the meeting, which, in the forenoon, was not large; several scholars and others came, but did not make any great disturbance. Friends having heard that they intended to use our meeting-house as they had done that of the Presbyterians, an advertisement thereof in writing was drawn up, directed to the mayor, and sent by a Friend; but the mayor being absent at the time, it was left with his servant.

In the afternoon the meeting was large, and many of the scholars were there: a few came at first, and some of them wearied in the time of silence, but others staid. After I had spoken a while, more came, and many things were opened to them, which seemed to reach their understandings. Other people of some fashion in the world came also, and all were very civil and quiet to the end of the meeting, the scholars taking off their caps in the time of prayer. The meeting was very comfortable, and of good service. After the service was over, they not being hasty to depart, I said, "That I had seen several colleges and scholars in divers parts of the world, and much rudeness among some of them; but as civility becomes all men of learning and wisdom, so their deportment that day had engaged my good opinion of them." But I knew the Truth was at that time over most of them, and kept them quiet.

After the meeting we returned to our quarters, and about nine in the evening, hearing a great noise of the mob at a distance, we soon had an account that they were using our meeting-house as they had done that of the Presbyterians the night before. They broke in by violence, and took away all the forms and seats that were loose, and such as were fast round the house they broke and defaced. They took the doors also off the hinges, and burnt them, with part of the wainscot, in their bonfire. They broke also all the windows and stanchers; and the room next the meeting-house they also abused and defaced, so that the whole was ruined and destroyed, except the walls and tiling. Yet all this did not cool their rage; for they broke into the dwelling house of our ancient friend Thomas Nichols's daughter, then a widow, where Thomas also was, and broke the windows, and threw in some hundred weight of stones and dirt, covering the beds therewith, breaking several things in the rooms, and also shedding



some blood. From thence they went to the Baptists' meeting-house, and gutted that also, as their term is. I lodging with young Thomas Nichols, we expected the same usage as his sister had met with; but as they came up to the house, they let fly their volley and broke all the windows, and so went along without doing us any further harm. But this I observed, that as *satan* raged in them, Truth moved in our minds with divine love, and filled us with heavenly consolation and life, so that we were without any fear of what they could do further.

The next morning we went to see the ruins of our meeting-house, and that of our friend Nichols'; and as we were at the former, I stood upon a small eminence, and looking over the place, many scholars and people being there, said pretty loud, so that they might all hear, "Can these be the effects of religion and learning!" upon which several of the scholars hung down their heads, but none answered. Then young Thomas Nichols made a short speech, but very close, putting them in mind of Sodom and Gomorrah; and that this was the same evil spirit which wrought in that wicked generation, upon whom came destruction; and that if they continued in such evils, the same just God might bring like condign punishment upon them. To which they made no reply, but that the mob had done it, and it was illy done, so would have excused themselves; but some others said, they themselves were that mob, and would be met with one day. After some time we returned to our friend's house, and so departed that wicked place. This is one of the blind eyes of this poor nation! This is one of the filthy fountains of their religion and learning, from whence the whole land is poisoned and undone. Can sweet and bitter waters issue from the same place? Or can religion flow from hence to the nation, where the life of religion is so remote from these vain pretenders? And what learning can they have, who are destitute of all principles of civil behaviour?

That night we went to Richard Richardson's, near Uxbridge, and on the 31st to London, being about a week before the yearly meeting, which, in the main, was much more comfortable, through the great mercy of God, than many expected. The affirmation, from the beginning of it, had occasioned much disturbance in the church, some being for, and some against it; and these divisions had ever been very oppressive to my spirit, knowing nothing could hurt us more than they, or give *satan* or evil men more advantage against us. But though I never liked the Act, yet I ever kept true charity to those Friends who were for

it, believing they saw no hurt in it, though I thought I did; and at my coming over to London, I laboured among them, to regain and keep a right temper one towards another; and as they talked of a further solicitation concerning it, the late Act being ready to expire, I advised several leading men on both sides to proceed in one joint interest as one people. For though we could not all agree about the definition of an oath, or in what relation the affirmation stood to an oath, yet we all were as one man still, that an oath is not consistent with Christ's doctrine; and accordingly they did both solicit for a plain affirmation, without the sacred name at all. But that could not be obtained; all that the Parliament would do, was to perpetuate the former, adding some clauses for the levying of tithes. When this came to be discoursed in the meeting, the minds of some on both sides being heated, things were likely to run high; but the Lord was near, and by his blessed wisdom and power, preserved us in unity. Some few of those who were for the affirmation inclined to have it established over all, as the testimony of Truth; by the yearly meeting; and some others on the other side, were resolved to reject it, and testify against it, as short of the testimony of Truth. But seeing the tendency of such a division, I and some others laboured for peace; and with much long-suffering, patience, and labour in the love and wisdom of Truth, and as he opened and made way, things came at last to this good issue, that such as could take the affirmation, might have the benefit of it without censure of their brethren, and such as could not take it, should not be reproached by them; but that the meeting for Sufferings should continue their care and solicitations, together with the dissatisfied, for further ease in that point, at a fit season. With this conclusion both sides were at last easy, and the meeting ended in more peace and brotherly kindness than for some years before, and to more general satisfaction; for which my soul was truly thankful, with many more.

The meeting being thus well over, on the 17th of the fourth month I went with some Friends from London to Braintree; and on the 19th, being the first of the week, was at their meeting, both forenoon and afternoon. The meetings were large, and filled with strangers, who were generally satisfied.

On the 20th I went to Colchester, to the quarterly meeting, and the third and fourth days being their yearly meeting, the Lord gave us a comfortable time, setting his blessed Truth and its living testimony over all.

On the 22nd, being the fourth of the week, I went to Edmundsbury, and on the 23rd was



at their meeting, which was very dry and barren, but yet had some service and comfort.

On the 27th we went together to the quarterly meeting at Norwich, and on the two days following was their yearly meeting, which was very large, especially the last day; when came abundance of people of all sorts, and things were full and plain. The more particular matters wherein I was concerned, being about the kingdom of Christ, the kingdoms of men, and the kingdom of antichrist, with his priestcraft and fallacy, which reached many understandings, and affected the people as well as Friends; and Truth gained among them to our mutual comfort.

On the 3rd of the fifth month, being the first of the week, I was at a general meeting at Titsil, which was large, and many of the world's people there, and Truth shined over all. In this meeting I had an opening concerning that creed commonly called the Apostles' Creed, and took some exceptions to some terms of it, viz: Christ's descending into hell, and the holy Catholic church, as they call it; the former importing more than the state of the dead, and the latter showing plainly what church, and not the apostles, was the author of it.

On the 4th I went back to Norwich, and on the day following, went by water, to Yarmouth, expecting a vessel to sail next day for Holland, in which I intended to go; but the wind proving contrary, we appointed a meeting at Yarmouth. There came many of the people, and a loose, airy company generally they were, though some sober persons were among them, and in the main things were well.

On the 11th, being the second-day of the week, I went back to Yarmouth; but the wind proving contrary again, we had another meeting there on the 12th, which was far larger than before, but some of the people more rude, and yet in the main it was a good meeting, several being tender, and many brought down under a sense of the weight of Truth.

I remained at Yarmouth till the 17th of the fifth month, being the first-day of the week, and the people being generally at their own worship, and no notice of my being there, the meeting was more select, and much quieter and more comfortable, the Lord being with us, and a few sober people also well satisfied who sat with us. The afternoon meeting being ended, the wind came fair, and I went on board the vessel about six in the evening.

*A journal from England to Holland, Friesland, and Germany, in the year 1715.*

THROUGH the goodness of the Lord we ar-

rived well at Rotterdam on the 19th of the fifth month, and I took up my lodging with my friend and old acquaintance, Robert Gerard, formerly of Aberdeen, in Scotland, who, for some years had lived there.

On the 20th, being the fourth of the week, I was at their meeting, which was very small, there not being above four small families, and not all under a profession of Truth; but the Lord, who is not confined to number, but opened the law and the prophets to the two disciples going to Emmaus, was pleased to visit us together, tender our hearts by the same word of his grace, and make them burn within us, to our solid consolation.

On the 26th, being the third of the week, I set forward by Delft, Leyden, and Harlaem, where I met with John Padley, from London. We went that evening to Amsterdam, where the meeting falling of course the next day, was small, and in the fore part of it very heavy and dull, under the temptation of a sleepy spirit, which prevailed on several, there being rather a lukewarmness and declension in this city, than a going forward; but the Lord was pleased to make way for us, through this veil of darkness, and the meeting ended in some degree of life, and things were pretty well. Here Jacob Claus interpreted for me, as Archibald Hope had done in Rotterdam; which being a thing I had not been acquainted with, was a little strange at first, but as I gained experience, it became more easy, and my spirit more at liberty in that exercise.

The next day we returned to Harlaem, where we had an appointed meeting; for though they formerly had a settled meeting there, most of them are become so cold, that they have wholly dropped it, and some of them so weak as to go among the Menists to hear them. There having been good notice given, the meeting was pretty large, most of them Menists, and some Presbyterians, and one minister, the public preacher in that town. Things opened largely and clearly among them, and Truth was in good dominion in the life and power of it. They were generally very quiet, and some of them being much reached by the power of Truth, and tendered, were loving after the meeting, and departed very solidly.

On the 29th we went to the house of Simon Bevel, to make him a visit. He had once known a pretty good condition, but marrying a Menist, she had drawn him aside with her; and he coming to this meeting, was reached and affected, which drew some notice from us. When we got to his house he happened to be gone to Amsterdam; however, his wife received us courteously, and invited us into



an arbour in the garden, and brought thither some of her good things; but we having an eye upon the Lord, and more towards her good than her entertainment, the Lord was pleased to draw us into a sweet silence, and gave me a few words to her in particular, which also reached all, and then John Padley prayed, and we had a very tender and divine season; after which we departed in great love and peace, she inviting us thither again in our return that way, if it should please the Lord so to order it.

Having finished this satisfactory visit, we returned to Amsterdam, and were at their first-day meeting, which, in the forenoon, was pretty well filled with strangers, some supposed to be young princes, or nobles, by their garb and retinue. Things opened clearly concerning the way of Truth, and I was interpreted by William Sewel; the people were very quiet, and many of them seemed concerned, and in some measure reached by the Truth. In the afternoon their meeting is usually more select, which being known to the inhabitants, it was smaller, but more strangers than commonly. In this country they make so little of the first-day, that many buy and sell in the shops in the afternoons, and are thereby detained from all worship, and others go a pleasuring in walks, gardens, coaches, boats, and the like, so that all places of worship, I am told, are very thin at such times. Our meeting was open and comfortable, the Lord being with us, to the praise of his holy name, who is worthy for ever.

Here we remained till the 2nd of the sixth month, being the third of the week, when we went thence, and that evening reached Twisk. On the 3rd had two meetings there; the first was pretty well filled, and an open time, but the second not so full, the people being about their cattle and business; but several were tendered and comforted in the Truth, whose blessed power was over all.

On the 4th we went back to Horn, and had a meeting in the Menists' meeting-house, which was not large but pretty open and well. Several of their chief men were there, and were very sober, though I suppose, not pleased; for there is a sect among them called Collegians, who deny the divinity of Christ, or that the Spirit of God is now to be expected as of old; and that men may, if they will, keep all the doctrines and commandments of Christ, and in so doing, are saved. And the testimony of Truth that day went against them in all these points; but we did not meet with any opposition, for the Truth was over them.

That afternoon we went by wagon to Enchuysen, where we went to see Martin Daniel,

a baker, who is convinced of Truth, but has not strength to profess it: he and his wife were very kind. I having something to say, they were reached, and their hearts still more opened; and we exhorted them to be noble, and take up the cross freely, and despise the shame, which now, as well as of old, attends the profession of the Lord Jesus, according to the present dispensation.

On the 7th, being the first of the week, we had two meetings at Harlingen, in a room which Friends have for that purpose, being but two or three small families, and several of the collegian Menists came thither; but I believe our doctrine did not please some of them, though others of the Menists were well satisfied, and several of them came to see us. The Lord was with us, and all was well and comfortable, several being touched with a sense of Truth.

There being only one poor old widow remaining in Embden under the profession of Truth, we went to visit her, which she took well, and was rejoiced to see us. After that we walked through the city, but were all of us greatly laden in our spirits, in a sense of the power of darkness, which is great there. Returning to our inn under this sense, it pleased the Lord to visit us together in a time of holy silence, and make us all sensible of his divine love to a people there, in which our spirits were released from the other load, and became concerned to visit some of them: accordingly, next day we had a meeting at the widow's house, which being but small, was well filled, so that several went up into an upper room, where they could hear, and many in the street about the windows, and were generally sober, and many well affected. The Lord being with us, we had a comfortable time, and the doctrine of Truth was clearly opened in a good degree of life and love, and the people departed in solidity in a general way. So that I have hopes of the place, that the inhabitants will receive Truth, and entertain it better than heretofore; for there were several Friends there formerly, but being greatly persecuted, some went from the place, and others died. After this meeting we reigned over all in the Lord, who, when and where he is pleased to arise in his great power, subdues and puts all things under him: so that, as in the evening before we had been greatly burdened, we were now as much rejoiced in Him, to whom be rule and dominion for ever.

We departed that city, the people in the streets showing no dislike, but rather civility, as we passed along; and that night lodged at an inn. On the 11th, early in the morning, we went to Oldenburg, where we were stopped a little at the gate, and examined whence we



came, and what we were. We refreshed ourselves at the inn, and soon departed, being again examined as we passed out at the gate by the commander of the guard, and our names again taken. We arrived at an inn on the bank of the river before night, going with horses and wagon into the house, where there were a coach and chariot before, all on the same floor, and the people, and fire, and all their affairs in one view, the horses being set on each side, all within the same walls, though they have some chambers apart; which, though strange and odd to us, yet is the common way in that part of the world throughout our journey.

On the 12th, early in the morning, we set forward in an open wagon, and passed on to the city of Breme; and there we heard that the plague was at the city of Altona, within a mile of Hamburg, whither we were going, and that it was shut up and guarded on all sides. This gave us some exercise; for it looked, to human reason, a little dangerous to proceed towards a place so circumstanced, and by other towns and places too, where, being strangers, we must expect strict examinations, besides our own personal danger of the sickness. But after some inward retirement, our way was cleared up through all difficulties, and we resolved to proceed on our journey and service. Here we spoke with Sarah Schreders, a friendly woman, and loving the way of Truth. She told us of some others there who also favoured it; that there was great division among the people about religion; and that one of the public preachers having come near the doctrine of Truth, telling them that outward baptism and bread and wine, without the substance would not do, was silenced by a prevailing party, but had still many on his side; and feeling some degree of openness in my mind to the inhabitants, I kept the place in remembrance, intending that way in our return. From hence we departed about five in the evening, and that night about eleven arrived at Otterberg, and lodged at an inn.

On the 14th we went early to Hamburg, and were strictly examined by the out-guards; but having a certificate from our last inn, testifying that we had come over the river thither in the evening, and we letting them know that we had come directly from Holland, we had admittance into the city, and were kindly received and entertained by our friend Jacob Hagen, with whom we staid that day, but could not have a meeting, because the people were generally at their worship, and none there under a profession of Truth but himself. The next day, being the second of the week, we had a meeting at his house; and he being acquainted with most merchants and persons

of account, and respected in the city, and having given notice to such as he thought religiously inclined, there came among others, the chancellor and counsellor of the king of Denmark, a counsellor of the Duke of Ploen, near Lubeck, also a merchant from Riga, and divers other merchants of his acquaintance. They were all men of appearance in their way, and promised little towards the comfort of a meeting, rather like persons of curiosity than religion, and some of the merchants at first a little light, talkative, and busy with their snuff-boxes among themselves. My spirit was much down, and under heaviness, till about a quarter of an hour had past, when Truth began to work, and soon arose in me over their spirits; and then I had courage and strength, and things opening much to the inward appearance of the divine Word, they were brought under in some degree. It was a good meeting, and most of them took us kindly by the hand after the meeting was over, and passed away very solidly. The Friend told us afterwards that the above chancellor of the king of Denmark was an enemy to all priestcraft, and had written and published some very smart things against the Lutheran priests, which had much galled them.

Remaining here till the next day afternoon, Jacob Hagen related the following passage, viz: "In the year 1712 the Czar of Muscovy being in the city of Frederickstadt, in Holstein, about two days journey from hence, with five thousand soldiers to assist the Danes against the Swedes, after he had quartered his men, inquired of one of the burgomasters, whether there were any of the people called Quakers there? The said officer told him there were a few. Then the Czar asked him if they had a meeting in that place? The officer told him they had. Then the Czar bid the officer let the Friends know, that if they would appoint their meeting that forenoon, being the first-day, he would be at it. The officer replied, that there were thirty of his soldiers in the meeting-place, so that there could not be any meeting in it. When the Czar heard that, he was angry that they had put soldiers there, and sent an order by one of his own captains, that they should all be put out forthwith, and that notice should be given to the Friends by the captain, that if they would appoint their meeting he would come to it. Accordingly the officer gave notice thereof to the said Jacob Hagen, and Philip Defair, a public Friend who lived there, and not only ordered the soldiers out of the room, but made them take away all they had brought thither. The place being made ready, they had their meeting at the second hour after-



noon; to which the Czar came, and brought with him Prince Menzikoff, of Muscovy, the General Dolgorucky, and several other of his dukes, generals, secretaries of state, and other great men; and a great crowd following, he ordered the door to be shut as soon as a competent number were in to sit comfortably, and many more came to the windows. After some time of silence, Philip Defair preached the doctrine of Truth among them, and all sat very quietly, but especially the Czar, who sat very gravely all the time of silence, and all the others being awed by his example and presence, did so likewise. But the Muscovite lords and generals not understanding the language, and the Czar himself understanding it pretty well, interpreted to them what was declared, with much gravity and seriousness, commending what he heard, saying, That whoever could live according to that doctrine would be happy. A Friend after this presenting him with Robert Barclay's Catechism and Apology in High Dutch, he said he would have them translated and printed in his own language."

On the third-day after dinner I had a secret work of Truth in my mind, and we were all drawn into silence, and after some time, to prayer, and we were comforted together. This being over, notice was given to Jacob Hagen, that there was an order come from the king of Denmark to shut up the city of Hamburg, as Altona was, he being informed that the plague was also among them. Having no further concern there at that time, and intending for Frederickstadt the next morning, we were advised to depart that afternoon on our way, which we did accordingly, though some of us could have been very free, and rather have staid longer. It was near five in the evening before we set forward, and it began to rain as we departed the city; and being in an open wagon, we were much wet. We had an idle, ill-natured driver, who being hardy himself, and able to endure the weather, would hardly go out of a foot-pace, so that it was very late before we reached the inn; and when there, had but mean accommodations, some of us lying on straw only, and covered with wet clothes.

On the 17th, early in the morning, we again set forward, it still raining, and went about the same pace as before till we came to another stage. There we had the satisfaction to change our wagon-driver, and though it rained still, yet we were much better used, and proceeded more cheerfully, for this one went a good pace, and we shortened our journey a great deal that afternoon, but very wet still, and all of us had taken cold.

The next morning being fair and clear, we

set out early, and driving at a good rate, our clothes dried as we rode along, and we were a little more cheerful, and about eleven forenoon we arrived at Frederickstadt; and coming to the house of our friend Gysmond Otterloo, we were joyfully received, and kindly and plentifully entertained, and being comforted together in the love of Truth, we soon forgot the fatigue of our journey.

On the 19th, being the sixth of the week, we had a meeting in town, where came many of the inhabitants, and some of the best rank. They were generally satisfied, some tendered, and Friends much comforted, and we were glad together of our visit.

On the first-day following we had two meetings there, which were both large and open, and the people generally well affected. The testimony of Truth was clear, and some made in measure sensible of the power of Truth, and tendered. After the meeting in the afternoon was over, I said to the people before they departed, "That there was so much difference between our English language and theirs, that they might probably not well apprehend every thing according to the true intent of it; and our testimony, by that means, might suffer loss, and some might not have the full benefit of it. And therefore if any scruples arose, we were ready, at any convenient time and place, to remove any objection." But we heard of none.

On the 23rd we went with several Friends to the city of Tuning, to try if we could have a meeting, and several were spoken to, but none would entertain a meeting in their houses, being afraid of their priests, they being generally Lutherans. Some of our company went to the priest and asked him if he would let us have a meeting in his house. He was pretty civil, and told them he could not consent to it; being a preacher among a people of other principles, it would look strange in him to admit such a meeting in his house. But he sent for two of his brethren, one of whom was more warm and averse; however, they parted pretty friendly on all hands. After this we walked through the streets, and about the town, but had nothing to say to the people there. They took great notice of us, but offered no incivility. Returning to our inn, we gave notice in the town that we intended a meeting next day at Frederickstadt; and thither we returned that evening.

And here I think it not improper to relate what I had from several Friends concerning a former visit to this place by Christopher Midel, who some times had been preacher to the Danish chapel, at Well-Close, near Ratcliff, London; but being convinced of Truth, and faithful, had received a part of this ministry; it was



after this manner, viz: "About seven or eight years ago Christopher came to this city of Tuning, then under the command of the Swedes, and preached the Truth in the open streets, and some were affected with his innocency and doctrine. But the magistrates sent soldiers to apprehend him, and take him out of the city, and all the sentinels were ordered not to suffer him to come in again, so that he lay two nights without the gates, one in the fields, and another in a farmer's house. Though the soldiers could not suffer him to go into the city, yet they were very respectful to him, and he spoke much of the way of Truth among them, which seemed to take place with several in some measure. At length he sent to the governor of the city, who was also the chief military officer, desiring to speak with him; and the governor came to him, to whom Christopher made known his case, desiring he might have liberty to clear his mind to the people. The governor was respectful to him, and told him, that if he had applied to him first, before he had been put out of the city by order of the magistrates, he could have answered his request; but since they had done it, if he should now protect him against them, it would raise a difference, which he thought was not proper at that juncture of affairs there. And after they had reasoned the case fully, the governor took out a handful of money, which he would have presented to Christopher, supposing, being a stranger and traveller, he might want, to bear his charges. But Christopher refused it, with acknowledgments of his kind offer; and let him understand that he was not under any necessity that way, and so departed from that city." But we may observe how the Lord orders things in the course of his providence; this city being besieged by the Czar and king of Denmark, in the year 1712, fell into their hands; and the banks, ditches, gates, and bridges, which had kept out this servant of the Lord from declaring Truth in the city, are now so levelled, filled up and demolished, that a stranger can scarcely discern where they have been, but as shown by others that knew them before. And yet the inhabitants, being guided by their priests, as remote from the Truth in nature and spirit, as those from whom they are a little reformed in notions, do still continue their aversion to Truth, the only way by which they can have true peace and safety.

I now return to Frederickstadt, where, on the 24th, we had a large meeting, where the magistrates of Tuning, and some of the chief of the inhabitants, made some amends for their remissness the day before; for both the burgomasters came to the meeting, and also

the secretary, or town clerk, with many of the inhabitants, as also many from adjacent places, with several priests and teachers of different sects, and were generally sober, and several well affected. The blessed Truth reigned in majesty over all, to his own glory; and I believe many were touched with a sense of the virtue of it, and their understandings in some degree opened. The matter delivered, was mainly concerning the law written in the heart; the light of the Gentiles, and the universality of it; the necessity of faith in that light, and advantages arising thereby; that though this law of the Spirit of life, come by Jesus Christ, makes free from the law of sin and death, where it is truly opened and revealed, yet "there is none in heaven, or earth, or under the earth, can open it, but the Lion of the tribe of Judah," which is the Lord Jesus Christ, who came of that royal tribe. Therefore it is in vain to depend upon the learned, who cannot open it because it is sealed, or the unlearned, because they are so; or upon the princes or potentates of this world; but upon the Lord alone. "For as none knows the things of a man, but the spirit of a man which is in him; so no man knows the things of God, but by the Spirit of God; and the Spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God." That as the veil was and is still over the heart of the Jew whilst the law was read unto him; and he, in hearing of the letter, is still ignorant of the Spirit; even so the Gentiles, though the law is written in them, "it is even in their hearts," but yet sealed. So that though they read the holy Scriptures, which testify of the true and living God, and also of his Son Christ Jesus, and also hear the things of God plainly and fully declared by the hearing of the outward ear; yet so long as the law is sealed up in the heart, they neither understand the Scriptures, which are some of the things of God, nor what is declared unto them, though in the wisdom and demonstration of his Holy Spirit. I exhorted them therefore to believe in the Son of God, the light of the Gentiles, who once had appeared to the Jews in that holy body; and fulfilling the will of the Father therein, is also come in spirit according to his promise, and by whom all are taught that believe, and have a divine understanding by him. The wise and learned in this world, by all their wisdom, know not God; but one giving one conjecture and opinion, and another giving another, concerning the mysteries in the holy Scriptures, they have led those that followed them into great confusion, and being departed from the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, the Prince of righteousness and peace, they are gone into wars and destruc-



tion, making outward as well as inward desolation; in which they have proceeded to that degree, that professed Christians have commixed the blood one of another with the blood of horses and cattle in the open fields. O great abomination before the Lord! with many more close things, which that day, in the authority of the living Truth, were delivered among them; so that some of them seemed to stand in admiration, and all were still and solid. I heard of none but one priest that muttered, who thought I bore too hard upon the learned, and left them too little share in the knowledge of the things of God, wherein he mistook me; for though their learning without the Spirit doth not qualify them to teach the things of God, they are not unqualified only by having it, but as subservient to Truth, it may be, and is really useful. But he only talked softly at a distance, so that I had no opportunity to confer with him on that subject; and in the general, things were very well, and well taken.

On the 25th we were at their monthly meeting at Frederickstadt, which was altogether of Friends, to whom, though few in number, the Lord was near, and we were tendered and comforted together in his holy love, which alone edifies the whole body, which is one in all lands.

Being invited the day before by one of the burgomasters to dine with him, we went accordingly after the meeting, where we were kindly and plentifully entertained. His wife had been at the meeting the day before, and spoke well of it at table, where I also had some words in prayer before we ate, which opened freshly. He was very free and open with us, being a Menist. After some hours spent in discourse, chiefly about religion, wherein we had no difference, we departed, and visited the widows and fatherless among Friends in town, there being seven widows, and one with seven small children, their husbands having died in a great sickness, like that at Altona, some time before.

That afternoon some Friends went to a neighbouring village to try if a meeting could be had, and among others, spoke with a priest, who is a Lutheran, who gave them a very civil answer, saying, "My house should be open on that account; but I being preacher myself in the place, and put in by the magistrates, I do not know how they may resent it, if I should admit strangers of other principles to preach in my house;" and so excused himself, but said he would be glad of a visit from us.

On the 26th we had another meeting at Frederickstadt, at which were several priests and ministers of different persuasions, and

one of the regents or professors of the college at Kiel, the seat of the duke of Holstein, and several again from Tuning, &c., for it was their market-day, and after their business therein was much over. The meeting was open, and many things cleared to them, and all very quiet. Friends and I took particular notice of the still and innocent behaviour and countenance of the teacher of the Armenians in Frederickstadt, then in the meeting, who seemed to be affected with Truth, and inwardly reached by it. This also was a good and comfortable meeting.

The first-day following, being the 28th, we were again at Frederickstadt, where the meeting was large and open, both forenoon and afternoon; and there came many of the same people, and some others, who were generally still, and the way of Truth and life was plainly opened to them, and several affected with the power of it in some measure: and Truth being over all in the majesty of it, had honour and praise, and is alone worthy.

There being a marriage intended between a couple of Friends, notice was given thereof beforehand, and it being appointed the next day, viz: the 29th, there came a great crowd of all sorts; so that many who came a little after the hour appointed, not being able to come so near as either to hear or see, went away; but as many as could crowd into the house, and about the doors and windows, and lane, staid; the novelty of the marriage inducing many that were not concerned about religion. The Lord was pleased to favour us with his presence, and open things suitable to the occasion; and I believe, so as most of them had never heard before on the subject of marriage. The marriage supper and ten virgins came up in the wisdom and authority of Truth, setting forth the enjoyments of the five wise, and misery and disappointment of the five foolish, and the whole auditory were brought under the awe of it, and became as still as the most sedate meeting of Friends, and the Lord's power was over all magnified, and the buyers and sellers of oil, or what they may so call, exposed. There were many affected at this meeting with a solid sense of the virtue of Truth; and I observed the above-said professor was there, as he had been, I think, at every meeting, and also the Armenian preacher, very solid. We went to dinner after meeting with the new married couple, where came also some of the more sober of the neighbourhood, and all ended in a decent manner, and to satisfaction; the Lord honouring his own name among his little family there, and drawing several into a good liking of his holy and living way.

On the 30th in the afternoon, being the



third of the week, we had a select meeting with Friends at Frederickstadt, and the Lord was pleased to visit us together, and afford us a comfortable season and parting. But though intended for Friends alone, and in our lodging at Gilbert Otterloo's, yet some others found us out, and came thither, not diminishing, but adding to our satisfaction, being made sensible of the power of the blessed Truth, then eminently among us to his own glory; and among the rest was Jacob Van-Maseick, a wine merchant of that place, who had been at most of our meetings there, and I think, fully convinced of Truth, having owned himself satisfied on the point of baptism at the second meeting we had there.

After meeting we went to take leave of Nicholas Ovens, the burgomaster who had been friendly to us; but not being within, his wife entertained us with friendship, repeating her satisfaction with a meeting she had been at, and also with what had passed at their own table when we were there. Though we had not the opportunity of seeing him at his own house, he came a little after to our lodging, and brought us a pass under his hand, and the seal of the city, very necessary in those parts, by reason of the great sickness at Altona, and the suspicion on Hamburg on that account; and after some free and religious conversation, and good wishes on all sides, he departed, showing us respect, and made the pass without any charge.

On the 31st, in the morning, we set forward, accompanied to the river by most of the Friends there, and some others already named, and parted with them near the river on the bank, leaving them in much love, in which we had been drawn to visit them. It was a solid, but not altogether sorrowful parting, though not without tears; for we bare in our breasts, on all sides, I believe, that which will make our mutual remembrance comfortable in distant places and times. We had the company of our friends Gilbert Otterloo and John Van-Campen, as far as the ferry-house on the Else, near Brunsbottle, where we arrived in the evening about sun-set.

I observed the people in the inn at Mildorp, as soon as the clock struck, suddenly to change their several postures, and seem to be very serious and silent, and every where enter upon some seeming devotion, as when they say what they call their grace; some pulling off their hats, and sitting still, as if at prayer, and others turning to the windows and walls in like seriousness, which gave me occasion to inquire the meaning of it; and I was answered, it was the custom of that place, that as soon as the people heard the clock strike twelve, they all went to prayer. But I

observed the ceremony did not last long, nor did any of them pray with an audible voice.

They seemed, nevertheless, a people ready for the reception of better things, and I believe the Lord will, in his own way and time, visit them. I asked our landlord why they had so many images of Christ in their churches and houses? He answered, "It is to put us in mind of Christ." I replied, "It seems you do not love Christ so well as you should, since you want so many outward mementos of his outward appearance. But the primitives had the mind and Spirit of Christ; they bore in their own bodies the dying of the Lord, and wore his cross in their hearts, by which they were crucified to the world, and the world unto them, with all its empty show and vain glory. And this cross is that living virtue and life of Christ, appearing in men's hearts now as well as in those days, working the same effects in all who believe, follow, and obey it, being the saving grace and light of Christ unto all people." This seemed strange and surprising to him, as appeared by his countenance; and I believe it answered his conscience, for he made no reply, and I felt the love of Truth to him and the people there, but nothing for a meeting at that time.

From thence we proceeded in our journey, and in the evening came to the ferry-house by the river, but could not get over till after twelve in the night, the tide not serving before; and about that time, or a little after, parting with our friends at the river side in much tenderness, we embarked, but not without some exercise, for the ferry-man had, in the night, taken on board one hundred and sixteen hogs, and though there was a place apart to be in, yet it was only a partition of boards, with wide and open chinks; so that the smell of the hogs was very noisome, the hatches being down for the conveniency of sailing the vessel. To complain of this to these boorish people, would only have raised their temper to give us further trouble; so that we sat down with it in patience. We came to the ferry-house about eleven, where, being provided with a wagon, we set forward about twelve, and that night about eight arrived at an inn twenty-four miles from thence.

About one in the morning, being moon-light, we set forward in an open wagon, and in the evening arrived at Breme, and lodged at an inn, where we had been before, and were kindly received; but I having taken cold, an intermitting fever, to which I had of late been subject, returned upon me, which much impaired my health and strength.

In the morning we spoke again with Sarah Schreders, with whom we had conversed as we went to Hamburg, and we found things were



at a low ebb among them relating to Truth, hardly any of them having courage to entertain a meeting, she herself having no house, but being with her brother, who, though he had passed under that name some years, was still very weak and depressed. And he and another, who was also friendly, but sometimes went to the public worship, came to the inn, but could not give us any hopes of a meeting with them, for they feared the magistrates and priests, there being both Lutherans and Calvinists in their public churches, and the people generally of these two sects. I was under a burden in my spirit after they were gone from us, and was ready to depart under it; but John Padley was rather desirous to stay a little longer, and go to some of their houses, which we did, and some more of them being together, they took courage and consented to a meeting the next day; and then we were a little easier.

On the 4th, being the first of the week, about nine in the morning, we met in Hendrick Schreders' house, in a back room, where came more than we expected, and the Lord was pleased to be with us to our help and comfort; but so cowardly were most of them, that as my voice began to be raised so as to be heard further than the room or house, they could hardly sit for fear, which both hindered themselves much of what otherwise they might have received, and also made my exercise the greater; and yet they staid till I concluded. As John Padley stood up to speak, several went into the other room in haste, some knocking at the outer door frightened them; but it proving only some that desired to come in, they came into the room again, and staid quietly the rest of the meeting, which, notwithstanding their weakness, was pretty comfortable, and several of them were broken and tendered; and they were generally very loving when we parted with them.

Before we went from the house, we had a message from a priest, of whom we had heard something before, who desired to see us at his house, which we also had desired, but had heard he was under exercise of mind, and was so retired that he did not care to converse with any body. When we went in, he received us at the entrance of the door very respectfully, and took us into an inner room, where being placed, we were silent a while; and some things opening in my mind suiting his condition, I spoke them, wherewith he was well satisfied. After I had done, he spoke a few words, by which I perceived he was in a good degree illuminated by the divine Truth; and in a sense of a fresh spring of love and life at that time in my soul, I was much broken, which also reached him, and after some time in that condition, we were bowed in prayer,

where I found my spirit much more at liberty than in the meeting, and the Lord gave us a divine season of his love, and a visitation thereof together at that time. When this was over we fell into some conversation, wherein he was very open and free, and gave us to understand, that he had in his first concerns in the world, followed merchandising, wherein he had gained well; but a desire entering his mind to be helpful to mankind in a better concern, he went to the college, and studied about five years; when, finding himself sufficiently qualified, as he thought, for the work he aimed at, which was to be a teacher among the Calvinists, he took that function upon him, and had been very acceptable among the people there. But it pleasing God to open to him the emptiness of the priests, and all outside shows and formalities in religion, he had published his sentiments openly in his sermons, especially the insufficiency of human learning, without the Spirit of Christ, in the ministry; and that such a ministry could never profit the people, but greatly hurt them, and much to this purpose. He added, that he expected very quickly to be cast out from among them, for this and other doctrines he had preached, contrary both to their principles and practices; but being clear in his understanding, and having peace with the Lord in what he had done, and not needing their favour on account of a maintenance, for the Lord had blessed him with a competency, he was resolved, by the grace of God, to maintain his doctrines against them, and stand his ground, let them do what they would. This was very acceptable to us, and he was thankful to the Lord for our visit, which he said was a strength and confirmation to him; and those things I had said to him were agreeing to what was in his own mind. He had that text ready before him, how that many believed in Christ, but durst not own him for fear of the Jews, and being cast out of the synagogues; which he knew at that time, he said, was the state of a great many in that city, who were convinced of the way of Truth, but were not yet able to confess it in an open manner, but he was in hopes the Lord would give them strength in time to own him freely; and this was also our apprehension of that people. At our parting, he embraced us with much affection, wishing us a prosperous journey, desiring we might remember one another in the Lord.

We were told by some of these friendly people, that this young man, for he seemed not above thirty years of age, being more fervent and spiritual in his doctrine than any of the rest in town, was much admired and followed by the people, which raised the emulation and envy of all the priests, and



they watched occasion against him; but being of a holy life, and much pressing that in his ministry, they could not find any thing till he set forth the necessity of inspiration and the Spirit of Christ in a gospel ministry, and that all who were made ministers by men only, without the power of Christ, which alone could make a minister, and that without any help, power, or authority from man, were only intruders and pretenders, and not true ministers: nor were the ministers of Christ to teach for hire, but freely. This was what they had now against him, and had him at this time under dealing, having admonished him twice, and the third time at hand, in order to cast him off and silence him, which he seemed resolved to bear, rather than recant his Christian doctrine. For though he had gone to the college with that intent at first, being now better informed, he leaned upon the Lord for strength and wisdom, and not upon his learning, in which he was not inferior to any of them. We heard also of some others, in other places, cast off for the same reasons: so that the Lord is at work in many hearts against antichrist and his ministers, in several parts of the world, and that day drawing near, wherein, *alas! alas!* with wringing of hands, must be the condition and cry of all the broken merchants of Babel; for their old rotten ware will sell no longer, because there is wine and milk, yea, all dainties and delicate things, to be had freely at the table of the Lord, in his holy city, without money and without price. "For the Spirit and the bride say, Come; and he that heareth saith, Come; and whosoever will come may come, and drink of the water of life freely."

We set forward from this city about three in the afternoon, but were stopped about a quarter of an hour at the gate, till their divine service, as they imagine it, was ended, that being their order to their soldiers.

At last the gates were opened, and we departed in peace, though much gazed at as we sat in the wagon, because they directed to us their formal salutations, and had not the like formal returns, but did not abuse us. That night we rode till about the tenth hour, and then lay down on the straw on the floor, where also stood the wagon and horses, and cattle, tied on each side.

On the 5th, early in the morning, we set forward in a great fog, and coming to Oldenburg, were there stopped at their gates by the military formalities, for about half an hour, whilst our pass was sent by a sentinel to the superior officer of the guard, and from him to the chief, and so back to us; and entering the city, after some refreshment we passed on to Leer, where we arrived about

ten at night. After some refreshment, going to bed, I had the fever all night, as every night from that at Breme; and by much sweating and fatigue of the journey, in their open and jostling wagons, was much weakened, but not sensible of any pain or sickness.

In the morning there came to us one who had formerly been a teacher in that place among the Baptists, and very acceptable to them, being of a good conversation; but through an inward conviction that he had taken upon him what the Lord had not called him to, he left it off, and lived retired, and not in communion with any, but loving all that were honest and spiritually minded; and we found him pretty near the Truth, both in notion and spirit. Desiring to have a meeting there, this man went with us to speak with the Baptist teacher in town, who being absent, we went to the house of one of the elders, by whom we understood we could not have a meeting in their meeting-house, as some of our friends had had the year before: they themselves having liberty only by connivance and payment of money, the meeting our friends had there before had drawn their liberty into question; and complaint being made against them, the matter was now depending before the court, and they knew not how it would issue, or whether they should not all be banished the town on that account; and therefore were not willing to commit the same crime to aggravate the magistrates: for none have toleration there, by the emperor's orders, but Papists, Lutherans, and Calvinists. Upon this I told them, we were not come there to add to their sufferings, but were sorry it should happen so on that occasion. I took this opportunity to inform them, that we in Britain and elsewhere, professing Truth, had been persecuted from the beginning. Some of us had suffered banishment from our native country, for our testimony to the Lord Jesus, and his divine light and grace made manifest in our hearts; and yet had experienced the goodness of God even in that: for some had obtained greater riches in the world, in those parts to which they were banished, than they had before. Others had suffered long and hard imprisonments, even unto death, in dirty and stinking dungeons; some, spoiling of goods and loss of lands, with cruel whippings, scourgings, derision and mockings; and some had also been hanged, and thrown into pits, denied burial for the testimony of Jesus, which we were now preaching in these countries. But the Lord was with us still in all this, and was our support and comforter, or else we had not been able to endure what we had met with from false Christians, and cruel persecutors, for his holy name's sake; but the Lord had



now made way for us, and we had as much liberty as any others. I told them also, that the Lord had visited a people in France; but they being yet weak, and flying the cross, left their native country, and fell short of that testimony given them to bear; but the Lord being still at work among them, they would at length stand as we had done. I also observed, that there were many here in Germany, and the countries about, convinced in their hearts of the same Truth and principle of divine light, who being yet weak, and fearing persecution, were not willing openly to own it, which might prove to their utter ruin; for Christ, who is the light of the world, said, "He that confesseth me before men, him will I also confess before my Father and the holy angels; but he that denieth me before men, him will I also deny before my Father and the holy angels." And so I proceeded, there being several of them present; and the man having many children, grown up to young men and women, his wife called some of them, and they were reached and solid, and we had a comfortable time among them. Taking leave of them with respect on all sides, we departed, and that evening came to Emden.

Soon after we alighted from the wagon, we went to see our ancient friend, Esther Jans, and to have a meeting appointed the next day. She told us there was a widow, the mother of Simon Dock, in town, who had a large granary in a convenient place there, which, since we had the last meeting, she had of her own accord offered, in case we should return that way. Accordingly we ordered it to be made ready, and on the 7th, at three in the afternoon, had a meeting there, which was pretty large, and many in the street, and things were opened fully, but the work was something hard, the people being greatly ignorant of spiritual things; yet some of them were reached by the Truth, and were tender. The meeting being ended, we retired to the inn, and had some thoughts of departing in the morning for West Friesland; but desiring to be further helpful to the seeking ones among them, and hearing that several would be glad of another meeting, we accordingly appointed one in the same place, at two in the afternoon next day.

This meeting was almost as large as the other, and pretty open, and the way of Truth further set forth among them; and we parted with them in peace and love. After we returned to our inn, we went to see Hendrick Zwart, the merchant who had invited us to his house as we passed that way to Frederickstadt. He was very open and free with us, and inclinable to discourse on matters of religion, which suited us best; and we found him

ready to own the Truth in all things we opened to him, which were many; and we had a satisfactory time.

On the 9th we departed from the city, and arrived at Delfzel about two in the afternoon, where, after a little refreshment, we took the next draw-boat for Groeningen, where we arrived that evening.

We had now increased our company, for Henry Johnson of Twisk had come to meet us as far as Emden, and Jacob Nordyke from Harlingen, had tarried at Groeningen, to try for a meeting when we should come thither, which was accordingly had the next morning about the ninth hour; to which came pretty many Menists, and some others also; and the Lord was pleased to be with us. Many things concerning the light and Spirit of Christ, and the Word of God, were plainly and fully opened to them, and I think, to general satisfaction, though many things were directly opposed to that doctrine which many Menists hold against the divinity of Christ, which was fully proved. This meeting being well ended, it was in my mind to propose another, which they generally and readily agreed to, and desired it might be at the third hour afternoon; which was held accordingly, and was about as large as before, and very open. I there set forth largely the one divine baptism of Christ, the Word of God; and yet did not hear that any of them took offence, but some were well satisfied with it.

In the close of the meeting I proposed a third, to begin at nine in the morning, which was also held: and being the first-day of the week, some of our company thought the meeting would be very small, because they would generally be at their own worship: but it proved otherwise; for it was larger than any of the other, and the Lord was pleased to favour us with his presence, and to open suitable things; and we had a good time among them. There was a Lutheran at all these meetings, a man of some account in the city, and was more reached than many others, and tender in the last meeting, taking leave of us with tears in his eyes, and had offered his house for a meeting, but we had been provided before.

There was also an ancient apothecary in town who was at all the meetings, and well satisfied, confessing freely that water baptism could not be that commanded in Mat. xxviii. 19, but practised for some time, in some places, in condescension to the weakness of the people, as were circumcision and other legal rites. His son and daughter were also at the meetings.

In the afternoon we departed the city in a draw-boat, and about ten at night arrived at Dockum, where we had a meeting next morn-



ing about ten. It was in the Baptist meeting-house, and with them only; for they are not willing, in some places, to let it be publicly known, lest advantage should be taken against their own liberty.

That afternoon we went to Holfert, near the sea-coast, where we prevailed with the Menists to have a meeting in their house, which was large, and some of several sects at it, and some of the town officers. This meeting was much more open than the other, and several things of consequence cleared to them. After the meeting was ended, one of them, as is usual in their own meetings, read a verse of the seventy-fifth psalm, as I was told by one of our company who understood the language, and they fell to singing before we got out; but many of them did not sing, and one of their teachers went out of the house. I found myself easy to stay till they had done, for there was something in my mind to say to them on that occasion; and the other Friends staid also.

The song ended, I desired to be heard a few words, which was granted; and I spoke to this effect, "That I had once been among a people who used to sing psalms, and it was a custom among many still. But I desired them to consider the foundation of their singing, whether it was any part of the worship of God, or that he required it of them as such; and also whether they all sung their own conditions: for things might be true in the psalmist, which were not so in them. As for instance, a high-minded, proud man singing that he behaves himself as a weaned child in silence and rest, is not true, nor can any sing aright in that state; though I did not accuse them of pride, but this for instance." I proceeded further, and said, "That the apostle Paul says, 'I will pray with the spirit, and with the understanding also,' and sing also in like manner; and speaks of 'making melody in the heart to the Lord in hymns and spiritual songs;' but nothing of singing other men's psalms without the spirit. And that I had observed in those countries, among those who think themselves reformed, a great deal of images, pictures, and outward show, and also high and lofty instruments of music, which had not been duly considered in their reformation." This last some of them seemed not to relish so well as the former part, but none made any answer; and in general, we had the full countenance and approbation of some of their teachers, and we parted with them in friendship.

This afternoon we rode across the country to Drachten, where we arrived in the evening; and my fever being returned upon me some days before, and also a grievous sore boil, what

with these, and the exercise of meetings, I was very low in my body, but my mind strong in the grace of God, which is a sure stay to all that trust therein. This evening we sent to the Menists there, to desire a meeting with them, which they readily granted; and about nine, on the 14th, in the morning, it began. Several of their teachers were there, and a large gathering of several sorts, but most Menists, having, we supposed, their whole meeting. The Lord was kind to us, and advanced his blessed Truth over all in the wisdom and power of it; and many things were opened and cleared to general satisfaction, and some were well affected with the power of Truth. After the meeting was over, some of their preachers showed us kindness, declaring their unity with our doctrine; and one of them said, "I hope we shall all one day meet in the kingdom of heaven;" and so we parted in peace and love. This is as hopeful a meeting as any among them I have yet seen.

After dinner we set forward towards Goredyke, which was hard enough for me, having sweat much in the night by the fever, and my strength being spent in the meeting, together with the pain of the boil, and the trouble of it in the wagon; but the Lord enabled me by his grace to bear it, for his blessed name and Truth's sake, and for the spreading thereof among the people.

We arrived here about four, and had a meeting about six in the evening with the Menists, in the meeting-house, and some others were there. In this meeting I had strength beyond expectation; for though I could hardly walk to the place, through pain and weakness of body, and my natural spirits much exhausted by the fever, travel and pain; yet the Lord was good, and gave me full strength in a large exercise in that meeting, and the truth was over all, and the people, both teachers and hearers, were loving and pleased, and we parted with them in love. After this was over and we returned to our inn, I found myself weaker than before; and that night had the fever, but not as at other times, though I got no rest. Some of the company, for some temporal ends, hastening beyond reason, we were to set forward the next morning at six for Heerveen. But as I was putting on my clothes, my weakness and pain were so great that I fainted, which I perceiving before it fully came, attempted to call to the rest in the room; but they did not hear me, my voice being cut off by the fainting. One of them happening to speak to me, and having no answer, put by the curtain, and found me in the fit; and they used what means they could on that occasion. After a short time I recovered



out of it, but found a great alteration; the boil was broken, and I became very drowsy, and my spirits more at rest, and less of the fever; and, after some refreshment, went into the wagon, none offering to stay, or give me any rest or ease that way, and the same person still driving home. O the precipitant haste of this world, and the hardness of the heart that is overcome thereby. But that only which prevailed with me to concur in this cruelty against myself, was the consideration of a meeting, which we expected was appointed in the Menists' meeting-house, at the place whither we were going; for one of the preachers of Goredyke going thither as we arrived, he said he would procure one for us; but when we came there, about the ninth hour, there was no appointment, the people being generally at a fair at another town. I was a little easier, the motion of the wagon having forced much corruption and blood from my sore; but lest I should take cold, and wrong my body too much, and most of all to try for a meeting, I staid at that place the remaining part of that day and the night following. That evening we had liberty of the Menists for a meeting in their house, at nine in the morning; which was accordingly held.

This meeting was not large, but open and fresh; and many things of great consequence were made plain beyond expectation, which made me look a little at the people, they not seeming, by outward appearance, like such as might have a capacity to take what they heard; but what opened was declared. In the time of the meeting came in a person, who, by his garb and behaviour, looked like a gentleman, as such are usually called among themselves, and he was very modest and serious. After the meeting was done, and we retired to our inn, our host informed us, that he was in an outer room, in the entrance of the meeting-house; where several persons of more than common note had placed themselves to hear us; among whom was a considerable military officer, often mentioned in the public news papers, and some with him. Our host invited them in, but they declined it, because they supposed it might be some surprise upon the poor people, and make some disorder in the meeting, which was already settled and quiet. This was civil, good natured, and genteel, if that was their true reason; which I have no cause to doubt.

One point opened in the meeting was to this purpose, viz. "When our blessed Lord, in the days of his flesh, on a certain time was preaching to the Jews, he said, 'Except ye eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of man, ye have no life in you.' Again, 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, the same dwelleth in me, and I in him.' This doctrine greatly of-

fending the multitude, they said, how can this be? How can this man give us his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink? This is a hard saying, who can receive (or bear) it? And from that time they went back, and followed him no more. And so great was the mystery of this saying, that the apostles themselves seemed, at least some of them, to be staggered at it; which gave the Lord occasion to say to them, Will ye also go away? But Peter, who often showed more forwardness than the rest to answer, said, Whither shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. Signifying, that he and the rest had tasted of the divine virtue that accompanied his doctrine to such as believed. Agreeably also to Christ's own words, where he said, My words they are spirit, and they are life. Now Christ here also told them, that it was given unto them to understand the mysteries spoken to others in parables. What then was the mystery of this saying, Except ye eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of man, ye have no life in you? This is the meaning of it; it is the spirit that quickens, the flesh profiteth nothing. That is, as if he had said, If ye would eat my flesh and drink my blood in your carnal sense, and as ye literally take it, that eating and drinking of my flesh and blood would profit you nothing; but the substance is my spirit, which makes alive, and also strengtheneth and nourisheth all who partake of it. Now, there are certain people, whom I desire not to name, for I would not willingly offend any, who suppose and believe, that as soon as their priests have uttered certain words of consecration, as they call them, over a piece of bread, or wafer, or a cup of wine, that this bread is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ, even the same that was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem, almost seventeen hundred years ago, and that cup into the same blood that was then shed. Supposing this was really true, as it is plain to common sense it is not, yet this eating and drinking this flesh and blood would profit them nothing; therefore it is great pity that ever so much bloodshed, so much fire and faggot, and cruel destruction, should have been made under pretence of that, which, in comparison of his quickening spirit, profiteth nothing. But this blood must yet be reckoned for, and the day hastens." Though I was fully this plain at that time in the open meeting, and it was interpreted to them, I heard of no dislike or objection in any. And, I think, it is very hard to be answered, striking at the very root of that strange and monstrous idolatry, committed under that false notion, and all the chain of hideous absurdities consequential to it.

One remarkable thing was here related to



us, which I thought worth noting, viz. one Talken Corsten, a Menist, who lives at a certain town called Dokum, in Friesland, told us, "that some years ago, our friend Sarah Collier being in these parts, desired a meeting with them in their meeting-house, which they refused her; but he himself had a secret desire of a meeting, having never been at one, and accordingly gave her the liberty of his house; where a meeting was held accordingly, and many were there, and well satisfied. After the meeting, Sarah Collier having a mind to see his wife, who then lay ill of a disease which had been upon her for about twelve or thirteen years, was conducted into the chamber where she lay; and after some time, Sarah was concerned to pray by his wife, and for her help and deliverance from her malady, and to his great admiration, and also his wife's, and all who had opportunity to observe it, his wife recovered presently upon it, and has been well ever since. He earnestly desired we would come to that town, promising that he would let us have a meeting in his house, if the Menists would not; and told us he had left them, they having some way blamed him about the former meeting."

Having finished here, we went on the 16th, towards Jever, and the Menists being apprized of our coming, they were ready and open for a meeting; which began about five. And there being several people in the town, besides the inhabitants, the meeting was large and crowded, and the Lord was pleased to manifest his truth and way in a good degree among them; for the way of life was plainly set forth in doctrine, and many were under some sense of the peace of it. This being over, we had the thanks and approbation of their teachers, which showed their good-will; this is no small step towards gaining themselves and hearers; and under that consideration, was very acceptable.

On the 17th, in the morning, being the seventh-day of the week, we set forward for the town of Oudeboone by wagon, having detained one with us all this week since the second-day morning; and being a little recovered, I found myself now more able to bear the journey, but our wagon beam breaking, I walked on foot about a mile; in which I found myself very weak and feeble. Having help from some neighbouring houses, we repaired our loss, and they overtook me in the way; Jacob Nordyke, a Menist, and friendly man, having been with us all this time, went before on foot, when the wagon broke, to prepare a meeting at that town.

Arriving there about eleven, we had a meeting in the Menists' meeting-house. It was not large, but open and fresh, several being touch-

ed with the power of Truth; and their teacher was also kind, wishing us a prosperous journey, and success in our labours.

From thence we departed, and came to Grow. Soon after we arrived, we sent Jacob Nordyke to the Menists, to see for a meeting next day, being the first-day of the week; and they sent us word they were glad we were come, and that we might have had their meeting in the forenoon, but they expected one of their own ministers, for whom they had sent to another place; but if he did not come, we might have the meeting still. If he did come, we might have the meeting at one in the afternoon; and if we were not then satisfied, we might have another in the evening at five, which accordingly fell out. That beginning at one was large, and many things were opened to them, and several of them were reached by the power of Truth; though, before any thing was said, one of them raised a psalm, and they sung some few verses, and then had done; but they did not all concur, some sitting silent, with their hats on, and pulled down, as if they had not been pleased. This we bore for Truth's sake, not joining with them; which they plainly saw. The meeting being over, I desired another, as they had proposed; and then their preacher came to us, and taking me by the hand, he embraced me: he expressed much satisfaction before the people, and received us gladly, inviting us to take a dish of tea with him; which we accepted. We found his wife also in the same mind with him, open-hearted and kind. The meeting at five o'clock was not so large as that before, but very open; and some other sort of people also came among us, and all as still as a Friends' meeting, many things clearly and freshly opening among them. It being ended, their teacher invited us again to his house, and there treated us as if he had been a Friend; from which he is not far, having been as tender as any in the meeting. When we took leave of him, he embraced us freely, and we had a great many good wishes from that honest sincere man; which we also returned in true love, leaving the door wide open for those who may come next: and so we retired to our quarters.

On the 19th, we set forward by water, for Leuwarden, where we arrived about nine o'clock; and, sending out Jacob Nordyke among his acquaintances, the Menists, to see if we could have a meeting, they readily consented to have one with us, to begin at the first hour. In the mean time we took a turn to view the city, and particularly the prince's gardens; where we saw some foreign plants, rare and curious, and also many orange trees, and several with ripe fruit, being forced with



stoves; but not comparable with the same sorts in their native soil.

The meeting was larger than we expected, and very still, and many things were opened to them in the wisdom and power of Truth; especially the fall of the first Adam, with his posterity; the temptations and victory of the second Adam, and the overcoming and salvation of all who believe and obey him, but the final loss of all who disbelieve and disobey him. For he is the same Word who was in the beginning, and in whom was life, and that life the light of men; and by whom that prohibition came, thou shalt not eat, for in the day thou eatest thou shalt surely die. And eating, they died unto that life, and became blind also to that light, and so fell from God who is that light; and therefore the posterity of the fallen man must again believe in the same Word, light and life, and also obey and follow him; or else they remain in death and condemnation; and so departing this life, having slighted the day of visitation by this light, which is the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and that once was made flesh, and dwelt among them, [they] are concluded under death and darkness for ever. For he said to the Jews, "he that believeth not is condemned already;" that is, whosoever hath sinned, as the first Adam did, though not in the same thing, is under condemnation and death; but true faith coming by the word of life in him who hath it, and justifying the sinner from his sins, maketh him holy, just and true; for this faith purifies the heart, works by love, and overcomes the world. Then such are free, and live to God, and no more to sin. Then they keep that great saying of Christ, "as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love, even so do ye keep my commandments, that ye may abide in my love." And then he that hath the Son hath the Father also, and he that hath the Son he hath life indeed, even life eternal, &c. with much more of this kind, which I cannot now remember.

This meeting ending, the countenances of the people were open and free; but, being in haste to take the boat, the last for the day being ready to put off, we had no conversation with any of them, but only Wopke Clauses and his wife; who kindly embraced us, and invited us to their house; but giving them to understand our inclinations to depart in the boat, they saw there was no time for it, and he went with us to the boat, and she also near it; we coming a back way out of the meeting house, which he took us, being nearer the boat, and out of the crowd. He is a ruling elder of that congregation; they expressed their satisfaction with the meeting, believing it was

so to all; and wishing us prosperity, and embracing us at the water-side, we parted.

That night about nine, we got well to Harlingen, to the house of our friend Amities Joeskens; where we were kindly entertained by her. Here also we found another friend, viz. Cornelius Jacobs, who came from Twisk, in North Holland, to meet us.

Notice being given of our arrival that night, there was a meeting appointed next day, the 20th, to begin at four in the afternoon; which was accordingly held. It was small, being the market day, and not very open; as few meetings were, where that sect called Collegians had any considerable sway. Several of them were there, and some necessary truths were clearly opened; especially the divinity of Christ, which they commonly deny; and also his baptism with the Holy Spirit, of which they are ignorant.

At the close of this meeting another was appointed to begin at nine o'clock the next day, in the little room Friends have there; for they have a meeting, though very few in number. This was larger than the other, and more open; and a third was appointed, to begin in the afternoon; which was rather the largest, and most open. So that Truth seemed to gain upon them, and we heard of no objection made by any of them. On the 22nd we came by wagon to a town on the coast, called Dokum; and Jacob Nordyke being still with us, he went to the Menist teacher's, and he let us have their house, in which a meeting was appointed at the tenth hour. It was not large, but most of the heads of them there, and very sober, hearing attentively several things of moment opened to them; one of which was, that it is not our embracing true principles and notions doctrinally, and so sitting down under these, in an imitation of good and godly men, that will bring us to heaven, unless we be also in the same life and virtue in which they were; nor can any inherit the kingdom of heaven, unless they be in the nature of heaven; which cannot be but by regeneration by the Word of God; the same that was made flesh, and now appears a quickening spirit. This they seemed to receive well, though the meeting was not very open as to life, but laborious; yet solid, and ended well in free and open prayer. After the meeting we visited the woman who was healed as before mentioned, [p. 238]; she and two or three more who came to the house, who are under a conviction, are pretty tender; and after a short prayer with them, we exhorted them to meet together, and wait upon the Lord by themselves in silence. One of the friendly folks in this town going to the Calvinist teacher, to



invite him to the meeting, he said, "if the meeting had been in a private house, I would have come, for I desire to hear them; but, being in the Menists' meeting-house, if I should go there, it would be taken notice of by my own people, weaken me and my party, and strengthen the Menists;" but he was very friendly.

This afternoon we passed along the coast to Henleven, and procured a meeting with the Menists—that sect called Collegians—in their meeting-house; which began about the sixth hour. It was pretty large, and most of their chief people there, also one of their preachers. This was the most open meeting we had on that coast, and many things of great weight were made plain and clear to the understandings of several, and especially one of their teachers, who expressed his satisfaction. The divinity of Christ was fully set forth, and proved according to scripture; showing them, that the divine nature is not the human nature; neither is the human nature, abstractly considered, the divine nature; but the divine Word, assuming a reasonable soul, and cloathing that soul and Word with that holy body, born of the virgin Mary; this is the true Christ, and so appeared to the Jews. This meeting ended in much sweetness in prayer, and I had great peace after it, and was very easy, as if I had done on that side the sea.

The next morning we went forward by water; and through the goodness of God, our great Protector and Saviour, we arrived safe at Enchuysen, in great peace with him, about seven in the evening; and went to the house of Martin Daniel, a friendly man, who with his wife received us freely. But after supper, discoursing with him about a meeting, he told us there was hardly any in all that great city who inclined to come to a meeting, they being generally Calvinists, full and wanting nothing. Next morning he had considered it further, and said, "if you will stay till the afternoon, I will tell all whom I have any expectation will come, who are but two or three, and let you have my house to meet in." But we finding things so cold, and expecting better service elsewhere, did not think proper to stay upon so uncertain a ground. Before we departed, I exhorted them to be true and faithful to the Lord, according to the degree of manifestation they had, and then they might expect more; and after a time of prayer, whereby they were both much reached and tendered, we parted in peace and love, he conducting us to the gate of the city. We departed by wagon, and in our way, called to see Dirrick Mindersen. He had been a Menist, but for some time, had withdrawn himself from their

worship, and remained alone; but his two daughters inclining to our meetings, he had given them their freedom, and himself also had an inclination to Truth. He received us very kindly; and after some time of silence after dinner, John Padley had some words in prayer, I also having had a secret concern during the time I had been there; and when John had done, I then spoke to this effect, "That the Lord was at work in many hearts to draw men under his own blessed teachings; and the voice of the angel of the covenant of life was now calling to the people of God yet in Babylon, to come out of her; not to be partakers with her in her sins, lest also they should partake of her plagues: and so exhorted him to be true and faithful unto the Lord in what he knew, and the Lord would soon make him wiser than all his former teachers, &c." I then kneeled down in prayer; in which we had a very tender and comfortable season. He went with us about a quarter of a mile, and we parted with him in much tenderness, he heartily embracing us. That afternoon we went to Twisk, with our friend Henry Johnsen; where we were kindly received by him and the rest of our friends.

The next day, the 25th, we were at their meeting, which was not large; but there being several of the sober neighbours at it, the little place was full. But here, where we might have expected more openness than in many other places, being most of them such as make some profession of Truth, I was very sensible of as great a power of darkness as in any place we had been in all this journey; and the meeting was dull and dry a long time in silence, and hard to be wrought through in testimony; but the Lord being with us, gave us victory and dominion in the end, and several were tendered and comforted. The meeting being ended we went to Henry Johnsen's; and most of the Friends, who may be so accounted, came to us, expecting some further comfort and edification in our society. But as in the days of Job, satan came also to hinder; so there was one of that place, a man of some account among them, who had for some time met with them and professed Truth, and yet was full of self-conceit and self-contrivance. He at first, had opposed their weekday meetings, and then falling in with them, would sleep great part of the time, and then stand up to preach; and sometimes, in the end of a silent meeting, would propose that all should kneel down together in the meeting in silent mental prayer, before they parted; and this mental prayer he pretends to perform every night. He is also for the continuance of water baptism, and the bread and wine. By these whims he has been hurtful to Friends



and others in this place, they being yet but children in the way of Truth; and some he partly draws with him; he and they keeping to meetings under all this, and thereby laying a greater load upon the right-minded. These things were largely spoken to in the meeting, with a caution to Friends to keep close to the power and virtue of Truth, which is the substance of all; and to beware of such as would draw them from that, and back into the rudiments of the world; which had not profited those who had been exercised therein, who now, as of old, wanted something to glory in, in their flesh, and in an outward show; being ignorant of the life of Christ; and where that took place, such were of no account; but where they could continue in imitation of shadows, they magnified themselves, and boasted. This galled him much, and he seemed sullen after the meeting; but said nothing till he came into the Friend's house, and brought another with him, a stranger from Groeningen. Soon after they came in, the stranger began slyly and smoothly to move some conference about matters of religion, and more especially drew on towards the subject of baptism; but being aware of them, we were upon our guard; and the controversy falling to my share, it held not long. For as his chief allegation was, that Christ instituted another water baptism, distinct from John's baptism, urging Matthew xxviii. 19, for proof, I repeated that, and the other texts uttered by Christ at the same time, explaining that in Matthew, which is but a small part of what the Lord then said; in all which there is no water baptism mentioned, but only John's, and that by way of distinction to the baptism of the Holy Ghost, the true baptism of Christ there set forth. This put him to the common reply, viz. to a conjecture that it was water baptism, from common circumstances; which was balanced by other circumstances to the contrary, and overruled by the apostle's doctrine, where he saith, "There is one body and one spirit; one Lord, one faith, one baptism: for by one spirit we are all baptized into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, bond or free; for we have all been made to drink into one Spirit." This is the Spirit of Truth, even of Jesus Christ, who is that one Spirit of Truth and eternal life; into whom whosoever drinketh, and continueth to drink, is a true and living member of that holy and living body, in which that holy Spirit dwelleth as a living and holy temple, and of whom he is the life, and only ruler and head; "even the church, which is his body, the fulness of him who filleth all in all; the church of the first-born, written in heaven;" the true spouse; "bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh;" of one spirit, life and

nature with him. He was then at a pause, and so grew a little hot, which I reproved him for, and cautioned him against it; telling him, if he let that fire arise in him it would darken his understanding, being from the root of evil.

Then his pretended friend showed himself, and alleged some insignificant things in the same, or more heat than the other. Then they owned that water baptism was not saving of itself; but only, being a command, should be complied with, because commanded. But this being only a begging of the question, I again insisted on proof. Then he alleged Peter's question, "Who can forbid water," &c. I asked him who Peter spoke to in that question? And it appeared he spoke to a few believing Jews then with him. And as a question is no command, so there were prudential reasons for what Peter thought best at that time, as things were then circumstanced. For these Jews, being always tenacious and bigotted to ceremonies and shadows, even after they had believed, if Cornelius and his house had not been baptized, or at least an offer made of it, for it does not appear that they were baptized, these Jews, and others who might hear of it, might think those Gentiles still wanted something they should have had to make them complete, and so deny them communion; which, when all was done, they were apt to do, being always self-conceited of themselves, and a tincture of the old bitterness, and contempt of the Gentiles still remaining after they had believed in the same Saviour. To this I added, that the apostle Peter, in his defence before the apostles and elders, did not so much as mention this passage about water baptism; but on the contrary, places the command and baptism of Christ, in Mat. xxviii. altogether upon the Holy Ghost. I alleged also, in the proper part of this conference, that it is not "the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God;" and therefore not that baptism which extends only to an outward cleansing of the body, as water can only do; but that inward baptism and cleansing of the mind and conscience by the Holy Ghost, and fire of the word of God and Spirit of Christ; for, "not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us." But how? "by the washing of regeneration, and by the renewing of the Holy Ghost." And this baptism is known by its effects; for, by this baptism, "we are buried with Christ into his death; who, in that he died, he died unto sin once, but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God:" so that they that are thus baptized, and thus buried, "are dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord,"



the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit. "That like as he himself was raised from the dead, by the power and glory of the Father;" which was a full and perfect resurrection, even so also all those that then were, now are, and hereafter shall be, so baptized, are, and shall be so raised, as they keep with that holy Word of life, and divine power and nature, which effects this great and truly wonderful change; which common observation and experience in all ages teach water baptism could never do, or can do, by whomsoever administered, though even by Peter, Paul, Philip, or any other, or all of the apostles. I further urged, that since Paul was the apostle to the Gentiles, and not one whit behind the chief of the apostles; and since that command in Mat. xxviii. was given long before his conversion and call to the ministry and apostleship, if that had been a command for water baptism to all who should have a part in the ministry and apostleship, then it would have been a command to the apostle Paul. But he did not think he had any power from that text, or in any other way, to baptize with water; for long after this he saith, "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel;" which was to open the blind eye, to unstop the deaf ear, "to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God." That is, from the spirit and power of the prince of this world and of all the ungodly, who is the prince of darkness, and blinds the eye of the ungodly; and unto the Prince of peace, the true light, "who lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

This almost silenced them, and then they fretted; and the stranger replied, "That since it had once been in use, what hurt could it do to any, though such had already received the Holy Ghost, having been once administered to such?"

I returned, "That so had circumcision, yet not fit at this day. But this is not all: water baptism is imposed as a command of Christ from that text, where there is no command for it, and is will-worship, made a part, and a great part too, of the Christian religion, and not by Christ's authority, but by the errors of men; not being of the true nature of the kingdom of Christ, which is spiritual, but a shadow, in which antichrist hath wrought in a mystery; all shadows being of the nature of darkness, and continued beyond their due bounds, become hurtful. This having been as a garment or cover to the ungodly for many ages, God hating the garment spotted by the flesh, cannot approve of men in their unwarrantable imitation of any shadow, at any time in use in the church; but has

raised witnesses against them, and for the ever-living substance: without which, all that man can do or imitate, is but as Cain's sacrifice, of no acceptance."

Upon this they grew impatient, and wanted to be going, and after a few soft words to them by John Padley, in a testimony to the life and substance, telling them that we were surely come to it, without the use of any shadows, and therefore he exhorted them to wait for it in themselves; they went away under a disappointment. But though we, by their means, were also disappointed of the comfort we expected with these few tender and living souls, who in love came to visit us, yet this afforded some satisfaction and confirmation to them.

The next morning they all went with us to Horn, where we had a far more open and comfortable season together in the Menist's meeting-house, which began at nine in the morning.

After the meeting we went into the Track-shute, and that night about seven arrived safely at Amsterdam, where our friends were glad of our return, and received us kindly. Here we staid till the 28th, being the fourth of the week, and their meeting-day. The meeting was small and cloudy, but Truth in some more dominion than in the meetings before in this place. On the 29th was their quarterly meeting, which was small and dull.

On the 30th we went to Harlaem, and had a meeting there, which was both larger and more open than that we had before in this place, many things relating to Truth being clearly opened, and the Truth in good dominion, and the people generally satisfied, and Friends comforted.

Next day, in the afternoon, we returned to Amsterdam, and on the 2nd of the eighth month, being the first of the week, we were again at the meeting, which was larger and more open than on any other day, both forenoon and afternoon. For several persons coming in when they hear of strangers, there is, for the most part, a fresh visitation to them, which makes things more lively and open, though the meeting was not so large as some Friends expected, by reason of the rain that fell that day.

On the 5th, being the fourth of the week, we were at their meeting, which was small, dark, and hard in the fore part of it, but Truth prevailed in some good degree before it ended. That evening there came a dark and heavy load upon my spirit, from a cause then unknown, as to any thing which outwardly appeared, and so continued till the sixth-day; when, after some discourse with an ancient Friend, concerning certain offences and misunderstandings between some of them about little things, I found myself much easier.



On the 8th we visited several families of Friends in town to our mutual satisfaction.

On the 9th, being the first of the week, we were there again, and being fair weather, the meeting was large, and many strangers; and the Lord was pleased to condescend to us, and give me a good time to the clearing of my mind fully among them, and Truth was over all and exalted: in the afternoon the meeting was not so large, but pretty fresh and open, especially towards the end of it.

On the 11th, taking leave of them in much love, and pretty easy in our minds, we went to Harlaem, and that evening had a meeting there, about the sixth hour, which was large and very open. Several teachers of different sorts were at this meeting, and generally satisfied, some of the Menists expressing it freely and openly.

On the 12th, about ten in the morning, accompanied by our ancient friend Jacob Claus, an old servant of Truth, and of the ministry, as an interpreter in above thirty long and laborious journeys, we departed hence in the draw-boat, and arrived at Rotterdam that evening about eight, and Robert Gerard meeting us in the way, took us with him to his house, where we were well and openly entertained.

Notice being given of our coming, we appointed a meeting next day at five in the evening; where we had the company of some people of different persuasions, as Presbyterians, Baptists, Papists, and one Menist teacher, though we knew not what they were till after the meeting. Truth was declared plainly and fully to them; during which they were very still, and seemed touched with some sense of the power of God, which reigned in the meeting; though the same thing, opened as formerly, about transubstantiation, viz: "That if the bread, after consecration (as they call it) were really transmuted into the very body of Christ, retaining only the accidents of bread, and were really eaten in that sense, which some people take it in; yet even that eating of his flesh and drinking of his blood would profit nothing. For we have the authority of Christ himself against all the world, that his real flesh and blood profiteth nothing to be eaten and drank in the sense of the people, who carnally conceived such an eating and drinking from his words; by which he intended a being quickened by his Spirit, and living unto God by him, who is the resurrection and the life, the second Adam, a quickening Spirit." This was a good meeting, and the Lord's name was honoured by it.

On the 16th, being the first-day of the week, we were there again, both forenoon and afternoon; and people of several notions were at the meeting, and things opened largely and

with good authority, concerning Christ as God and man, and the object of the faith of the Gentiles, as he is light and life, being so promised of the Father unto us. The meeting being over, we had the comfort of the society of Friends at our lodgings, where we had some discourse and conversation concerning Truth and divine things.

On the 19th, being the fourth of the week, and their meeting-day, we were there again; and being a select meeting, altogether of Friends, it was small; but the Lord was graciously pleased to visit us together in his tender kindness and mercy, and opened things fully to the states of all, and it was a good meeting.

On the 22nd John Padley embarking for London, and no opportunity offering for Yarmouth, where I intended, I was there also the next day; and being the first of the week, the meeting was full, both in the forenoon and afternoon, and many things were fully and plainly opened, and they generally satisfied; and the Lord's presence being with us, it was a good meeting.

The winds standing contrary, and generally stormy or foggy weather, I continued here longer than otherwise I would have done, but was from time to time with Friends at their meeting; and the Lord was pleased to comfort us together, and condescended to be with us therein. During this time I inquired more particularly into the state of the Menists in those parts, and found that all along their ministers had preached freely, till of late some here and there had begun to receive hire, but were moderate therein; and though they still keep up their old testimony against fighting and swearing, yet they are not so lively in their worship, or so near the Truth as they were in their first appearance; and I was informed that their ministers are, for the most, but weak and dry in their ministry, and sometimes their hearers had rather some of them would be silent than preach, though *gratis*. If thus it be, it hath fared with them as with many others, who, having had a day of visitation from the Lord, and obtained a reputation through his goodness among them, and by that holy and innocent conversation they have had through his grace; yet some becoming more loose, and not keeping in the grace of God, and the virtue and power of it, have ended in mere formalists; and then, in a generation or two, little has appeared but the outside and form of godliness, which the power of grace brought forth in those who went before, and so in a great measure it is with them; and yet, in the main, they are preserved from the gross evils of the world, and I hope the Lord hath a visitation of life and power yet in store for them. Among other



things I obtained the form of words used by them instead of an oath, which is thus: "In the words of truth, instead of a solemn oath, I declare," &c.

The wind at length coming fair, and I inclining to take the first likely opportunity, on the 13th of the ninth month, [1715] about six in the evening, after two good meetings, being the first of the week, I went to the Briel in a boat, and there we lay at anchor that night; and the wind being high all next day, we staid there till the 15th, about eleven in the morning, when I embarked on board the John of Yarmouth, Michael Bailey master, the wind being easterly, and a steady and fine gale, but very cold, and through the good providence of God, arrived safely in the harbour at Yarmouth on the 17th, about nine in the morning: for which, and all the preservations of the Lord through so many dangers, I desire to remain thankful unto him only.

I continued at Yarmouth till the 20th, and being the first of the week, was at their meeting, which, though small, was open and well. On the 21st we went on to Norwich, and the 23rd being their meeting-day, we had a good and open time together; for the Lord was with us, and was very gracious to me in this city. Here I staid till the 27th, being the first of the week, and was at their meetings fore and afternoon. They were large of Friends, and many strangers were there in the afternoon; and things opened fully, particularly concerning war and fighting, and the inconsistency thereof with the nature and end of the kingdom of Christ, and we had a good meeting to general satisfaction.

On the 29th I had a meeting at Lammas, and the Lord was pleased to give us a good time. On the 30th I had an appointed meeting at Holt, which was small but lively, and on the 1st of the tenth month one at Wells, which was not large, but very good and tender.

[He continued visiting the meetings of Friends in England, but his health declining he went to London on the 23rd of eleventh month; respecting which he says:]

Continuing weakly and indisposed, I staid at London some time, and the Lord was pleased to make my services acceptable to his people there in a general way, and many good times we had together in his blessed presence. During my stay about this city I also visited some of the neighbouring meetings; as Ryegate, Winchmorehill, Plaistow, &c. But the yearly meeting at Bristol approaching, and having some drawings thither, on the 14th of the second month, 1716, being the seventh of the week, I set forward from London, and that night lodged at Ruscomb, with our friend William Penn, where my

company was acceptable, and we were mutually comforted one in another.

The 15th, being the half-year meeting at Reading, I was there. It was large, and as open as could well be expected, considering how long that old separation had continued among them, and most of the separate party present; but the gospel being preached, and nothing dropped like reflection, but rather for healing, things were well and comfortable, the Lord being with his people. The meeting held till the second-day afternoon, and in the evening I returned to Ruscomb, and staid there all third-day.

On the 23rd I went to Calne, accompanied with Daniel Smith, and that evening had a pretty large and open meeting there among Friends. The testimony of Truth ran sharply against such as in an underhand manner colleague with priests, and support them by payment of tithes, &c. I heard afterwards some there were guilty; and the honest-minded were comforted, in that the reproof was full and plain from the testimony of one who was so great a stranger to any of their conditions in particular.

On the 28th I went to the city of Bristol, and lodged with Brice Webb, where I staid during my abode there, and was kindly entertained.

The 29th of second month was the beginning of the yearly meeting at Bristol, and I had some public concern among them, which took some impression, and my spirit was unladen in some degree; for I went thither in great heaviness.

On the 30th, in the morning, was the meeting of ministering Friends, which was not so large, they said, as sometimes formerly; but it was a very open, comfortable meeting. I was much eased, and we were mutually strengthened and refreshed in the Lord. That afternoon was their meeting for inquiry into the affairs and prosperity of Truth within the limits of that meeting, and things were well and hopeful in the main. The next day forenoon, being the 1st of the third month, was a time of public worship; in which I was silent, but much comforted in the Truth and strengthened. In the afternoon I went to the meeting for business, where I staid a little while, and then went to the women's meeting. There I had some time in testimony, and being well satisfied, retired, and left them to their own concerns in the church.

The next day in the forenoon, being the parting meeting, it was very large and full, both of Friends and strangers; and after several brethren, I had a public concern, in which the Lord was pleased to raise his Truth and wisdom over all to his own glory, and the



general satisfaction of his people and others. For it is not man, but the Lord that works effectually, and the honour is due to God only, though the weak are too apt to look to an instrument, which, in itself, is nothing. An ancient Friend concluding the meeting in prayer, it ended in much love and comfort; Friends being generally refreshed in the life of our dear Lord, as much as at any meeting for some years there; as we had our enjoyment together therein, so we also parted.

On the 3rd I went to Frenchay meeting, to which came many from the city; and it was large, and through the goodness of the Lord, a good meeting.

On the 4th I went to Bath, where, about five in the evening, we had a meeting. Many strangers being there, things were opened, first, concerning the Holy Scriptures, their original, by the Spirit of Christ, the word of God; and their divine authority. And secondly, concerning the divine Word, which, in time of old, came to the prophets, saying so and so, as in the Scriptures of the prophets; and his being made flesh, or assuming the whole human nature; and afterwards declared, by the Scriptures of the New Testament, to be the "true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" and that all ought to believe in this light as manifested in their own hearts, &c. And though this meeting was not attended with so much of the overflowings of life, as some others, yet it was to me and several other Friends, a comfortable meeting. Our friend Samuel Bow-nas, that able and experienced minister of the gospel, being there, I was also comforted in his ministry, having some time after me, as were many more both there and at Bristol; where we also had his help in the Lord. This meeting ended well.

On the 8th I was at the quarterly meeting at Nailsworth, which was large and well in the main, but a little hurt by an unskilful hand; and not having so full a time with them as I desired, I let them know in the meeting, that I intended to stay their week-day meeting, which fell the fifth-day following of course, at the same place. Wanting rest and recruit of strength, I staid at the widow Elizabeth Smith's, where I was respectfully entertained, as many others, on the like occasions, had been by herself and late husband, and father; the father being, as Friends told me, as honourable a Friend as any in those parts in his day.

The fifth-day's meeting was larger than usual, and though heavy in the beginning of it, some being set down in an empty, drowsy, dead form, yet after some time and labour of love, the Lord was pleased to break in and give us a good season; and the meeting was

generally comforted, though things were terrible against the unfaithful, especially such as connive at paying tithes, and supporting the priests of antichrist. After this meeting I was greatly comforted in the blessed Truth, and Friends were under a weight of solid love and peace.

On the 13th, being the first of the week, I was at the forenoon meeting at Oxford, and there being soldiers in town to overawe the Oxonians, much prone to rebellion in that reign;\* some of them, and also of the students of the university, came to the meeting; but the former were civil, and the latter rude: for most of the few that came, stood sneering, grinning, and scoffing all the time they staid; though so fluctuating that they could not reasonably take under consideration any matter delivered, so as to form a judgment; but like Ishmael their father, mocked at what they could not prevent, for several things were delivered against the very foundation of their craft and end of their establishments, which they did not otherwise oppose. And yet there were some of them very sober and attentive, and seemed affected with Truth, as were several sober people also.

In the afternoon the meeting was larger; but as there were more of the scholars, there was more rudeness, so that I thought if they could see their own folly and ill behaviour, as it was exposed to others, they could not but be ashamed: but the greatest part seemed void of sight and sense, though some were of better deportment, as well the collegians as others; and in the main, over all that the enemy could do, the Lord gave us great refreshment, and kept our minds above that evil spirit that moved in them, and we were comforted together in the Lord.

On the 17th I went to London, the Lord having made this journey in some good measure comfortable to me, and also to Friends.

The yearly meeting coming on, I tarried there during the time; and though we had some good times in our meetings for worship, yet in our meetings for business, the affirmation, and what arose from thence, ministered great occasion of grief to many souls, especially such as love the Truth, and the brethren therein. It was chiefly owing to some rude and forward spirits, who took boldness from the connivance and indulgence they had met with from such as had all along strenuously contended to force the affirmation upon all, and charged all the ill consequences of division upon such as could not comply with it: but though the comfort of our meeting was greatly lessened and hindered by that

\* King George I.



means, yet the imposing designs of these were frustrated, and the body preserved together and entire, by establishing a just liberty; which these persons, in their temper and practice have ever denied, to the unspeakable exercise of the church throughout the world.

On the 8th of the fourth month, inclining to visit Friends in Ireland, I set forward from London, and went next day to Ruscomb, to William Penn's, whom I found in the same condition he had been in for some time, viz: full of love and sweetness, but not able to express himself as before that apoplectic fit, which had so much impaired his memory.

On the 12th I was at Reading meeting, and the Lord gave us a very open time, and I was much comforted, having never had so satisfactory a time there before. Having had some thoughts before of endeavouring to bring the remnant of those Friends back, who formerly, by means of John Story and John Wilkinson, &c., had separated themselves; and several of them having been at this meeting, I went to some of their houses, where I was kindly received, and spoke to them about it, answering their objections as things were with me; and I found them not averse to return, but loath to make any acknowledgement of any fault in separating and keeping off, unless the Friends there would take blame also, and so make a balance; which I could not by any means yield to. For they had gone off under a jealousy that Friends were apostates and innovators, according to the accusations in William Rogers's book; and had long continued in that error and schism; and being now satisfied that they had been mistaken, and that Friends were not such, as several of them owned, I thought they might well own their mistake, and so be reconciled; for they could not desire to be reconciled with apostates and innovators, but with a Christian people. I found one main obstruction was on account of their preacher William Saundy, and therefore I spoke with him the next day, and laid things open and plain before him, and found him condescending: but affairs could not then be brought to a conclusion, he having a mind to consult the rest; but told me he had moved to them the day before, that they should all come to our meeting, and he would go with them, and most went; but some staying at their own meeting, he staid with them. After a full time with him we parted in peace, and I was very easy and comforted in the Lord, after a full and hearty endeavour for their reconciliation; having nothing in view but the honour of Truth, and their own good in it.

On the 21st I was at the week-day meeting at Nailsworth, which was pretty large, being

one of the largest of itself in the county; and having heard by letter, that those vessels were gone for Ireland from Bristol, by which I intended to have gone over thither, if I had reached them in time, and that another would be ready in ten days; I staid their meeting at Nailsworth the first-day following, and though it proved very rainy weather, the meeting was large, both forenoon and afternoon, and many things were opened to general information and edification, and the people very solid and satisfied.

On the 29th, in the morning, I went to Bristol, to my former quarters, and was at their meeting on the first-day following, which was large, both forenoon and afternoon, and things very open and comfortable. On the third and sixth-days following I was there also, and had comfortable times with Friends, both in meetings and conversation; for the Lord was with us, and love abounded.

The first-day following I was there again; and in the forenoon, at the Friars, the meeting was large and open, and in the afternoon, over the river at the other house, the meeting being crowded by reason of a funeral, things opened fully concerning death, the kinds of it, and the resurrection from the dead &c., and after the meeting I had another time at the grave-yard, where there was a great multitude, and generally very sober. On the 15th of the fifth month, being the first of the week, I was at Bath, forenoon and afternoon, where the meeting was large and open, and Friends and strangers generally satisfied. The next day I returned to Bristol, where I heard by letters from London and other parts, that the separate Friends at Reading had laid down their meeting and returned to Friends, which gave me great satisfaction.

On the 17th I was at their meeting, which was very open and comfortable; and therein I took leave of them, being bound for Ireland, and the vessel intending to sail that evening; but the wind coming against us, we sailed not till the 20th, about seven in the evening, from King's-Road, with an easterly wind, which came up just as we fell down thither with the tide.

It being very wet hazy weather, and a fresh gale ahead, we returned back to Minehead, where we anchored about four afternoon, and went on shore with John Davis, the commander of the vessel, where I staid till the 24th, and then had a meeting at that place.

The wind continuing westerly, I remained till the 26th, and set sail about the turning of the tide, and on the 29th came within seven English miles of the city of Cork, and there being no boat fit to carry my mare on shore, I walked, willing to get to



the afternoon meeting at Cork, which I accomplished, but found myself much fatigued with the heat and dust, besides the walk, which proved hard enough, having been sick at sea, and but weak otherwise. But going to the house of my good friend Joseph Pike, he gave me a kind and open reception; and I went to their afternoon meeting, which being pretty open and well, I found my strength return a little.

On the 31st I was at their week-day meeting, which was larger, I suppose, by reason of the notice going about of my being the dean of Limerick's brother, who was well known in this nation, as having written the history of the late wars there, and lived long among them in that station; and though it made my work the harder, their minds being outward, and their expectations high and off from the true object; yet my mind being only to the Lord, he was pleased to answer, and things were pretty well.

The 5th of the sixth month, being first-day, was their province meeting: I was at their morning meeting of ministering Friends, which was small and heavy, the load of the approaching meeting being upon us; but the Lord owned us with his good presence in some degree. The meetings that day, both forenoon and afternoon, being very large, the Lord was with us in his power and wisdom, and many things were opened to general satisfaction, and a good time it was to Friends and others.

On the 6th, in the morning, we had also a good time, and in the afternoon, being for the inspection of the affairs of Truth, things were well and peaceably managed, and ended in comfort.

On the 7th was a meeting more select for the young people, in which I had a very open and full time in the love of Truth, and many of them were much reached. The Lord gave us a good season of his love together, to his own praise, and our mutual consolation, help and edification.

It being the time of the assizes, many of the higher rank were in town, and one day came to my friend John Pike's, the young countess of Kildare, and her maiden sister and three more of the gentry. We had some free and open conversation together, in which this lady, and the rest, commended the plain dress of our women, as the most decent and comely, wishing it were in fashion among them. I told her, "That she, and the rest of her quality, standing in places of eminence, were the fittest to begin it, especially since they saw a beauty in it; and they would be sooner followed than those of lower degree." To this she replied, "If we should dress ourselves plain, people would gaze at us, call us Quakers,

and make us the subject of their discourse and town talk; and we cannot bear to be made so particular."

I answered, "The cause is so good, being that of truth and virtue, if you will espouse it heartily upon its just foundation, a few of you would put out of countenance, with a steady and fixed gravity, abundance of the other side, who have no bottom but the vain customs of the times; and you will find a satisfaction in it, an overbalance to all you can lose, since the works of virtue and modesty carry in them an immediate and perpetual reward to the worker." This seemed not unpleasant, being said in an open freedom. But then, alas! all was quenched at last by this; they all of them alleged, "That our own young women of any note, about London and Bristol, went as fine as they, with the finest of silks and laced shoes; and when they went to Bath, made as great a show as any." Not knowing but some particulars might give too much occasion for this allegation, it was a little quenching; but with some presence of mind, I replied, "I have been lately at London and Bristol, and also at the Bath, and have not observed any such; but at all these three places generally indifferent plain, and many of them, even of the younger sort, very well on that account. But those among us who take such liberties, go beside their profession, and are no examples of virtue, but a dishonour and reproach to our profession, and a daily exercise to us. I hope you will not look at the worst, since, amongst us every where, you may find better and more general examples of virtue and plainness." This they did not deny, and so that part ended; though we had much more free and pleasing conversation in the garden, to which we adjourned from table, and spent part of that afternoon together on like agreeable subjects; there being the family, and but one friend more in the company.

On the 9th I went to Kinsale, setting out in as great a shower of rain as most I have seen. The meeting was considerably large, and mostly strangers; for there is no settled meeting, only Friends have built a house, on purpose to accommodate meetings when any stranger inclines to have one for the sake of the people; who often come on notice given. Things opened beyond expectation, and Truth was over them, and a good time we had; I being as easy, and as much satisfied after this meeting, as any I had yet been at. That evening we returned to Cork.

On the 15th, being the fourth of the week, we went to Charleville, and had a meeting there the next day; which consisted mostly of strangers and Friends from Cork. And



though I had a fever, all was made very easy, and the Lord gave us a good meeting; Truth, to his own praise, being over us and the people. That afternoon, I went forward to Limerick, where we arrived in the evening; but I found myself much spent, and very weary. But one of my biles breaking, and my friend Thomas Pearce, where I lodged, being an apothecary, providing suitable things, I was better in the morning, and went to the meeting; which was large, the people expecting my coming, and wanting to gaze at the dean's brother, it being a rarity to see such an one a Quaker; and many fancies they had about me; but curiosity, not Truth, drawing them thither, I had not much comfort among them; though things were well, and without exception.

On the 19th, being the first-day of the week, both forenoon and afternoon, the meeting was crowded, and Truth was over them. But the greatest part having no want of Truth, but drawn by curiosity, I had not so much satisfaction in them as in some other places, where their coming had not the same inducement.

On the 24th, being the sixth of the week, I was at the meeting again; which being mostly of Friends, and few strangers, was more comfortable than before; and a good time the Lord gave us together; some of the strangers were also tendered.

I continued here till the next first-day, when the meeting was again crowded, both forenoon and afternoon, and things opened fully on several points; especially concerning freedom from sin in this life, and the necessity of it; in which I urged the catechism of the Church of England, and the great vows and promises therein mentioned. That the composers thereof either believed the possibility of the attainment, or they did not; if they did, then they taught a perfection higher than ever we had done, viz. that men may live from the eighth day of their age, their canon requiring baptism to be then administered, to the eightieth year, if so long they live, and never sin. For he that renounces the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh; keeps God's holy will, or law, and commandments, and walks in the same all the days of his life; and, finally, believes all the articles of the Christian faith; [such an one] never sins, or errs, in faith or practice. But if they did not believe the attainment, and yet enjoined and promised the thing, then they committed great sin in so doing; for what is not of faith is sin. But, alas! though despising the covenant of grace, and have thus invented to themselves a covenant of works, they have not kept it, being, by their own confession, miserable sinners,

leaving undone those things they ought to have done, and doing those things they ought not; and so are in the state of the fallen angels who were once in heaven, but kept not their first station, but fell by transgression. I directed them therefore to God's covenant of light, and the grace which came by Jesus Christ; (for, though they mention it in their catechism, yet they regard it not in practice, but commonly assert that no man can be free from sin in this life,) as the only means to attain that freedom and perform those vows; which, though they made so very light of them, would be exacted to the utmost farthing, in a day that was hastening over all nations, when all must give an account before the great Judge of all the world, and every one be rewarded according to his works. All which they seemed to bear with patience. But when I rejected purgatory as a satanic invention, to elude the end of the coming of Christ, which was to destroy the works of the devil, to finish sin, put an end to transgression, and bring in everlasting righteousness, and render poor weak mortals secure in their sins, in vain hopes of purification after death; some of the Papists went out of the meeting; being obstinately bent on the slavery of sin and priestcraft to the end of the world; which God will disappoint and destroy by the brightness of his coming and glory, now advancing as the rising sun through the thick darkness; and none shall be able to hinder or delay him.

On the 28th, being the third-day, I was there again; and the crowd being now well over, and the meeting more select, it was very open to Friends, and the Lord gave us a baptizing season of his love together; and things ended to general satisfaction.

On the 29th, having had a kind invitation by my brother and sister to their house at Bilboa, I went thither, accompanied by Joseph Phelps, George Pease and my cousin Charles Story, one of the Prebends of Limerick. This was an uncommon mixture, but no occasion of offence given or taken on any hand, but all free and friendly. My sister being a person of excellent natural temper, and very discreet, and my brother also well pleased with our company, we were fully and kindly entertained. The next day, after he had showed us his deerpark, and some of his fields, with some other entertainments, the two Friends went back to Limerick, but I staid till the 1st of the seventh month, [1716]; and, being the seventh-day morning, my brother and cousin went with me, about five miles, where some Friends from Limerick met me. That evening we went to John Ashton's, within five miles of Birr, and had a large meeting next



day, but not very open. In the evening I went to Birr, and on the 3rd we had a meeting there; where came many people, and some officers and soldiers. They behaved civilly, and Truth was over all, and it was a good meeting.

On the 4th we set forwards, and that night lodged with Joshua Clibborn, at the Moat of Greenogue; where we had a large meeting next day, but not very open. There were many young people in it, not yet arrived at a sufficient sense of Truth; and though under a profession of it, many of them have little desire after it, but consider themselves safe; having had their education in the form, they think all is well, and want nothing; and so it is in many other places.

On the 7th, we had a small, but open and tender meeting at Oldcastle; and on the 9th, being the first of the week, two large meetings at Coot-hill, which were filled, especially in the afternoon, with many strangers, there being great openness among the people there-away; and things were very well.

On the 10th, in the morning, we went forward to Monaghan; where there were three or four Friends; and got a meeting at the Bull inn, in a large upper room. To this meeting came a crowd of Papists, Episcopalians and some Presbyterians; and some of the younger sort, especially Papists, were a little wanton and airy at first; but Truth arising, they were generally tamed by the power and wisdom of it, though they did not know what did it; and the meeting continued sober to the end, though some two or three papists withdrew, when I exposed the insignificance of their doctrine of transubstantiation. The meeting ended well, to the honour of our great Lord; of whom is the power and wisdom.

On the 12th, attended the meeting at Charlemount; but, though large, it was not very open, there being some contention among them about a marriage too near of blood; where some sided one way, and some another; there being scarcely any thing so bad but that one or other will espouse it, to their own hurt and exercise, and the hurt of others also; but in the main, things were well.

On the 13th, I went to the meeting at Ballyhagen, which was pretty open; and on the 16th, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Toberhead, which was pretty large and tender, and Friends and others generally satisfied. On the 18th, the great rains having raised the waters, we had but a small meeting at Dunclaudy; but a very broken tender time it was, and we were generally comforted.

On the 19th I had a meeting near James Moor's, the elder, which was small, being

harvest, and wet weather, and not so open as the last, and yet a good meeting.

On the 21st I had a meeting at the Ship inn, near the bridge over the Band, at Portlannone; where came many people and Friends from several places. Many things were opened in the word of life to general satisfaction; and it was a good meeting.

On the 22nd I was at their six-weeks meeting at Grange; where some strangers came, and among others, one Moses Cleck, who had received his education at Glasgow, in Scotland, was a good scholar, and had commenced minister among the Presbyterians; to whom he had often preached, and was in good repute among them. But having fallen in with one of our meetings providentially, some years before, he was reached by Truth, under the ministry of Hugh Hamilton, and afterwards by John Salkeld, though he still continued in his old way till the week before this, when he had, before their presbytery, disclaimed his ministry and left them; though they had taken great pains to reclaim him, and offered him his choice of several parishes, or places, but in vain. He owned himself convinced of Truth as professed by us in many things; though not in all at that time. We had a good meeting; but he took exceptions at some things I delivered, there being some of the old imbibed notions still, as a veil of darkness over his understanding. After the meeting he discoursed with me upon them; and I satisfied him, by explaining them fully, so that all ended well; and he staid with me there till the third-day following.

The 23rd, being the first of the week, I was at their meeting again; which was large, and a good time, though some were disappointed, having heard that this young man was come among us, and was to preach in our meeting that day; but though they missed of that, they were generally satisfied with what they heard.

On the 25th, I set forward to Antrim; and the same expectations being among the people there also, many came to the meeting; but some of the Presbyterian sect, being disappointed, went out before it ended, though most staid; and the Truth shining bright that day over them, they were generally satisfied; and it was a good meeting to Friends also.

On the 26th I was at their mens' meeting at Ballinderry, which was large and good; and on the 27th, I had a meeting at Lisburn; several towns people came in and were orderly, and some affected with the testimony of Truth, which was large and free that day, and a good time we had. On the 28th I was at the meeting at Hillsborough, which was pretty large, and open. On the 30th, being the first



of the week, I was at the meeting at Lurgan, which was very large in the forenoon, and also in the afternoon; and it was a good meeting, Truth being over all, and many things largely opened, to the glory of him who hath the key of David; "who opens and no man shuts, and shuts and no man opens."

Being wearied and worn out with my journey and service, and willing to take a little rest, especially where I found the most service, I staid here till the 3rd of the eighth month, and was at the meeting again, which was an open and comfortable season, and several strangers were there, and affected.

On the 4th I went to their meeting at Monallen, which was open and free, and several strangers reached by the power of Truth, and broken, and it was a good time. On the 7th, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Grange, by Charlemount, which was an open good meeting; after which I was as easy and as much comforted as at any hitherto in Ireland. I had a long time in it, and many things were fully and clearly opened. One was concerning such teachers and priests as pretend to have power by the text in Matthew xxviii. 19, to teach and baptize all nations, and yet sit down at the first parish or town where they can have a presentation, or make a bargain for so much a year, and never go into half, or a thousandth part of their own nation, and baptize nobody, for sprinkling is no baptism; it is neither dipping, washing, nor wading into water, nor are infants subjects of baptism. Besides, the apostles themselves, who had the immediate command of Christ, who has all power in heaven and earth, by whom these priests and teachers pretend to derive their authority successively as they were not to proceed upon that command barely, without actual power by the Spirit; so none else can have power but by the same Spirit. Since then these have not the Spirit, by their own confession, they have no power from God; but through covetousness, and as mercenary hirelings for bread, run when they are not sent, and do not profit, but deceive the people; who, nevertheless, loving to have it so, the buyers and sellers, as in the parable of the ten virgins, are excluded together, &c.

On the 13th, the seventh of the week, was their province meeting, being for worship in the forenoon, and business in the after. It was large and open, and I had some time after the meeting for business, which was very satisfactory to all, being something of my own experience in my conviction, and the satisfaction I had in secret in these meetings for business, before I found myself at all qualified to meddle in them, which was not

till my peace began to lessen, by reason of my aversion and neglect. For if I could always have had peace, and the enjoyment of the good presence of the Lord, without either preaching, or answering the concerns incumbent on me from him in matters of discipline and affairs of the church, I had much rather never have meddled in them, observing the tempers of some men professing Truth, and what spirits they are of that are for the most part to be dealt with in it. Though the discipline now in use in the church is of God, through the openings of his wisdom, and dictates of his Spirit; yet it may be said now of discipline, as Paul, personating that state, said of the law; the law is spiritual, holy, righteous, just, and good, "but I am carnal, sold under sin." The discipline is settled to great and glorious ends; but as satan regards not what be the law, if he can be judge to pervert it, so even in this age, the mystery of iniquity has so wrought, as that ungodly men in some places have advanced themselves into the seat of judgment, whose spirits and ways are for judgment and condemnation; who, by that means, being unseen of some, and awing others, turn the edge of judgment backwards, and pervert right, put truth for error, and error for Truth; which being the highest abomination and indignity to the Lord, he will shortly arise, to the discovery and overthrow of all such, with their evil work throughout the world. Until that day come, as a few are easier brought to a settlement, through debateable points, than a multitude; so, when things are fully settled in the church that now is, whilst but few; such as shall be added, will sooner fall in with what is established before their coming in, than if they were to be settled after. And this is one great cause why the Lord delays bringing in the great multitude yet to be gathered.

On the 14th the meeting was large, and I had a full time in the forenoon, many things being opened to general satisfaction, though there were many strangers, as well Episcopalians and Presbyterians, as Papists. In the afternoon many more strangers appeared there, so that the evening meeting was almost as large as that in the morning, and the blessed Truth reigned over all, to the praise of his own name, of whom is the power, and to him be the glory from every baptized soul, now and for ever.

The province meeting at Lurgan being over, on the 15th I proceeded to Alexander Seton's, and the day following had a meeting at Ballinahinch, a village where there is no settled meeting, but had it at an inn kept by an Episcopalian, though the people are generally Presbyterians. Having great peace and



comfort in the Truth after this meeting, we went that evening to Downpatrick, and lodged with our friend John Beck, he and his family being all the Friends that were in town. Next day we had a meeting there, which was pretty large and open.

On the 18th we had a meeting at Rathfriland, and the people having notice, seemed inclinable to come; but the Presbyterian priest, one Robert Gordon, and Robert Little, one of his elders, went about to forbid their party, and hindered them generally from coming to the meeting; they two standing in the street to that end, their sect not daring to go to meeting in their sight. But their envy extended further than this; for after we were set down in the meeting, there came a great company of boys and made a noise near the door; but being discouraged by some Friends who went out to that end, then they threw dirt, stones and turf, and disturbed the meeting that way, several of that sect of envy looking on and abetting them. Our peace nevertheless remained in us, and we were comforted in him [the Lord]. After a while John Turner, of Lurgan, with some other Friends, went out into the street, there being many people in the shops and houses, as near the meeting as they could; and I went after him, having the same thing also in my mind. We stood by the end of a house which had a view several ways, and there preached to them a pretty while; and by the time he had done we had a far greater auditory than the meeting-place could have contained. After him I stood up, and then the Friends came to us out of the meeting, and I had a full time among them. But all the time we spoke, the boys made a noise, and threw stones, dirt, and turfs; and though sometimes some of the people would reprove them, and drive them off, yet others gave countenance, and encouraged them; and some others, who, by the distance they stood, must have been stronger than boys, threw turf and some stones amongst us over a house, standing out of sight behind it, most part of the time; one stone struck me on the right breast, but did little harm: the Lord preserved us from their violence, so as no great harm was sustained by any of us.

This being over, having had a full and open time among them, we retired to the meeting, where some of the people came, and we had some time there. But the work of that spirit of envy in these Presbyterians was not yet at an end; for they renewed their disturbance, and one fellow came into the meeting with water, and in a scoffing manner said, "The preacher must needs be very dry by much speaking, here is water for him;" and seemed to intend to throw it among us by some motion

he made; but a person in the meeting turned him out, and some boys also that were with him, and at last things ended peaceably, and we were generally comforted. One thing I think fit to mention here, which was with me to say to the multitude in the street, viz: "That it could not be childish behaviour only in those children who scoffed at the prophet of old, that provoked the great and merciful God to bring; or suffer, that destruction upon them by a she-bear out of the woods; but as, without all doubt, they had been taught and countenanced by their parents, they were punished in their children. So, in like manner, we impute not this to them only, but to those that set them on, and abet them, being well apprized of the root of this evil treatment, wherein those miserable parents and abettors are but laying in their children a foundation of a more dreadful destruction; for being thus debauched in their very infancy, and improving therein as they increase in years, their end must needs be miserable."

The day's work being over, we went to the inn to refresh ourselves, and then going out of the town, the rabble of boys followed, stoning us, and saying, "We will drive them out of the town like dogs." I rode back till I met with some of the inhabitants, and told them we understood the meaning of all that, and where to place it; not only on those poor children, who were thus depraved, and ruined by their wicked leaders and abettors, but were certainly informed that their Presbyterian priest and their elder had hired them, by giving them money for that evil service, and therefore they must answer for it in time. The priest being at his door as we were riding that way, I intended to speak with him on that subject, but seeing me, he slunk away into the house, and in a minute's time they in the house said he was not within, though I was at the door by the time he got out of it. I made this observation on these Presbyterian people in the north of Ireland, that as their party in Scotland exercise their church tyranny there over all not of their way, many of the teachers of that sect in Ireland, either coming from Scotland, or having their education there, through pride and a self-exalting, domineering spirit, forget that they are in another nation where they themselves are but dissenters as well as we, and begin to exercise the same cruelties which they do at home, and would do every where if they had power. But as there is nothing wanting to the blind leaders of that unhappy people but power, to make the nations once more swim in blood, so I hope the merciful God has a more favourable aspect upon the poor deceived inhabitants than to gratify their lusts therein, or



give power any more to such, who, when invested with it, used it so illy; exercising the antichristian cruelty of their religion and tempers, upon such whom the grace of God had taught to fear him, and deny their wicked ways.

That night we went forward to Newry, and lodged at an inn; and desiring to have a meeting, the landlord, who was also seneschal of the town, readily accommodated us with a long malt-house, which being made ready in the morning, some hundreds of people of several sorts came, many of them Presbyterians; and we had a very open good meeting, the people being generally sober and satisfied, which gives me occasion to remember that true saying, "The leaders of the people cause them to err." For in the place above, where they were under the eye and influence of their priest and leader, they were full of fury and ill-nature; but here, where they had not such an abettor, they behaved like other sober people.

That evening, the 19th, we passed the mountains, and came within night to Dundalk, and lodged at an inn, William Sewel landlord. A little after we were alighted, having a mind to have a meeting, I inquired of him where a place might be had for that purpose, and he immediately proffered his own house, which was a new building, and not a small one. Expecting a pretty large gathering, no meeting having been there or at Newry for many years, we tried to have had the court-house; but one putting it off to another, we found the magistrates were not willing, and so we prepared the inn next morning, being the seventh of the week. The meeting gathered about the tenth hour, and was as large as several rooms together could accommodate, and many in entries, stairs and other places, a great concourse of divers sects, and many Papists. Things opened very suitably to them, and the meeting was to general satisfaction, the tendency of what was delivered being mostly to their conviction of the principles of Truth.

On the 21st, in the morning we went to Drogheda, where there is a small meeting of Friends; but the notice being short, it was very small, and but a dull time, till some people without, hearing me speak, came in, and then things quickened a little; and the meeting ended pretty well. We went that night to Dublin, where I remained till the 29th, and then went to Timahoe, and on the 30th had a meeting there. The 31st being the meeting-day at Edenderry, I went thither. It was pretty large and open, and the next day, being the 1st of the ninth month, Thomas Wilson, with some other Friends, went with me to a meeting at John Stephenson's, which

was an open, good season; for the Lord comforted us together.

On the 2nd we went to Ballytore, where we had a free open meeting. On the 4th, being the first-day of the week, I went to the province meeting at Castledermont, which held that day and the next. It was a large good meeting; and thither came also George Gibson and Edmund Peckover, from Norfolk. On the second-day evening we went back to Ballytore.

On the 6th we had a meeting at Stephen Wilcox's, a Friend's house, in three rooms opened together; and being mostly strangers, and the meeting pretty large, things opened accordingly for conviction, and we had a pretty good time among them, George Gibson and Edmund Peckover being also there.

On the 7th we returned to Dublin, the half-year's national meeting beginning the day following. The affairs of it were carried on with great ease and unity, and much sweetness, which gave me, and some other strangers, occasion to remark, that it were happy, and greatly to the benefit and growth of the church, if the affairs of the yearly meeting at London could be so unanimous and peaceable; which could not well be expected till some men are removed, and others regulated, who have crept in unawares under the wings of others, who were never true members of the living body, or ever qualified for the stations they have assumed by the connivance of such as ought to have been more vigilant, and kept them at a due distance.

Finding an openness at Dublin, and many people of divers sorts frequenting our meetings, especially in the afternoons, I staid there till the 20th of the tenth month, where I had services of several kinds. And being fully recovered, for I was a little out of order of a cold, I went to Ballytore, Amos Strettle and some other Friends being with me.

On the 21st we had a meeting there, which was not very large, but pretty open. On the 22nd, being the seventh of the week, we went to the province meeting at Carlow, which held that day and the following, and was a good open meeting, and many strangers there on the first-day, and matters opened suitably to them, and things ended to general satisfaction.

On the 24th I went to Samuel Watson's, at Kilconnermore, and the next day had a meeting there, being the third of the week, and that day supposed to be the nativity of Christ, commonly called Christmas. There were pretty many strangers in the meeting, and the Lord was with us, to the comfort of Friends. In this meeting it was upon me to set forth the Word of God made flesh, or appearing in flesh, born of the Virgin Mary, sent to



the Jews in that manifestation, according to the foreknowledge, purpose, and promise of God; but they, save a remnant of them, rejected and crucified him, and yet at the same time were magnifying Moses, and garnishing the tombs and sepulchres of the prophets, and boasting themselves of them, but refusing the Son of God himself, who is Lord of all the prophets. Even so now the nominal Christians of several notions, whilst they keep feastings and revellings, under pretence of honour to Christ, in commemoration of his birth, behave themselves so as rather to represent a triumph of sin and satan, rejecting his divine light and grace in themselves; crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh by wicked works, in which they abounded especially at that time. It was a solid meeting, and ended to satisfaction.

That evening I returned to James Lecky's, and the day following, accompanied by him and Samuel Watson, I went through the mountains to William Eve's, being late within night before we got there, and wet, cold weather.

On the 27th we had a meeting at Ballycane, which was not large, but an open meeting, and Friends were refreshed together in the Truth, who was near to several. After the meeting I went to William Error's at Escontinna, and on 28th had a meeting there, which, though small, was open, several strangers being there; and a good time we had, the Lord seasoning us together by his grace.

The 30th, being the first of the week, I went to the monthly meeting at Lambstown, which was large, consisting of several neighbouring meetings. In the beginning it was heavy, the ears of the people being outward for words; but the Lord condescending to us, was pleased to appear after some time, and the way of life was opened clearly and fully, and many were reached, and Truth over all; but it was a laborious meeting, many things being thoroughly handled in the word of Truth.

On the third-day following, being the 1st of eleventh month, commonly called New-year's day, (1717) I went to a meeting at Wexford, which was large and open, the Truth appearing in his divine majesty. I had to declare to the people, the abomination of Ireland in her different parties, covering her fields with the blood one of another; the earth receiving the blood of professed Christians at the hands one of another, mixed with the blood of the beasts and cattle of the earth; the inconsistency of it with the nature of that love through which Christ died for all, whilst yet enemies; the ingratitude of Ireland to the Lord for her many deliverances; and the threatenings of the Lord of further punish-

ments yet to come, in case of continuance in wickedness, by the sword, plagues, pestilence, fire and famine. In the delivery whereof all were bowed, and some amazed, and the meeting concluded in a weighty frame.

On the 2nd I had a meeting at Ballancarring, which was pretty large, and the Lord was good to us, especially in the latter end of it.

On the 3rd I went to New-Ross, and the day following, being the sixth of the week, had a meeting at John Elly's about three in the evening; and many of the inhabitants coming, it was a large gathering, so that many could not crowd in. The Lord seasoned my heart with his grace, and renewed his holy Spirit in me; for I had been somewhat low in my mind that day. Many things opening to their conditions, with somewhat also relating to the abomination aforesaid, they were generally weighed down under the testimony of Truth, and Friends were comforted, some being there from several places.

On the 6th, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Waterford. It was not large in the morning, though some strangers were there, but very open and comfortable, many being bowed under the blessed Truth, and some sweetly broken and melted; and a comfortable time the Lord gave us, to his praise. In the afternoon we had a large full meeting, many strangers being present, and things opened fully and with good authority, and the Lord exalted his own name and Truth over all, the people generally settled and bowed down under the weight of it, to the honour of the Lord, and the consolation of the faithful there.

On the 8th I was there again, and the meeting was pretty large and open, many of the inhabitants of all sorts being there, though but a few Friends belong to the meeting, and generally satisfied. I staid till the 10th, and had another meeting, which was larger than before, the people being a little awakened by the former meetings. Things opened clearly in the authority of Truth, which was over them.

On the 11th I had an appointed meeting at Thomas Barnes's, about four miles out of the town, which was crowded, the place being but small. Hither came several officers of the king's customs, who were civil, and the meeting was well and open; and several of the Irish Papists, and others, were well satisfied, though things tended in some part to expose their priests and their deceit. After the meeting we were invited by a Baptist and his wife, who were at the meeting, to their house near the place, where we were kindly entertained. That night I returned to Waterford.



Here I staid till the 13th, and being the first of the week, had two more meetings. That in the forenoon was large, and an open meeting, the people being reached and brought down; but that in the evening was much larger, filled with people of all sorts, and Truth reigned over all in wisdom and power, to his own lasting praise; and I believe many will remember that day so long as they live. I was concerned here to open to the people that called the Apostles' Creed, which came very clear in my understanding at that time, as at some other times: but as to that article, "He descended into hell," I took exceptions to it. Another point also fell in my way, viz: Predestination; wherein the Presbyterians say, "That God, from all eternity, hath decreed some men and angels unto life and salvation, and others unto damnation or destruction; and the number is so certain and definite, that not one can be added or diminished;" referring, for more certainty of words, to the Greater Catechism of the Presbyterians made at Westminster. Upon which I thus remarked, among other things, "That it is a contradiction in the terms in which they have laid it down: for the act of the divine Will, moving to a decree, must have a beginning in order to effect that decree; and therefore cannot be from all eternity, or without beginning, which is all one. And if God had at all made such a decree, whether before or since the world began, he had not then left any room for that saying, 'As I live, saith the Lord, I desire not the death of a sinner, (whether it might be man or angel) but rather that he should turn from his wickedness and live.' But so the Lord hath said long since the world began, and since the time of the supposed decree; and therefore he had not made any such decree at all. And again, when God, by his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, offered salvation to all the people of the Jews, especially at Jerusalem, and they, most of them, refusing it upon the terms offered, he wept over them, saying, 'O Jerusalem, &c., thou that killest the prophets, &c., how often would I have gathered thy children, as a hen gathereth her chickens, &c., but thou wouldst not. O that thou hadst known, in this thy day, the things that belong to thy peace, but now they are hid from thine eyes.' Now, if God had decreed these to destruction, why did he then offer them salvation, and charge it upon themselves as an act of their own wills to refuse it? It cannot consist with any notion of justice that God should decree any to damnation, without either foresight of faith, or condition of works, and yet offer terms of salvation to the same persons, as in this case, and seem to reject them for noncompliance,

when he that is almighty hath determined they shall never comply:" with much more to the same effect, too long to be inserted here.

On the 14th I departed to Carrick, and next day had a large and open meeting there. Truth came over them in some good degree, most of any note in town being there, and and generally well satisfied, and the Lord comforted us in his service. On the 16th we had a meeting at Clonmel, about ten in the morning, which was large and pretty open; and the greatest part being strangers, things opened for convincement, and much concerning the true church, what it is, and how constituted, and the people were generally satisfied.

On the 17th we went to Youghall, and on the 18th, in the evening, had a meeting there, which was very large and open, though but few Friends, and the people were well satisfied. On the 19th I went to Cork, and the next day being the first of the week, and their province meeting, it was pretty large and well, and held two days. I staid till the 25th, and was at their week-day meeting, consisting for the most part of Friends, where I had opportunity to speak to some things more peculiar to their states than in those mixed meetings.

The first-day following, being the 27th, accompanied with many Friends from Cork, I was at a meeting at Kinsale, which, in the morning was not very large, but pretty open. In the evening it was greatly crowded by people of all ranks and sorts, and many things were declared to general satisfaction, though errors, both of Papists and Protestants were laid plainly open. The crowd was so great that many went away, who coming late, could not get in, and were not able to abide the cold, or stand so long without doors. This was a good meeting, and Truth over all, and the people generally, both officers, soldiers, and others, were very civil to us; especially the next morning as we passed the streets, wishing us well.

On the 29th I was at their week-day meeting at Cork, and on the 3rd of twelfth month, being the first-day, I was again there, where the meeting in the afternoon being put off till towards the evening, and the town's people having pretty general notice, it was one of the largest that had been seen there, and very open, being crowded with people of all ranks, and for any thing we could learn, they were very well satisfied, Truth being over all to his own glory.

There being a couple of Friends to be married the third-day following, I staid the occasion; and the meeting was greatly crowded, the novelty of the thing drawing some, and



many could not get in. Matters opened fully and clearly to several points, the meeting was satisfactory, and many spake well of the way of the Lord, to whom only belongs the praise of all his own glorious works; for of him is every good word and work. Here I rested till the fifth-day following; and then went forward to Malo; where we had a large meeting, the town's people being generally there, and some out of the country adjacent. Many things were opened to them, but not in that degree of the power of Truth as at some other places, they being greatly strangers to Truth, and unfit for the streams of life till further sanctified. Yet things were well, considering their state, and they were generally satisfied; for I had the thanks of the town at the inn next morning, for the good sermon, as it was called, by an attorney, who took upon him to be their mouth. But I told him, if any good was done, they ought to thank God, the author of it.

On the 8th we had a meeting at Charleville; where many people came. Some of them were a little raw, and whispering a while; but as Truth arose, it came over them and we had a good meeting, the people being very solid in the end.

On the 9th, in the morning, we set forward, accompanied by several Friends, and arrived at Limerick in the evening, and having had letters of invitation from my brother George Story, then dean of Limerick, and also from my sister, his wife, to lodge at their house, I accepted of it, and was with them during the time I staid in town. They were very kind, and invited my company one day to dinner, and entertained us freely and plentifully.

On the 18th I went to Tipperary, and the next day had a pretty large meeting there; which was open. On the 20th, being the fourth-day of the week, we had a meeting at Joseph Fennel's; which was small but open, and my spirit more at liberty. After the meeting we went to Clonmell, and lodged at the house of our friend Joseph Collet. On the 21st, being their meeting day, which usually is in the forenoon, they appointed it in the evening, at the fourth hour, for the sake of the people; whom we had a desire should be at the meeting. It was very large, and many things of weight were opened to them, and Truth prevailed over all. The mayor of the town was there, with the badge of his office, and some military officers, and all very sober and satisfied; and things were well and comfortable.

On the 22nd we had a meeting at John Bowle's at Woodhouse; where most of the gentry, so called, in those parts adjacent, and others were present, and four of them justices

of the peace. The meeting was open, and Truth over them, and they were generally satisfied. But one of the justices, an ingenious man, after the meeting, in some free and pleasant discourse with John Bowles, said, "The doctrine was good; but that part against war, though according to the scripture, was too hard, especially at this time, when an invasion is expected. Would you have us lay down our arms, said he, and suffer the pretender to take possession of us?" But he said nothing to me, nor any thing in displeasure.

I staid there till the 24th; and being the first of the week, went to Cashel. The meeting, both fore and afternoon, was very large, especially the last; and the truths of the gospel were fully and largely opened to them; many people of all ranks being there, and generally satisfied or silenced; and a good time it was to many, who spoke well of the way of Truth.

On the 25th we had a meeting at the town of Thirles, in the court-house; where came together a great concourse of people, it being generally a popish town; but the people were civil in the main, except some of the baser sort, who were a little light; and many were reached by the wisdom and power of Truth, and well satisfied. But the curate of the town, one Thomas Sharp, though he did not give us any interruption in the meeting, yet in the mean time, put up a paper on the market cross, a copy whereof followeth, viz.

"February 25th, 1716-17.

"All religious assemblies which dissent from the established church in this kingdom, &c., are schismatical, and contrary to law; therefore, to go to a dissenting congregation for any other end than to oppose and suppress such a meeting, is sinful.

"To go with a design to join in the worship of it is so; because this is to have fellowship with that which is sin, and partake in the iniquity of it.

"Or for diversion, because it is not lawful to make a mock at sin; and they are fools, *i. e.* profane and wicked, who do so.

"Or for curiosity, because this is in order to know and be acquainted with sin.

"Or for want of better employment, and out of amusement only; because no one ought to be so idle, or so ill employed, as to pay attendance to any thing which is sinful: this is to show a respect and countenance to it.

"THO. SHARP, Curate of Thirles."

After we went to the inn, I had began to write an answer to this paper; but, in the mean time came the priest himself, and one Oliver Grace, a gentleman in the country, and



a lieutenant of horse, to our inn; and seating themselves in a room, desired to see me. I went accordingly to them, and two or three Friends with me; and after some civilities, we began upon the said paper. I observed to them, that all these supposed sinful consequences depended upon the proof of the first position, viz: "That all religious assemblies, which dissent from the established church in Ireland, &c. are schismatical, and contrary to law;" which I denied, and put him upon his proof. But first, fully to establish the terms of his proposition, I desired him to explain the meaning of this &c. For as there were once in England a sort of men who swore with an &c. including *pro* or *con*, to be explained as they might think most conducing to their interest, or advantage afterwards; so in this &c. might be included many sorts of national churches in other countries, and some quite contrary to that now in Ireland. He answered, "I mean the church of England only." Then I asked him, "How is that church established more than any other in Ireland?" He said, "The clergy of Ireland being in time past, met in convocation, agreed upon certain articles of religion, thirty-nine in number, which were afterwards confirmed by the king and the great seal of England." I asked him, "How does it appear that this is such a church, as that all are schismatics and sinners that dissent from her? For the true church is hid with Christ in God; is the ground and pillar of Truth, the New Jerusalem, the church of the first-born, and mother of saints; and built on Christ Jesus, the true foundation, rock of ages, and chief corner stone. But a church established by human authority, is the creature of that authority, which the church of Christ never wanted, or will want to establish her; being settled already by his own power, to his glory. And if schism and sin be marks of an irreligious assembly, pray then, why are they in England and Ireland so divided among themselves, as that one part is in rebellion against the government that established them, and the whole miserable sinners, as by law established? Can it be any schism or sin to dissent from, or meet together otherwise than among, miserable sinners." Some of his company being rude, and more subtle than himself, would have brought him off, by giving ill language, and so making a confusion; for they saw where it was like to land; but he could not take the hint. "For if it were schism to dissent from a national church, why did they, in queen Mary's time, &c. dissent? And if that was a schism, why do you continue it? Is that the reason you are miserable sinners?"

Then he recurred to the sacraments, and said, "They that deny the sacraments and

ordinances of Christ are schismatics." I asked him, "What dost thou mean by these terms?" He said, "Baptism and the Lord's supper." I asked him, "What baptism?" He said, "Water baptism." I replied, "If all are schismatics that decline water baptism, you yourselves are so; for sprinkling infants is no baptism. It is an error both from mode and subject." Then he recurred to the authority of the church; which being a plain handle for turning the schism where it should be, the above officer, one of his company, threw in a diversion, by accusing me of being the leader of those bullocks, as he called the Friends there. I told him, "They and I have all one Leader, and I am far from assuming any such character; which is very injurious and scornful in thee to offer." Then we proceeded upon the argument of baptism. He alleged the text, "Go teach all nations, baptizing them," &c. and said it was water baptism. I said, "Water is not mentioned, but in another place, by way of distinction; showing it was not water but the Holy Ghost, thus: 'For John truly baptized with water,' said our Lord Christ, 'but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.'" He said, "The apostles did baptize those with water who had before received the Holy Ghost; therefore it was water they understood by the text." I replied, "That is no fair deduction, or consequence; for some were also circumcised after they had received the Holy Ghost, which established the one as well as the other; but indeed neither. Besides, if the apostles had baptized with water from that text, they would have pursued the terms of it, viz: 'in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost;' but they never baptized any so with water; therefore not from that text." Then he said, "I can prove they did;" alleging that text, "Who can forbid water;" &c. I answered, "It does not appear by that text that these were baptized in the name of the Father, &c., and in other places, it was in the name of Christ the Son only; not upon this text in Matthew xxxviii. but upon the same foot on which they baptized in John's time, before the giving out of this text; where Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples. But that the apostle has put out of all question, where he says, 'there is one Lord, one faith, and one baptism;' which one baptism must either be water baptism without the Spirit, or the Spirit alone without water, or the Spirit and water must make up that one baptism. It is not water alone; for Simon Magus was baptized with water, and yet had neither part nor lot in the Holy Spirit. Again, the Samaritans had been baptized with water in the name of the Lord, but had not received the Spirit; and some were baptized



that had not heard of it; therefore, the Spirit and water not going together, they are not one baptism. But the apostle is clear in the point, where he saith, 'By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body; for we have all been made to drink into one Spirit.' And this makes members of the church, which is his body, 'the fulness of him who filleth all in all,' which is not a body of miserable sinners, but of saints and saved of the Lord." They could not hear this but with divers interruptions; and he would have evaded it by some poor glosses upon some texts, viz: "It was to be understood by the authority of one Spirit, &c." which I rejected. Then this Oliver Grace, (said to be a late convert from popery,) began to be further abusive, and said, "You have no more religion than my horse." I asked, "What hast thou seen or heard in me to provoke thee to such an expression; which thy horse, if he had like faculties as thyself, would hardly have used, where no occasion was given." I told them, "I am now disappointed in you; I expected, when desired and invited into your room and company, at least a rational conference on the points proposed; but to be thus treated is another thing;" and so departed the room. After I went to bed, I found my spirit much laden, which after some time went off, and I fell asleep in much sweetness. But they were drinking in a room at the other end of the house, the people, being protestants and civil, having so contrived it, that they might not disturb us. There they staid the greatest part of the night, and the priest with them, till they could hardly know which end was up. But in the morning I was told, that this Oliver Grace would needs come to me in the night, in that condition, to dispute about religion, as he pretended.

The next morning, the 26th, we set forward for Kilkenny; where we procured a place for a meeting; being a long malt house, and had it well furnished with seats that evening and the next morning. At that place, it is to be noted, was a very high and lording prelate; having also a temporal title, called Sir Thomas Veazey. This Haman-like man had shown a particular aversion to Friends; and several of our meetings in that town had been disturbed and hindered by his register, one Robert Connel, an alderman in that town, and such others as he could procure to officiate in such evil work. They exercised their violence and disturbance upon Elizabeth Jacobs once, and another time upon Margaret Hoare and Abigail Craven, and hindered the meetings; which Friends had borne for the sake of peace, without any complaint to the government. But now they proceeded more violently; for as we were met according to appointment, on

the 27th, about the second hour in the afternoon, and many of the town's people with us, some time after I had stood up, two men came in and made disturbance, bidding me be silent, and the people disperse. I did not mind them for some time, but went on, till they had so disturbed the meeting, that the people were not in a condition to hear. Then I stopped, and asked who they were, and by what authority they did that. They answered they were the church wardens. I replied, that the church wardens, as such, had no business with us, or power to hinder us; and desired them to desist, and sit down quietly as others were. They seeing that would not frighten us, as they had imagined, began to speak to particulars of their own sort, threatening them with the bishop's court, and excommunications, and such like things, and began to take some names in writing; which some being afraid of, went out; but the greater part staid, and some were much troubled at the spoiling of the meeting, for it had begun well. But the envy of satan, and pride of ungodly men rising higher, whilst we were at this work, in came one of the mayor's sergeants at mace and a constable with a warrant. I being still standing, and sometimes exhorting the people as well as I could in such disturbance, they bid me come down and go with them, for they had a warrant from a justice of the peace to apprehend me, and disperse the meeting. Then I said, we were well known to be an innocent people, readily subject to government, either actively or passively; but desired them to have a little patience till I had cleared myself among the people; and they did not seem very forward to take me away, till some of the superior persecutors towards the door cried out, "How well do you execute your warrant!" and then they took me, Edward Cooper, Henry Ridgeway and John Harris, away in custody up to the justice's house. But he would not be seen, being much troubled that he had signed the warrant, it being ready drawn by Robert Connel, the bishop's register, and sent to the justice by the bishop, desiring him to sign it; which he had done with great reluctance. They then took us from place to place to find a justice; but none cared to see us, till at last we were brought before the mayor and this Connel, who, being one of the aldermen, is also a justice of the peace for the city ex-officio. They were a little rough, and pretty high upon us; but the Lord, for whose name and cause we were there, kept us over their spirit and power. John Bowles, John Leckey, Samuel Watson, Thomas Prin, John Prin, junior, and other Friends, continuing the meeting, and many of the people with them, the officers also brought away those



Friends last named before the mayor at the same time. They charged us with a riotous and unlawful assembly; I told them they themselves did not believe it to be a riotous assembly; and there were many witnesses that we were peaceable, till the church wardens and their officers disturbed us. Then Robert Connel himself confessed we were not making any disturbance, but said it was an unlawful assembly, the Act of toleration in England not extending to Ireland. I answered, "That act being for the liberty of the subject, extended every where in Ireland, and other countries where the subjects of England are settled under the crown of England." Then they demanded security for our appearance at the assizes, and for our good behaviour in the mean time. We told them we were not of ill behaviour, and therefore needed not to be bound; but seeing their wicked design, we all refused. Then they wrote a mittimus, pretending to send us to jail, but at last they told us we might go where we pleased, only they charged us, upon pain of what should follow, not to have any more meetings there; for if we did, they would take more severe measures with us. Having a full bottle of wine upon the table, they would have given us some, but we all refused it, at which they were angry. So we left them, and went down to Thomas Date's, at the Swan, where many of us lodged. And pretty many Friends being together there after supper, we concluded to have another meeting next morning, and some Friends were appointed to give notice to the mayor, some to the justices, some to the soldiers, and some to the people of the town.

On the 28th, about nine in the morning, we went to this second meeting, where the people did not gather much till about ten; and I had stood up about half an hour, when in came the same church wardens, and made the like disturbance as before, taking names, and threatening the people with the bishop's court and excommunication, frightening some; but most did not seem to mind them, and I went on for some time over them, till also came two of the mayor's sergeants at mace and constables, and a great mob after them; and they commanded me to be silent, and the meeting to disperse. Some of the meaner sort went out of the house as fast as they could, being fearful, but many staid to see the issue; and they taking me into custody, I went with them, but they took no other Friend. The mayor, this alderman Connel, and some others, being together, I was had before them without any warrant. They were very angry, and gave me some threatening language. I told them they were not to insult the king's peaceable subjects, or to exercise their own passions

upon them; but if I had broken any law, I was subject to the law, either actively or passively; and if they acted without law, they also were punishable by the law. They were very angry still, and the mayor said, I had assembled myself with others, contrary to law, and demanded security for my appearance at the next assizes, the 16th of next month, at the city of Kilkenny, and in the mean time to be of good behaviour. Then I said, "What law have you here in Ireland against our meetings?" Said the mayor, "There is no law for them here." Then said I, "There is none against them; and where there is no law there is no transgression. The Act of toleration in England gives us, as well as all others, the king's Protestant dissenting subjects, liberty every where in his dominions." Then they wrote a mittimus as followeth, viz:

*By John Birch, esq., Mayor of the said city, and Robert Connel, esq., one of his majesty's Justices of the Peace of the said city.*

*City of Kilkenny, ss.* "We herewith send you the body of Thomas Story, he unlawfully assembling himself with several other persons, and refusing to find sufficient security for his appearance next assizes, and for his good behaviour; and him in safe custody to keep, till thence discharged by due course of law. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under our hands and seals this 28th day of February, 1716.

"To the keeper of his majesty's jail of the said city.

"JOHN BIRCH, Mayor.

"ROBERT CONNEL."

I was sent to the common jail of the town, among thieves in irons, where I staid not long in the custody of the jailer till Anthony Blunt, the sheriff of the city, a very civil young man, and loyal to king George, came to me, and showed his resentment sufficiently at their doings; for he not only called for the mittimus, that we might have a copy of it, which the jailer had refused, being an Irish Papist, but left it in my own hand till he returned, going immediately to some of the justices, to have their opinions and concurrence in taking me to his house, which he readily had; and accordingly took me with him, and provided me a very good room in his house, and agreeable accommodations, to the disappointment of that great Episcopal envy thus levelled against me. All this I observed to be the Lord's doings, for the furtherance of the gospel and his own glory; and the Lord was with me in a good degree, to my great comfort, and as my only sure help.

On sixth and seventh-days came Friends from several parts to see me, and many staid



in town till the first-day, being the 3rd of the first month; and in the forenoon we had a meeting in the sheriff's house, where his wife, a very good-natured, sober woman, and family were present, and many of the neighbourhood. We had a good open time, wherein I had an opportunity to expose antichrist and his ministers, which, I am apt to think, went to the bishop's ears, as it did quickly through the town, the people wondering at our boldness, not knowing our foundation.

The next day, the 4th, I went to take the air in the late Duke of Ormond's gardens there, and some Friends with me, and several people came to us, and among others, some French Protestants and an Irish Papist. He seemed friendly, and repeated some verses against such as seemed to be religious, but aimed at nothing but promotion, and worldly honour and glory by it. I told him some people's religion made them worse than their natural temper, which could not be right; for the end of true religion is an improvement upon nature, and restoration from the fall, even in this life, and rendering men more sociable and safe; but that priestcraft of many kinds, tending to an evil end, had, as to great part of mankind, eluded all the means hitherto offered for the help of man, and made a prey of him, instead of that aid designed. For though there is nothing more plain than religion in its native simplicity, yet the priests, the better to effect their own designs, had invented abundance of lying mysteries, to confound and amuse the people, and persuaded them, that offerings of many kinds were essentials of religion, which offerings were ever at the priest's disposal, and for his gain and advantage; which will ever continue till the people receive the Lord Jesus, and turn to his light and grace as their true teacher.

In the mean time, as we were at this sort of conversation, in came justice Warren, alderman Haddock, and ——— Clarke, the collector of the king's customs, and some others, and entering into conversation with us, by degrees they fell to discourse upon my confinement, which they all did with considerable resentment; and some of them observed, that to make a show, now after the people had talked so broad in the streets, the mayor, and that party, had shut up the mass-houses, which before had been connived at; and also how angry they were with our meeting the day before, but could not help themselves, since I being a prisoner, could not be hindered from speaking to such as came to me; and very friendly they were.

In the mean time the mayor and alderman Connel came in, greatly chafed, which was heightened to see these persons with me, con-

versing so friendly together. Their business was to persuade justice Warren, alderman Haddock, and whom they could besides, to join with them to send me out of the county, from constable to constable; for I becoming very burthensome to them, they had fallen upon this contrivance to get rid of me; and their power extending no further than the town, they could not send me out of the county, but out of the town only, and then they feared I would come in again immediately; but if out of the county, being some miles, it is likely they imagined I would not take the pains. As they advanced towards us, I began to speak to those persons with me above mentioned, concerning the grounds upon which my adversaries built, viz: the supposition that the toleration Act extended not to Ireland. But I told them, "They were mistaken; for all men by nature are free, till that freedom is taken away, either by policy or force. Some penal laws then, made by an antichristian policy, and applied by tyrannical force, having obstructed the liberty of the subjects of England for a time, yet that liberty was not destroyed; but that force being removed, liberty revived, and turned into her natural channel. For there are many statute laws in England, in which there are several terms and clauses of enacting, that in reality are not initiatory of new matter, or new laws or privileges never before claimed, or enjoyed by the people, of right; but declaratory only of rights and privileges in possession by them and their ancestors, before endangered by evil counsellors to kings and princes, who, for their own advancement in favour, are too frequently the wicked instruments of tyrannical and enslaving counsels, where they meet with any degree of propensity in the tempers of their princes biasing them that way. Of the like nature is this toleration Act in England: which native rights and privileges all Englishmen carry along with them into all regions of the world where they settle under the regimen of the crown of England, now upon a very worthy head, who declares for liberty to all his Protestant dissenting subjects throughout his dominions the world over; and that indulgence they enjoy every where but here. The Act of toleration extends to Ireland, America, and all the king's dominions; being declaratory in its own nature, not only of English, but also of gospel liberties; and which we now insist upon against the unjust force of such as oppose themselves here. And that this is, and ever hath been, the mind of the king and his predecessors since that law was made, is plain, by extending that liberty and indulgence here, as likewise to all his English dominions. And not



only thus, but the king has given us his royal word for his protection, upon several addresses, and particularly upon one from our last yearly meeting at London, the 26th day of the third month, 1716; and another since, from our last national meeting at Dublin, here in Ireland, to which he was pleased to answer in these words, viz: 'I thank you for the assurance of duty and affection to my person and government, contained in this address; and you may always depend upon my protection.' I myself was present, with many more, when the king received us with this first address in his own bedchamber: so great was his condescension and regard to his loving and peaceable subjects. But it seems the mayor and magistrates here think it their interest to insist upon an opinion quite of another nature, at the hazard of what may follow; for you may assure yourselves we are as jealous and tenacious, both of our gospel and natural liberties as any body here can be bent to deprive us of them."

This being finished, the mayor and his party showed a great deal of rancour, but could not help themselves; and immediately after, the mayor and Connel made application as aforesaid for assistance. But the justice at once refused, and told them he had done too much of this drudgery for them already, and would do no more, but would leave them to their own measures. This vexed them heartily, and occasioned some more words, which were pretty warm on both sides, till the justice and the rest that were for the king and indulgence, asked them, "How came you to connive at so many masses in view, and be so furious upon the king's friends and peaceable subjects? Pray, Mr. Mayor," said he, "what notice have you taken of the seditious sermon you heard yesterday afternoon in the little church? You can hear such with pleasure, whilst you treat these loyal subjects with so much severe usage. Did you, sir, demand that person's notes, and bring him to account for what he had done?" To which the mayor answered, "That is my lord bishop's business, not mine." Then they replied, "If it was not your business, being a matter of religion, pray how comes it to be so much your business to meddle with these people, who have given you no other occasion but in respect of their religious opinions, to which they have equal right and liberty with all others his majesty's Protestant dissenting subjects, and are much more useful to the government than some that you connive at? And pray, from whom arises the common danger?"

We heard them thus far, but things rising higher and higher, thought best to withdraw and leave them, the dispute turning favourably

on our side, which we did: but in the evening the sheriff told me they ended in heat; and that the mayor and alderman Connel, finding they could not have any aid of the others, were resolved, as they pretended, to send me out of the town next morning by the constables, and that if I came again they would put me in the stocks. I told him I did not fear them; let them run the length of their chain. For though they thought to frighten me with their threats, I knew the laws better than they imagined; and that they could not do it but by illegal violence.

The next day, the 5th, the mayor was much cooler; and intending to go out of the town the day following to meet the judges at Wexford, being deputy clerk of the crown, he took up the mittimus, and sent me word by the sheriff, that I was at liberty, and might go when and where I pleased; and said also, that he would not have done what he had done against us, but that the clergy, as one man, greatly urged him to it, saying they had thought him a man for the church; but to find him so remiss in suppressing the Quakers, looked quite otherwise. And added, that for his own part he did not care what meetings we had; but intended to get out of the way of it, and leave alderman Connel in his place till he returned, hoping all would be over in his absence.

Upon this message I told the sheriff, That they had committed me publicly by a mittimus till the assizes, as if I had done some heinous crime; and as on the one hand I could not accept of a private discharge, so on the other, this discharge was not legal, which was an indication they were either ignorant or arbitrary; for they ought to have returned their proceedings before the judges, that the matter might be heard at the assizes. But in case of a discharge before that, it ought to have been by a liberate in writing under their hands and seals, or of some other justices; and therefore I remained with the sheriff, which displeased my adversaries worse than before, and heightened their rage.

Many Friends visited me from divers places on the 9th, being the seventh of the week; and considering together of a meeting next day, we spoke to the same person about the same place we had before, and he readily granted it: so all was prepared, as seats, &c., and notice was given by some Friends to alderman Connel, now deputy mayor, and the justices, of what we intended; but he said he would disperse us again, and that we should not have any meeting there. However, we went to meeting, and though I had some things in my mind to say in the meeting, before I found the proper time to stand up, one of the



church wardens came and began the disturbance; and soon after came the mayor's sergeants at mace, commanding the people to disperse, and the church wardens took down names, and threatened the people with the bishop's court. Then I reasoned the case a little with the constables and sergeants, and they seemed troubled that they were put upon using us so; but could not help it, being under authority. After a while I went with them, having first made some remarks on things to the people, and they put me in jail the second time, where I was hardly well entered, till they brought William Brookfield of Dublin thither also. For some Friends from thence coming to see me, and he among others, and the meeting continuing after they had brought me away, William had stood up to speak, and some of the constables took him down, and brought him to us.

We had been in prison but a small time till the sheriff came and took us home to his house, where the other Friends came to us after the meeting was over, which they held, notwithstanding all the disturbance, till it regularly ended.

But the deputy mayor being come from his worship, sent for me before him, and seemed very angry, and asked me how I came to appoint another meeting, being in custody? Then said the sheriff, "Sir, the gentleman was not in custody, for Mr. Mayor took up the mittimus before he went out of town, and told me he was at liberty; only he would not go out of town till he himself thought fit, being free, as he apprehends, to go or stay at his own election." Then said I to the deputy mayor, "These proceedings are very arbitrary: what have I done now to deserve imprisonment?" "Did not I tell you, sir," said he, "that I would disperse you, (for I had met him in the street as we went to the meeting) and that you should have no meeting here?" "It is true," said I; "but since there is no law against our meeting, thou hadst no right to say so, nor was I obliged to take notice of it, being without law; but besides, the gospel must be preached, and God must be worshipped according to his own appointment, whoever will make laws to the contrary, or apply an unjust and illegal force to restrain it."

Then said one of the sergeants to the deputy mayor, "Sir, this gentleman said nothing in the meeting; he was not preaching." He immediately laid hold on that to get rid of us, for he wanted his dinner, then staying for him, and said, "I cry mercy, I thought you had;" and so dismissed me. But, before we parted I told him, "That notwithstanding thou hast used us so illy, I have a secret

apology in my mind for it, but cannot be positive whether thou deserves it; and that is, I conjecture that thou dost not act altogether from a native spring of dislike in thy own mind, but as excited by some other person or persons, for some other reasons than perhaps thou carest to express or own." Upon this he said, "I have no enmity against Friends, but have, upon occasion, forgiven some of them fees (being register to the bishop's court) to the value of seven pounds." And so we were dismissed without any further conditions.

About three in the afternoon we went to meeting again in the same place, and the bishop hearing of it, and walking in the Tolsel, told one of the sergeants if we met again he would have us put in the stocks till he came from church. But being set, many people came to us, and the Lord, who never fails nor forsakes his own, was with us, to our great comfort, whilst envy and rage tormented our enemies. I had something to say, and had gone on some time, the people being greatly desirous to hear; and many still and satisfied with what they heard, till the constables and sergeants came in again; but so faintly, and with apologies, that they could hardly touch me. But after some time, one of the sergeants named the bishop to be concerned in it, which I laid hold of, and told the people we had not been without apprehensions all this time who was at the bottom, but now they heard plainly it was the bishop; and after some further remarks, viz: "That what our Lord said to his disciples, 'Some of you shall satan cast into prison,' was now also fulfilled in us. For though that evil one cannot cast any into prison by himself, as he is a wicked destroying spirit; yet as ungodly and wicked persecutors are excited, instigated, and hurried to that evil work by satan, he, as the first mover, is said to do it, so that they might plainly see on what bottom they were who thus abused us." The people, nay, even many of the Papists who came there to hear and see, were generally displeased with them; and the Truth reached them through our works and patience, and exposed our enemies to the just censure of all.

The sergeants and constables took me away, many of the people followed, calling out shame, and blaming the magistrates; but we desired them to avoid disturbance, lest some advantage might be taken. The officers became so troubled and ashamed, that they entreated me to walk up to my lodging till the church was done: but I told them I was in their custody, and could not go but where they took me; and they went with me to the sheriff's house, where they expressed their great concern, that



they should be in offices that subjected them to actions so much against their inclinations. But the meeting continuing after I was brought away, William Brookfield had a good time in a short testimony among them; and though some constables were there, they stood without, as if they had no mind to understand or hear any thing; and the meeting ended in order, and Friends were generally comforted.

In the evening the deputy mayor sent me word by the sheriff, that he would wait on me by and by at my lodging about that afternoon's meeting. I replied, "That was not so proper, but if he had any thing more to say, that required my answer, I would wait on him where he pleased." The sheriff told him what I said, and he sent the sheriff to ask me if I intended to go out of town the next day, and if I did, he had no more to say; but if I did not go out, he would put me out.

I replied, "That if the mayor had sent to ask me that question without any threats annexed, I would have answered him freely and plainly as to my intent; but was not to be frightened, being at my own liberty to stay or go as I pleased."

This the sheriff told him; and he then made the sheriff take it down in writing, which he did. The mayor then bid him set his hand to it, which he did; but told the mayor he would keep it in his own custody, and accordingly showed it me. I suppose the mayor thought to frighten me by this poor little shift. Then I told the sheriff I intended to go out of the town in the morning, to take some meetings in the country, and return there again at the assizes, in the latter end of the week.

Then the sheriff told me the bishop was very angry with him, and so were all his creatures, for letting me have liberty, and had sent for him that morning; but that he would not go till we were out of the town. I told him he had best go then, lest the bishop might take some advantage, as if he did not regard him; but as for us, we did not fear any thing he could do to us. However, he went not so long as we staid, which was till about the eleventh hour; I going to see several of the aldermen who had shown us countenance, and also Colonel Warren, before we took horse; and went openly through the greatest part of the town, telling the people on every occasion, I intended to see them at the assizes.

On the 11th we set forward; and several Friends being in company, on comparing things, we found we had all had a share of the burthen; but were very easy and comfortable in our spirits, concluding that as we had come laden thither, and left our burden behind, it was gone upon those who had op-

posed Truth, and would be heavier and heavier on them, till they sunk under it, or yielded. And so we saw the hand of the Lord in the whole, and rejoiced together in him. That day I went home with Edward Cooper, who had been with us all this time.

On the 12th we had a meeting at Samuel Watson's, which was a large open meeting, and the people, as well as Friends, were well satisfied.

On the 13th we had another meeting at Carlow, which was also well filled with people of several sorts, and they were also very quiet and sober in time of silence. I had taken cold in the transactions at Kilkenny, which had weakened me; but the Lord strengthened me so as to make me instrumental to deliver many things to edification, information and comfort; and it was a good meeting to some, and the people were generally satisfied, and some much pleased. That night I went home with John Leckey, about a mile from Carlow, back towards Kilkenny, where I was well entertained.

On the 16th, in company with several Friends, I went to Kilkenny, to see what they had to say to me at the assizes, to which I had been committed by the mittimus aforesaid, not thinking it honourable in the Truth to take liberty by word only, lest, being absent, they might pretend I had given them the slip; to which I never had any temptation from first to last.

On our way we fell in with some persons going to town; and one of them offering some discourse about religion, I perceived after a while, he was a Roman Catholic; and after some other points, we came upon that of transubstantiation. He urged the words of Christ, where he said, concerning the bread, "Take, eat ye all of it; this is my body which is broken for you." And again, concerning the cup, "This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you," &c. "This," said he, "is so plain and distinct, that there can be no mistake in it: 'This is my body; This cup is the New Testament,' " &c.

I answered, "This is a figurative speech: this bread signifies my body, which shall shortly hereafter be broken for you; and this cup, that is to say, the wine, or liquor contained in it, signifies, or symbolizes, the New Testament in my blood. For if it were a proper speech, without any figure, many absurdities would follow, against both sense and reason; whereas Christ and his apostles suit their doctrine and miracles to both. And saith reason, It is impossible that both the body of Christ and the bread can occupy one and the same place, at one and the same



time; for when the body is present, the bread must be absent, and when the bread is present, the body must be absent.

"And again to the senses: the apostle John says, 'That which we have heard with our ears, seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the good Word of life;' alluding to the infallible certainty of sense in preaching the gospel; 'for the life was made manifest, and we have seen it.' So that as certain as is sense in sensible subjects and objects, so certain, and yet more, are all the true ministers of Christ of those saving and divine Truths they deliver from the Spirit, or essential Truth and life manifested in them, in its own power and virtue; and so certain also may the hearer be of the Truth of the ministry, by the manifestation and answer of the same Spirit working in him."

I further urged that it was a figurative speech, for this reason; "Because he saith, 'This cup is the New Testament,' were it of wood, stone, earth, or metal. That cup, whatever it was, was the New Testament, according to thy and your notion. Where then is that cup? If the cup be lost, then also is the Testament, if the cup be the Testament."

This was a little pinching, and drove my antagonist to this reply, viz: "This speech of Christ hath two parts: the first is proper, concerning the body; but the second is figurative, concerning the cup."

Then said I, "Friend, pray give me thy reason for the difference."

"Because," said he, "it was impossible to drink the cup, but only that which was in it."

"It is a good reason," said I, "friend, and holds as well the other way; for if that must be figurative respecting the cup, because of the impossibility of drinking the cup itself, to common reason; even so, for the same reason, deduced from the impossibility of the thing, I justly conclude there is no transubstantiation."

"But if it had been so, then this, and many other like absurdities would have followed, viz: Whilst Christ sat at the table, and said of the bread, 'This is my body,' the body which brake it, and called it his body, must cease to be that body, and the other, the bread must commence and begin to be his body, which it was not before, and be really so, before he could properly and truly call it so, or else there must be many, nay innumerable same bodies at the same time, and yet all but that one body; which is absurd and unreasonable."

"Again, if whilst Christ sat at the table with his disciples, they all ate the whole entire Christ the evening before he was crucified; pray, then, who was left uneaten to be cruci-

fied next day? And if the first to whom he gave a piece of bread had all the whole Christ, what remained for all the rest? I think nothing at all."

Then he said, "Christ told the people, 'That except ye eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you.' There must then be some way of eating and drinking, to make good that saying; which is also very plain in its own nature, the flesh and blood in a proper sense."

To this I answered, "That Christ did say so, and the people took him to mean properly, and without a figure, as ye now do, looking upon the impossibility of the thing, as it really is, in the sense they and you take it; but when they were all offended and gone, he turned to his disciples, and explained it to them, for they seemed not rightly to understand him; 'Will ye also leave me? It is given to you to understand the mysteries; but to them (the world) in parables. What then was the parable or mystery? It is the Spirit that quickens, the flesh profiteth nothing.' And thus it is in your own Bible as well as ours."

I further added, "That if therefore the bread were really transubstantiated, after the words said, and were the true body and blood of Christ; and if they ate and drank the same flesh and blood which then they beheld, it would profit them nothing."

Then he said, "It is true the flesh and blood by itself, without the Spirit, does not profit; but when we eat the flesh and blood together, we eat the Spirit also, and that quickens as we eat it."

This was a deep fetch, and the last shift, which I answered thus, viz: "This cannot be Christ's meaning; for he does not only distinguish, but divide between the flesh and Spirit. 'It is the Spirit that quickens:' here is the whole work of quickening ascribed to the Spirit; and the same that quickens, also continues life in him who is quickened; for from the Spirit came flesh, blood, bread, wine, and the whole universe, and all that in it is; and are all continued by the same Spirit, the substance of all things. 'But the flesh profiteth nothing:' here it is set apart from the Spirit in the same sentence, and profiteth nothing to be eaten. And for further interpretation of this, observe 1st; The words of Christ to satan, 'Man shall not live by bread alone; but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.' The words which proceed out of the mouth of God are spirit and life; as said the Lord Christ, who is that Word, 'My words they are spirit, and they are life;' which words the apostles knew, by experience, to make them alive, and preserve them; as appears,



"2ndly; By the answer of Peter at the same time, 'Whither shall we go, thou hast the words of eternal life?' So that this quickening is not by this so gross and carnal eating and drinking here imagined; but by receiving of the Spirit, through the words of Christ, abstracted and apart from that holy body, or any other body. And for the further understanding of sayings of this nature, observe, that when the disciples of Christ were showing him the temple at Jerusalem, and the beauty of it, he said to them, 'Destroy this temple, and I will raise it up in three days.' The temple at Jerusalem was the object of their eyes, and the subject of their discourse, which gave them just occasion, as men, to suppose he meant that temple; which they said, 'was forty years in building, and could he raise it in three days?' They admired at his saying; but yet, in the sequel of things, they understood afterwards, though not at the time, that he spoke of the temple of his body. Again, in like manner, where he saith, 'I am the vine, ye are the branches,' &c., this may well explain that other saying, 'I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, till I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom;' which can mean no other, than as his coming in the flesh consecrated the way, and was previous to the coming of the Spirit; so his drinking new wine in the kingdom of God must signify the community of spirit, intended in the words of the apostle afterwards, concerning the whole church; 'We have all been made to drink into that one Spirit.'"

My opponent by this time being weary of the subject, advanced a question concerning the Spirit itself, viz: "How do you know that Spirit from another spirit, since satan is transformed into an angel of light? May it not be that evil one, and not the Spirit of Christ?"

I replied, "That the divine essential Truth is self-evidencing; that the quickened soul is assured of him by his own nature, and quickening power and virtue; as saith the apostle, 'Hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he hath given us.' And he that is in a state of doubting is in a state of condemnation and reprobation, and hath not yet known the Spirit, but is in death and darkness, and ignorant of God and Christ; and in such satan is transformed, and not in those that are quickened or regenerated. For such as wanted a proof of Christ's speaking in and by the apostles, were, by Paul, referred back to themselves; 'Know ye not your own-selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates.' And again, 'The Spirit itself helpeth our infirmities, with sighs and groanings which cannot be uttered; and searcheth all things, even the deep things of

God.'"

By this time we drew near the town, and then he said, "No doubt but you have a good intent in what you do, in travelling so in the world; but you must have some good considerations for it, as our priests have gold and silver:" and mentioned about three hundred guineas for that time. I told him, "No; we whom God had raised up, and qualified in some degree, in this age, to that service, were advanced above any such mean, base, and mercenary considerations, as to take any thing from men for this labour, which we bestow freely in the love of God, and by his commandment, for the common good of men." "Why," said he, "the apostles were but poor men, and wanted necessities, and must have received of the people, or wanted." "True," said I; "but then they say, 'Having food and raiment, let us be therewith content.' And where that is really the case, such as are poor among us we would not grudge them that; but it is very seldom or never so among us, but rather, with Paul, we can generally say, 'These hands have ministered to my necessities;' having no desire that any such thing should be done unto us; and we generally have sufficient of our own."

Then, said he, "But in case your friends, after some very good sermon, that pleaseth a great congregation well and generally, should offer you a purse of two or three hundred guineas, would not you accept it, being freely given?"

I replied, "No; I hope it would be no temptation, if so it were, which can never be as long as they and I abide in the Truth we profess, either to give or receive that way. I should rather be greatly troubled to see so great a degeneracy, as to subject them to so great an evil." "Well," said he, "I cannot tell; you say well, and I am apt to believe you; but if you would not, there are many would be glad of the offer, and receive it with both hands."

"I believe it," said I; "for there are too many mercenary hirelings in the world in this age, who, though they pretend a mission to 'go teach and baptize all nations,' yet, as un-faithful servants, if they were sent at all, sit down where they can have the first maintenance, and never move till the voice of a better, cry in their ears; and then, and not till then, they run where God does not send them."

"There is too much of it," said he: and so we parted in friendship, with good wishes on all sides.

Coming to town, and many Friends from other parts, it was soon known, and many were looking what would be the issue of things. William Sandwith being there, he



and some others went to the judges and apprized them of matters, and the case, and how Friends and I had been used by these high church persecutors, especially the bishop, now here at Kilkenny. Amos Strettle, and some Friends at Dublin, procured a letter from one of the intended lords justices to one of the judges, in his private capacity, not being yet sworn, to see that justice should be done us: for the government favoured us; but our enemies and theirs, proceeding under a pretence of law, that was not to be overruled, but inclined to do all they could in honour and safety, which was all we desired of them.

They sent for the sheriff to see the calendar; and not finding the mittimus returned, they saw our adversaries had no mind to meddle against us, but were willing to drop it, which they rather advised us to overlook for that time, since we might in time have our meetings free, which was all we desired. But that evening one of the judges said in open court, when he gave the charge, "That it was treason in any to pull down or deface any public religious meeting-house;" which going quickly through the town, many rejoiced on our account, it being a great stroke to our adversaries. I made this construction of it; as the house was a circumstance and accommodation to the meeters, who were of more regard than the house, it being only regarded for their sakes, if it were treason to deface the house, how much more so thus to disturb and abuse those that met therein; which some laying hold of, inculcated it among the people, to our further advantage upon our enemies.

On the 17th, being the first of the week, we appointed another meeting in the same place—for we were for the same cause still, the liberty of the gospel, without fear of any—and went accordingly, and a full meeting it was, and very comfortable and quiet to all outward appearance. But I had felt all the night before an inward load and sting from some corner or other, and expected another bout; and so it happened. For Patrick Henderson kneeling down to prayer, in the mean time came in the mayor's sergeants; but as civilly as could be desired, and made no disturbance during the time of prayer; and one of them went out soon after, but the other staid. A little after prayer was ended I stood up and spoke a while, but had not got well into the matter in my mind, till the other sergeant stood up, and with great reluctancy, for we all believed it was much against his will, and in a low voice, said, "I am sent of the mayor to command you, in the king's name, to disperse:" but quickly added, "But if you will not, I cannot compel you, nor have any orders

to force;" and so went civilly away. Then I proceeded in my testimony, many things opening to the state of the people, particularly relating to the duty of a Christian, not to believe only, but also to suffer when thereunto called. After which I set forth the nature and ground of persecution, satan the cause, and wicked men his instruments in it, as Cain, Jezebel, the high priests, popes, and prelates; as they might now see in this present case, though but a shadow to what we had met with, not always by plain and open violence, but more generally under the specious pretext of law and right: and then I concluded the meeting in prayer. After it was over, we heard that one of the church wardens had been there; and he, and the sergeant who disturbed us—for the other said he had been troubled in conscience since the first time—were sent for by the bishop, who, in the hearing of the judges, examined them about the meeting, what we were doing, and what we said. They told him, "A good-like man (meaning Patrick Henderson) was at prayer when they came in, and prayed heartily and devoutly for the king and him (the bishop) too, and all of them:" for he prayed for all in authority under him.

Then the bishop asked them if I preached? And the church warden said, I did. Upon which the bishop tendered him his oath, it being me his great spite and envy were bent chiefly against. Then he had the Act of Uniformity, of the 14th of Charles II. in England, but the 17th in Ireland, brought before him, and discoursed upon it with the judges; he thinking it reached us, and would have pumped the judges, and had their opinion on it; but they were wiser than he, and said nothing, but let him take his own way. They were staunch friends to the king's interest, and were our friends, as knowing our integrity to the king and his government. The bishop's rage and envy blinding him—if he could at all understand the Act—he first gave a warrant and mittimus in his own name, directed to the sheriff of the town, to arrest and commit me to the common jail for three months, without bail or mainprize, where this antichristian judge, for there are many now as of old in the world, intended I should lie until the full time was expired, without any liberty as before, if either by hardship or otherwise—for I was then but weak and tender—he had not murdered me in the mean time. For he had, before I went out of the town, sent for the sheriff and reprimanded him sharply for letting me go abroad in town upon my first commitment, threatening to have him before the House of Lords the next session of Parliament.



Our afternoon meeting this day being over, which was very peaceable, for now we had conquered him so far as that none disturbed us, I found a secret sting as I went to the inn with the Friends from Dublin, who lodged there; and we were there but a short time, till I was told there was another warrant and mittimus out against me from the bishop. I hasted to my quarters at the sheriff's house, where I expected it, and found that such a warrant had been directed to the mayor, and sent to the sheriff by him to be executed; but it not being directed to the sheriff, he would not receive it, but sent it back to the mayor. Then the bishop, mayor, and alderman Connel, and some more, consulted further, and found their error, as to the bishop's giving a warrant himself. For all the Act requires in the case for which it was made, is, that the bishop, as ordinary, should certify the offence, only relating to those of his own sect, to any two justices, or mayor, &c., and then they to grant a warrant and mittimus, which now the mayor granted accordingly, a copy whereof followeth, viz:

*By JOHN BIRCH, esq., Mayor of the city.*

*City of Kilkenny, ss.* "Whereas, I received a certificate, under the hand and seal of the right reverend father in God, Thomas, lord bishop of Offery; in which he certifies, That Thomas Story, a Quaker, did this day preach in the said city of Kilkenny, contrary to the Act of Uniformity, made in the seventeenth year of the reign of King Charles II.

"These are therefore, in pursuance of the said Act and certificate, to will and require you, on sight hereof, to apprehend the body of the said Thomas Story, and him so apprehended, to convey to the common jail of the said city, there to remain for the space of three months, without bail or mainprize; whereof fail not at your peril, and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given under my hand and seal this 17th day of March, 1716.

"To the several constables and officers of the said city. "JOHN BIRCH, *Mayor.*"

This warrant the same sergeant who came last in the forenoon to disturb our meeting brought to the sheriff's house now in the evening, but delayed its execution for an hour; and in the mean time Friends advised with some counsellors of their acquaintance, in town at the assizes; and some of them said it was in the nature of an execution, so that it might be more dangerous for the sheriff to give liberty, or to let me be in his house, than before; so that things looked a little harder.

I had not read the Act for a long time, and not remembering the tenor of it, thought there must be something in it to justify their proceedings, or else they would not have done it; and so was resigned in my mind to submit to it for the Truth's sake, and was very easy, being in more danger of too deep a resentment of their base and wicked usage of me, than of repining at the loss of my liberty; for I had a view of some things to employ my time in, which would have made my confinement much more uneasy to the bishop than to me, for the Lord was with me. After some time the sergeant came into the room, for we let the door be open on purpose, and served me with the warrant; but the sheriff said I should not go out of his house that night, however, come what would, and so I staid there. But the Truth arising in me, I observed the indignation thereof against the bishop, but no enmity in me against him as a man; and after a little inward concern that way, I sent for the Act, and read it carefully, and saw they were all quite mistaken; for the Act had no relation to us, or our meetings or preaching, but to themselves, the priests and bishops only. For after the coming in of Charles II. there were many priests who, in Oliver's days, had been in the benefices, the bone of contention they ever strive for, and finding the sweets of them, would fain have held them, and yet could not readily swallow the common prayer and services of the others, which they had furiously opposed and rejected so lately before, till this law forced them; which they generally complied with, rather than lose their gains. This law respected only their own priests, to bring them all to a uniformity of prayers and worship, or the image of it, but concerned no other. Then after a while, I told the sheriff it was false imprisonment, and desired him and others to take down in writing what time I was arrested, because there might be occasion for their evidence. The sheriff seemed a little surprised at it, that the great bishop and his counsellors should miss it so far, but took account of the time.

That night I had a strong exercise in my spirit, and chiefly with the imperious spirit of this bishop; but in the night, saw and felt him fully overthrown. Then I was pretty easy and fell asleep.

The next morning before I arose, several Friends had been with the judges, and they had given their thoughts freely how much this was against the mind of the government to disturb our meetings, and did not doubt but this would do us service in the end. However, they advised, that seeing how times stood, the talk of an invasion by the Swedes not being over, and that town a dangerous



place to be in prison in, if the bishop would set me at liberty, they would have chosen that rather. But I had heard nothing of this; nor would Friends give any ear more than I to make any application to the bishop; for that he wanted.

About nine in the morning, whilst I was at breakfast, came the same sergeant that arrested me, with a message from the mayor, that he had taken up the warrant and mittimus, and I was at liberty to go where I pleased, if I would accept of it. I told the sergeant, "He ought to send me a liberate under his hand and seal, and not think I was wholly at his disposal, to toss in and out of prison as he pleased, but I had my remedy by law against him and them who had used me thus."

A little after this came the mayor himself to my lodging, to tell me I was at liberty, for he had taken up the mittimus, and destroyed it. I then told him, "Since that violence, by which my just liberty had been obstructed, was removed, it was now returned into its own natural course, and if I could find it consisting with what I professed, I should consider of ways and means how to do myself justice against such violent and illegal proceedings; but as it was a wrong done me for the sake of my religion, I might probably bear it with patience for that reason, being sensible enough of the advantages I had of my enemies." He made very little reply, but civilly departed.

After this I went to several places in town, to take leave of such of the magistrates as had been friendly; for all the king's friends were so, and some Papists were troubled, as working no good for them by these proceedings. Truth was honoured, and gained by all this; and the eyes of many were opened to see the bishop, and his spirit and party, and what many might expect if he and they should prevail, and many tongues were let loose, after their several ways, to speak their sentiments; by all which our persecutor and persecutors greatly lost ground, and fell short of their wicked designs.

Before I departed the city I met with Robert Connel, the tool of this proud bishop, and told him I was at liberty, which he pretended to be surprised at; but I told him, "If I had staid longer, some of you might have had the more to pay; for it was false imprisonment, the Act you went upon being about your own priests." He desired me to go to his house, being near, and see the Act. I told him I had seen it already. Then said he, "I have as good counsel as any in Ireland, that says it does affect you." I replied, "I will debate it with all the counsel in Ireland, that it has no relation to us at all." Then he wished me

well, when he could do me no more hurt, and so I left him.

That afternoon I left the town, and went home with Joseph Firth to Ballinakill, and the next day, the 19th, had a meeting there, which was not large, but a good open time, the Lord being near to comfort and refresh us after so much fatigue; for many Friends from places round had come to visit me in my confinement, and some were always with me, and several from this place. The Earl of Donnegal was in this meeting, and behaved more soberly than he had ever done before, being apt to be restless and troublesome at some other times. That afternoon I went home with John Harris, at Mountrath, who had been several times with me at Kilkenny. On the 21st was their meeting-day, the fifth of the week. It was a large open meeting, many of the neighbourhood, Papists and others, being there; and a good time the Lord gave us together.

On the 23rd I went to Mountmellick, and next day had a meeting there in the forenoon, which consisted mostly of Friends, and was not very open; but in the afternoon some of the neighbourhood came in, which I generally observed freshens meetings, and many things were opened in the authority of Truth, to edification, confirmation and comfort.

Here I tarried till the 26th, and in the afternoon set forward for Dublin. That night I reached Kildare, and the next day arrived safely in Dublin, where I was kindly received, and was at the meeting on sixth-day following, the 29th. It was a fresh and open meeting, and we were comforted together in the Truth, which, as the heavens transcend the earth, exceedeth all other enjoyments. Hearing of a vessel going for Chester, and I intending for the yearly meeting at that place, took timely care to secure my passage in it; but the wind not answering, I staid there till the first-day following. The meetings were very large, especially at Sycamore Alley in the afternoon, where came together a great concourse of people, hardly a greater meeting seen there; and things were open and well, and the blessed Truth over all, who is worthy above all forever.

The wind continuing contrary, I staid still at Dublin, and was at their third-day meeting, where I had some time, things opening to many states very closely; and I came away easy, leaving the better sort under good satisfaction. Many came to see me before I went off, and among others, Captain Smith. He had been in military offices, but being under some conviction, was at that time under great inward struggles; for having a commission for being a captain of dragoons then offered him,



he would gladly have seen it lawful and consisting with Truth, to accept the commission, and sell it, not intending to act by it; but upon some private discourse with him, he was much straitened about it, and was very tender and humble; we parted in love and friendship, he owning his satisfaction in that conference.

Having finished my visit in Ireland, on the 4th day of the second month, 1717, being the fifth of the week, accompanied by several Friends, I set off from Dublin bay about the second hour in the afternoon, with a fair and fresh gale from the west; and the next day, about the same time, arrived at Parkgate, on Chester river, but went not on shore till the evening, the waves being high.

On the 7th, being the first of the week, and the day before the yearly meeting for the north, we had a meeting in the meeting-house at Chester in the morning, which was not large, but pretty good; and notice being given therein of another meeting to be in the afternoon, in a large place called the Tennis Court, being the place provided for the yearly meeting, it was held accordingly, and was much larger and more open than that in the forenoon, and in a good measure made way for further service.

The day following we held our meeting of ministering Friends, which was pretty large, there being some of both sexes from Ireland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, Hertfordshire, Wales, &c.

The next day the public yearly meeting began in the forenoon, and was very large and open, that great spacious place being crowded, with two galleries also erected, as likewise a large upper room, with windows opening into the court, where were military officers and some others; who, though willing to hear and see, did not think it safe or proper to be in the meeting, with regard to some laws then in force, which might have affected some of them. The Lord appeared with us, to the glory of his own name, and comfort of his people, and to the general satisfaction of most people there; for there were present of most sorts and sects in the nation. In the afternoon it was crowded so that many could not get in, though some constables who attended without, kept out the baser sort of the rabble and children, who are apt to take up room, and make disturbance in such cases.

The next morning some select Friends and elders had a meeting of conference about the affairs of Truth, inquiring of one another how it prospered in their several quarters, where some comfortable and encouraging accounts were given. That afternoon there was another public meeting, where were supposed to be near four thousand people; and Truth was

over all, to general satisfaction, and the glory of our great Lord, whose honour, and the good of his people, and of mankind in general, are what we aim at in all these things. That evening the meeting ended, we having increased from time to time, both in number and openness, the people being more and more ready to hear, and several were convinced, so as to come to meetings, and own Truth openly.

Intending to go through Wales, to the yearly meeting at Bristol, I went next day, the 11th, with Sarah Lloyd, wife of Charles Lloyd of Dolobran, and her son and daughter, to Rixham, and on the 12th I had a meeting appointed there, which was not large, for want of due notice; but many things opened fully, and the people were much satisfied.

On the 17th Charles Lloyd accompanied me to New-Town, in the county of Montgomery, where we had a meeting appointed, which was small, but pretty open, some of the people being reached and affected with Truth, things opening full and clear, and the Lord vouchsafing to visit us together. The yearly meeting of Wales has some time been here, but no settled meeting in the place.

On the 18th we had a meeting appointed in Llanedfawr, at an inn. It was small, and in the beginning of it hard, but better in the end, some persons of some account being there, and some of them much broken.

On the 20th I sent to appoint a meeting at Radnor, where the yearly meeting was to be the week following, in the place intended for it, which was in a barn belonging to the priest of the parish, which he had granted to Friends for that service. A rare instance of condescension in a man of his function! But being a moderate, good-natured man, when they made their request, he said, "Since we preached Christ, and endeavoured to reform the people, and aimed at the honour of God, he could not refuse it, though he expected censure for it from his own people."

The first meeting on the 21st was not large, but pretty open, considering the state of the people, ignorant of the way of Truth, and made way for larger gatherings; for things had opened plain and full, and a liking was raised in several, who gave a good report to their neighbours. That night we lodged there at an inn.

On the 22nd, being the second of the week, we went about four miles to see the widow Price, an ancient Friend, and her family, where we met with some other Friends, and staid there that night.

On the 23rd we returned to Radnor; for hearing that the country people had mistaken our yearly meeting-day, expecting it to be on



the third, which was also their market-day at Radnor, lest any should be disappointed, we appointed a meeting in the afternoon, on purpose to answer them; and it was very full and large, and of good service: for the people being raw, and a little rude, especially the meaner sort, they were a little cultivated and settled by it, and the better prepared for the following meetings. This meeting we held in the town hall; for some of the magistrates hearing we had the barn, and that it was too little and incommodious, were so favourable as to give us some private hints that we might have the hall for the service, if applied for; and it was accordingly granted us.

On the 24th began our yearly meeting, which proved so large that the hall was too little, there coming several people of note, and a great concourse from divers places; and a good time the Lord gave us, for his blessed power was over all, and honoured. But in the afternoon there were two meetings, one at each place, and both full and well.

On the 25th the meeting for business was in the forenoon, and at the same time a meeting for worship at the barn, which was large and full, and serviceable, keeping the people together, and off from our other meetings; and there were some magistrates in hearing, though they were not in the place, the laws prohibiting them. That afternoon being our last and parting meeting, it was in the hall, and very full, and ended well.

After this meeting a certain widow lady, who, with divers others of superior rank, had been in the meetings, and well satisfied in the main, desired some conference with me, for further satisfaction, about the resurrection, and what we held in that great point. For I had gone through most points in that creed, commonly, though not justly, ascribed to the apostles; but she only mentioned that of the resurrection, owning the thing in general. She was a grave elderly person, religious and apprehensive; and being willing to inform her, I stated the matter thus, viz:

"In order to open this mystery to thy satisfaction, let me first state and settle the terms. 1st, Of death, as it is applicable to the laying down, putting off, or departing out of these mortal bodies. 2ndly, As applicable to the mind or soul dwelling therein. And 3rdly, Of the resurrection of both, and how applicable.

"By the death of the body, I mean the cessation or departure of the soul out of it; by which it is left in a state of corruption and dissolution, as we see by common and daily experience. And though the soul is of a spiritual nature, and immortal, as to her duration, yet mortal, or corruptible, as to her

true life and primitive state; being capable of losing it by her own act, and of departing from her first state of innocence and virtue, and yet living in an animal and sensual mode. And this last being of the highest consequence, and rightly understood and settled, makes way for the understanding of what may be needful in the other, I shall first proceed upon it. For the better understanding of what I call the death of the soul, I consider her first state of life, and what that was. Man in his first state, as to his soul, or mind, was innocent, righteous, and truly holy, in the image of God. For as God is the holy, righteous, just, and true God, so Adam was a holy, righteous, innocent, just, and true man; and as God is a spirit, so was Adam spiritually minded; but as to his body, it was of the same mould and form of other men, his posterity and offspring. In this state the life of the divine Word, and Son of God, was the light and law of the life of man, his guide and rule; through which Word God gave unto man a law of abstinence from the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, annexing this threat and sure prophecy, 'that in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.' So long as man continued in the faith and belief of this Word, he remained in his first state; but as he departed from his faith therein, and believed another voice, viz: of the evil one, then he died. But how? Not a bodily death; for he continued in the mode of his being, as to that, according to his first intention, living nine hundred and odd years, and begat sons and daughters; but as to his soul, though that is not so mortal as to be subject to the dissolution of the mode of its being, as the body is, yet departing from the law and life of the divine Word, it remains in a state of separation from that life; which, after its kind, is a death unto it, and exposes it to real and everlasting misery. And this may be further collected from some other Scriptures; as,

"1st; Where Christ, who is that Word, said unto Martha, 'I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and he that liveth and believeth in me, shall never die.'

"And 2ndly; where the apostle saith, 'Ye who were sometimes dead in trespasses and sins, hath he quickened.'

"In the first part of this saying of Christ, the word life is explanatory of the word resurrection, that life being the cause and power of it, and must intend a resurrection from the same death here intended, which could not be of the body, but of the soul, or mind of man, in a state of death in the body. For these words, 'He that believeth in me, though he



were dead, yet shall he live,' intend a capacity and possibility of faith in the interim, and same time of this death; which a state of death and dissolution of body, will not allow: for man is then gone past a state of faith, or beginning to believe to salvation, and concluded for ever under the effects of his faith or unbelief whilst here below. And not only so, but the life here spoken of is intended as an immediate consequence of that faith, as where he also saith, 'He that believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water; and this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believed on him should receive,' signifying the abundance of the life of the divine Word to be made manifest in all true believers. And these words, 'He that liveth and believeth shall never die,' cannot be intended of a natural life, or any life, to continue a believer for ever here, or give him a translation into glory without a natural death. For the apostles and primitives were all then alive, and they all believed, and yet all died a natural death; yea Lazarus, though once raised from the dead by the power of the resurrection, hath again paid the common debt appointed of God to all men. Have the words and doctrines of Christ therefore failed? No, they are true for ever; but not in a natural sense. For though the saints and just ones of God are departed this life, they are alive in God, through the work and mediation of him whom God hath sent to quicken the dead, having believed and obeyed, and obtained eternal life, in and through the same divine Word, whom Adam disbelieving and disobeying, fell from, into death, and all the miseries attending that unhappy condition.

"And this resurrection, as I have observed, is also expressed in these words of the apostle, as a thing already attained, 'Ye who were sometimes dead in trespasses and sins, hath he quickened. Awake to righteousness, and sin not. As Jesus Christ was raised up by the glory (or power) of the Father, so also are we raised to newness of life. The life which I now live in the flesh, is by the faith of the Son of God.' The faith of the operation of God, which works by love, wrought by him the word of faith, even the engrafted Word which createth anew unto good works, and is able to save the soul.

"Now, as to the resurrection of the body, we have never found that so much our concern to inculcate, it being generally received already by the professors of Christ in every nation: but opposing some carnal notions of ignorant men about it, and others being interested against us, as enemies to their filthy gain and ways, have falsely accused us as deniers of the resurrection of the dead: whereas we

believe the resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust. But as to that forward and foolish question, 'How are the dead raised, and with what bodies do they come?' as secret things belong to God, so we do not presume to explain it, or answer other than the holy Scriptures have said; but are satisfied in this, that 'God giveth it a body as pleaseth him, and to every seed his own;' and are rather in the first place concerned how to attain the resurrection of the just, and the right hand of the Father, through the life of him who is the resurrection and the life, than to gratify a lust of knowledge of divine mysteries, rather pertaining to another state, than fully understood, or to be at all known by the sons of Adam, as such only, here in this world." To this effect I laid things before her; and she answered, "That whilst we are low and carnally minded, we have ideas and apprehensions accordingly; and being used to these bodies, and unacquainted with abstracted ideas of spiritual beings, were tenacious of bodily appearances, till these apprehensions were removed by more divine knowledge. For if in the resurrection we are to be as the angels of God, who are all ministering spirits, we shall have a more excellent mode of being than we can easily conceive in this life, or can consist with any corporeity of any material form." She asked me, "Have you read Mr. Locke on that subject, who I think has done it well?" I replied, "I have seen some part of what he wrote against the Bishop of Worcester, but never read it all." What passed was to the mutual satisfaction of ourselves and some others in company: but before she retired, I understood she had been some times conversant with the bishops Burnet and Hoadley, and having a little book with me of the latter in vindication of the revolution, I presented her with it; and after some more converse on other subjects, for she had a general understanding, she took leave and departed, seeming to be well pleased, and saying she believed we had been much misrepresented in many things.

Upon the whole it was a large open meeting, and of great service, as many thought; for Truth was over the people, and many were broken and tendered, and Friends comforted in the Truth, and in one another in him, and the Lord had due praise from many humbled and watered souls, who alone is worthy for ever. Amen.

On the 28th, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Haverford West, which was not large, and also heavy. The matters which concerned my mind in silence, were the leaven of the kingdom, and of the Pharisees; their difference in nature, operation and



end; and the different states of souls at last finally centering in the one or the other. I had comfort in the Lord, but not much in the meeting; for some things were very sharp and plain to the states of several, which I did not know how to apply to particular persons; but had some hints afterwards that things suited well. And supposing the people would come in more fully in the afternoon, the meeting was put off till four, yet not large, there being little concern in that place for the life of religion, the generality being dead under dead forms.

On the 30th I had another meeting there at four in the afternoon, being willing to try them further; that was also small, and very heavy in the beginning, but ended a little more lively. Also, by the exercise of my mind, I found things at a very low ebb among them, as to the life and nature of Truth, but some alive. That day and the next I staid there, being a little weary with my journey, but for the most part under an inward heaviness, and had little spiritual comfort.

On the 2nd of the third month, being the fifth of the week, I had a meeting at Jamestown, which was small, but pretty well. That evening I went to James Scoone's, who next morning went with me to a village on the sea coast, called Laighren, where we had a meeting that evening. It was small, but more lively than any of the former in those parts.

On the 4th I went to Swangill, where I was kindly entertained by Sylvanus Bevan, and next day, the first of the week, was at their meeting. In the forenoon it was not large, nor very open, but larger and more open in the afternoon, yet some heavy thing lay at bottom. I staid there the day following, and had another meeting in the evening at his brother's house, which was much more open, there being several people in hearing about the house.

On the 7th I came to a village called Bridgend, and that evening had a meeting at the house of a Friend, who lately settling there among a professing people, had sometimes little meetings, and many came in. Things opened much about the light of the Gentiles, and against that pernicious doctrine of predestination; by which their foundation was much shaken, and some convinced, who I hope will stand. This made amends for some hard times in Wales before. Truth came over the meeting in general; and though several Presbyterian elders were there, no objection was made that I heard of. This was a good meeting, to the praise and glory of God, and comfort of several.

On the 8th I went forward to Treverig, to my old friend John Bevan's house, with whom I had been well acquainted in Pennsylvania.

He received me kindly, and the day following I was at their meeting, which was small, but pretty open, and some people well satisfied in several points.

On the 10th he went with me, though above eighty years of age, to Pontypool, about sixteen miles, and that evening we had a meeting among a few Friends there, which was open and comfortable. He spoke in Welsh, and though I understood not the language, yet was much comforted in the Truth all the time; by which I perceived his ministry was from that ground. His speech flowed very free and smooth, carrying a proportion and satisfaction to the ear, not easily expressed. For though the languages of men differ very greatly, yet the language of Truth, as to the comfort of it, is one in all nations.

I staid here till the 12th, being the first of the week, and the meeting being at Pontymoyle, I walked thither, about half a mile, with my landlord Elisha Beadle. In the forenoon the meeting was pretty large and open, some of the people coming in, but in the afternoon was much larger, and clear both to Friends and people, to pretty general satisfaction; and I was very easy, the good presence of God seasoning our hearts together.

On the 13th I passed over the Severn, and fell in that night at the house of Nathan Sturges, about four miles from Thornbury, intending only to inquire the way of him, but he finding out who I was, gave me a kind invitation to stay with him that night, which I did. The next day he went with me to Thornbury meeting, which was as large as could well be for the time, and very open, and I was greatly comforted in the love of Truth. That evening I went on towards Frenchay, to Abraham Lloyd's, where I lodged.

The 15th was their meeting-day, and notice being given that John Everet and Patrick Henderson would be there from Bristol, it was a little larger on that account, but shut up and heavy to us all from some unknown cause.

On the 17th I was at Bristol meeting, which was a little larger than usual, because of several strangers come to the approaching yearly meeting, which began the second-day after. The 19th, being the first of the week, the meeting was very large, both forenoon and afternoon; and the Lord was near, and many reached by his blessed Truth. On the 20th was the meeting of ministering Friends, where were some from divers parts, and much counsel opened in the wisdom and power of Truth among us, to our mutual edification and comfort. On the 21st, in the forenoon, was the public meeting of worship, which was very large and open. In the afternoon



the men and women's meeting were held apart, for conference and inquiry into the affairs of Truth; and things were in a good way in the main.

On the 22nd was the parting meeting, which was very full and open, and the Lord's blessed power came over all, to general edification, and great comfort of many souls; and the Lord, as is only due, had praise in exalting his own name and glory. Amen. On the 24th I was at their week-day meeting again, which was also comfortable, and I came away in great peace and love with all Friends.

On the 26th I was at the meeting at Bath, both forenoon and afternoon. It was large both times, especially the latter; for they said it had not been much larger at any time, and hardly ever so quiet in that place; for being a resort of such a mixture of people, they used often to be rude, but were now very still, and a comfortable and a very good time we had, and ended very weighty and solid.

On the 27th I went to Nailsworth; and Patrick Henderson and some others meeting me there, we went together the day following to the quarterly meeting at Cirencester. The meeting was not large, considering the extent of it, nor very open, yet in the main well and edifying. One thing I observed which was very unusual, and not of good consequence: in their meeting for business, some introduced a letter, directed to the meeting, from a person who intended to stand candidate as a member of Parliament for the county of Gloucester, or to solicit for some friend of his that way. It was read in the meeting, purporting as aforesaid, and in a friendly style, well adapted to the intent. I observed some of the younger sort to be much tickled and pleased with it; but the wiser sort were not so. Then finding a concern on my mind to caution the meeting, I told them, "That the apostle Paul, on a certain occasion, made use of a Roman privilege, on account of religion; and I thought it was not unlawful for such among us, who had native English privileges, to use them according to their true intent. But as our meetings are altogether of another kind, respecting religion and the worship of God only, and such things as relate thereunto, and not matters of human policy or state, it might be of ill and dangerous consequence many ways to introduce such things in any of our meetings; but rather let them be concerted by particulars concerned, with such persons as they thought most proper for representatives in that station, having regard to the integrity and abilities of the person, and the public good." Several fell in with this, and the rest were silent, and all ended in peace.

On the 29th, at four in the afternoon, we

had a meeting at Farrington, which was small and heavy in the forepart, but ended pretty well. On the 30th we had a meeting at Bishop's-Town, in a barn, where some of the town's people came in; but to me the meeting was very dull and dead a long time: and after some Friends had spoken what was in their minds, the meeting was silent a while, and then I stood up and told them, "That there had not been more mischief done among the children of men by any one thing, in most ages of the world, than by men's running in the name of God, as his messengers, when he did not send them; who not only did not profit the people at all, as set forth in the 23rd chapter of Jeremiah, but did much hurt by misguiding them. And though it might look strange to some, as a meeting had been appointed, and the people invited, that I said nothing; yet as no consideration of that kind ought to prevail with me to run in my own will, to speak of the things of God among them; so it might be better, both for them and me, if I were silent, than do it. For though the apostle was come to so clear a distinction in himself, as to be able to say, 'This say I, and not the Lord;' and again, 'Thus saith the Lord, and not I:' this I, without the Lord, having in many others done so much hurt, I would rather at that time hazard their censure, and what might follow from thence, than be too busy with the things of God where he did not concern me. And though the day before, and many other times, I had been rightly concerned from the Lord; yet it did not follow that I might employ myself that day when the Lord did not fit me, and require it at my hand, lest instead of comfort, I should procure reproof from him; and in seeking my own honour, dishonour the Lord, and so become a transgressor." And so, recommending them to the teachings of the grace of God, I sat down for a little time, and then stood up and said, "I would not have any think I have smote at any of my brethren here who have been concerned in the meeting; I have only spoken what was simply with me, as relating to my present state." And being set down again, I was broken in spirit by the income of the love of Truth, which reached several; and in some time I was concerned in prayer, and the meeting ended well.

On the 31st we came to Newbury, and had a meeting, which was pretty large and open, and things were comfortable. After the meeting we went to the next village with the widow Jane Stainton, where we tarried that night, and the next day, being the 1st of the fourth month, went to Reading.

Those and their posterity, who had former-



ly separated themselves from Friends at Reading, being, since I was here last year, returned and become one meeting, I found it considerably larger, and in the morning I was much comforted in it, and had an open time among them; yet afterward found a secret load, which increasing till the afternoon meeting, remained for some time; but at length Truth came up, and in some degree dispersed it. After that I had some time in the meeting, much about predestination and baptism, many people of different sorts being present, and generally quiet and brought under. One particular passage concerning baptism came thus, viz: "That could not be water baptism mentioned in these words, 'Go teach all nations, baptizing them,' &c., for if that had been water baptism, and if the apostles had had power thereby to baptize with water, and that power and commission devolved on all succeeding ministers and apostles to the end of the world, then certainly upon those rather who were cotemporary with the twelve apostles; but the apostle Paul was an apostle cotemporary with them, and not one whit behind the chief of them, and yet Christ sent him 'not to baptize, but to preach the gospel,' which gospel was sufficient without baptism with water, since repentance and remission of sins was to be preached in Christ's name unto all nations. If then it was no commission to Paul, it was none to any other; and since he had no power thereby to baptize with water, none could succeed him in any. So that all this pretence to succession is vain and false; and a man may be a true minister of Christ, and thoroughly furnished, without it; since the substance of the gospel, in a minister, is to 'turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of satan unto God,' who is light; and in the people, it is to believe in that light, walk in it, and obey it, and so become children of it, and heirs of eternal life, in him who is heir of all things," &c. I became much easier, and was kindly received by Friends there of all degrees; all old things being laid aside, and not once named among them, as I had before advised them, in the mind and wisdom of Truth, through which I had been opened to that end the year before.

On the 3rd I went to Ruscomb, to see our ancient and honourable friend William Penn, still remaining under the effects of a fit of the apoplexy, much hurt as to his memory and expressive faculty, but still living in the better part. I staid there that night, and next day returned to Reading to their week-day meeting, which was pretty comfortable. After dining with Robert Peacock, one of the returned Friends, and his family, I went to

Ruscomb, where I staid till the 6th, in the morning, and went from thence to London.

The yearly meeting coming on, it was considerably larger and more peaceable than for many years past. For those Friends who had so much struggled for the affirmation, the common occasion of strife, having obtained their end, were now quiet on that side; and those who could not for conscience receive it, continuing in Christian patience, bore the yoke willingly, though alone, and more heavy than before, upon that bottom were quiet: and besides, many satisfied Friends sympathizing with them, and the intention of solicitation for further ease to the whole being kept on foot, things were quiet. It was a crowding time; and I rather being willing to be straitened, than to straiten any, suffered much in my spirit, for want of opportunity to clear myself, there not being, for the most part, one minute's time between the end of one testimony and the beginning of another, an indecency I have ever disliked; however, things in the main were pretty comfortable. At the meeting for business, being requested by the meeting, I gave them a relation of my travels since the last yearly meeting, which I observed gave some satisfaction.

I staid some short time in the city after the meeting, and was at several of the city meetings, where I found my spirit more and more at liberty. But the summer time being fittest for travel, and having some other places before me, I departed the city on the 2nd of the fifth month, 1717, and that night went to Hartford, and on the 3rd was at a yearly meeting there, which was pretty large and open. On the 4th I went Hitchen, and was at their meeting that day. The beginning of it was very heavy and dull, a dead spirit being over several; but in the end the Lord quickened us together, and the most were comforted and helped, and the rest reprov'd.

On the 5th I was at a yearly meeting at Baldock, which was pretty large and open, but attended with a spirit of heaviness in some, though the doctrines of Truth were clearly published in the authority and wisdom of it, by several brethren.

I staid here till the 7th, and being the first of the week, had a meeting at Royston, which was the largest that had been seen there, and the greatest part not Friends. It was a very open good meeting, and many things the Lord disclosed to general information and satisfaction; and Friends were comforted together in our dear Saviour, and in a sense of his fresh visitation to many.

Next day went to Cambridge, where the meeting is small; but many of the schorlas



came, and filled the house above stairs and below, and many crowded without. They were generally wild and wanton, their countenances airy, talking, whispering and laughing among themselves, and rude with the women; which, observing soon after I went in, and finding my spirit over them, I said to them, "Ye look like gentlemen; and if ye are, then behave accordingly. Be still, and if you hear any good thing, make the best use of it; but if you do not like it, then let it pass for nothing with you; it is not imposed, but offered." They were much quieter for a time. What I began upon was, some qualifications both in preacher and hearer, necessary in preaching the gospel. The teacher, as the oracle of God, being qualified by him with understanding and power, not acquired by the creature, but given and inspired by the Creator; and the hearer ought to be still, sedate, and unprejudiced, free from enmity and passion, that taking things into his understanding, he might judge aright of what he heard. I then proceeded to the nature, end and advantage of true silence, as commanded of God by the prophet of old, and consisting also with a state of glory in heaven; with the difference between outward and inward silence; the former from words and noises, and the latter from all evil thoughts, imaginations, and desires, where sin has its beginning in the creature, so as to be chargeable with it in the sight of God. Then things opened clearly concerning the law, both as given by Moses to the Jews, and also as written in the heart by Christ, the mediator of the second and more excellent covenant; and how both Jew and Gentile became guilty before God, by the breach of this law, to whom one Saviour Jesus Christ is sent—but under a two-fold administration; to the Jew, as born of the Virgin, according to God's promise to them; and to the Gentile, as a light and covenant to the people. That the Jews who received him in that administration, knew him also in a greater, by the work of regeneration, through which they became the children of God; but they that rejected him, were also rejected of God, as the main body of that people were. And that so many of us Gentiles as reject Christ as he is light, and so promised of God unto us for salvation, are also rejected of him, and of the Father. But as all have sinned, so the love and mercy of God are to all in Christ, to give them grace by him; that believing in him and obeying him and the teachings of his grace, they may be saved. For as he said, "Repentance and remission of sins must be preached in my name unto all nations;" by which, as it appears, all, at one time or other want repentance and remis-

sion, through the breach of the law of God; so also it is plain by the holy Scriptures, that there are two parts of sin, as well as a two-fold administration of Christ. The one is the act, acted against the law and will of God; and an act once done can never be undone, but remains for ever: the other is the effect of that act inwardly in the heart or soul of him that acts evil; that is, the stain, pollution, or defilement, and the death it effects there. As Christ said, "It is not that which goeth into the man that defiles him, but that which proceedeth from him; for out of the heart proceed murder, fornication," &c. But Christ being offered upon the cross, is a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, so far as they are acts against the law, but applicable and effectual only as men believe in that light, and walk also in him; that is, in obedience to the rule of his light and grace, inwardly made known and revealed. For, saith the apostle, "If ye walk in the light, as he is in the light, then (that is, in that case) ye have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son," cleanseth us from all unrighteousness. And this also shows, that the stain and pollution of sin is done away by the inward appearance of Christ by his Holy Spirit. And again, as saith the prophet Malachi, "He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver; he shall be as fuller's soap:" all which signify a perfect and thorough cleansing, as well as pardon; and without which cleansing, men cannot enter God's kingdom, for there is no unclean thing can enter there:—with many other things of great importance, too long to be recollected here. And though at sometimes a fit of laughter would pass as through their whole company, being a thing of course among them, yet I perceived some of them very solid, and truly affected with Truth; which silenced and quieted most of them before the meeting ended. In the main I was well satisfied with the meeting, and so also were Friends, who did not look too much at their behaviour; which they rather do wantonly, and as what some of them think they ought to do of course at a Quakers' meeting, than in malice or wickedness; and I hope things will so stick with some of them as that they will not be able to shake them easily off.

Next day, about six in the evening, had a large open meeting at Hadnam; the people having finished their labour, came in fully, and the Lord manifested himself to us, and opened the mysteries of his kingdom largely; and Friends and people were satisfied.

On the 10th I went to Chatteris, where the meeting was pretty large and open; and a person being present—which I knew nothing



of till after it was over—who was fitting himself to be a priest, and some of his sort with him; things opened very clearly concerning antichrist, and his ministers and kingdom: that he began to work in the days of the apostles, and in some who were professed ministers of Christ, viz: Diotrefes, a high, proud, insulting, domineering man, who threw men out of the church by his own authority; and Demas, who having a ministry, forsook it and the apostle for the love and lucre of this world. And such as preached up the law, circumcision, and outward ordinances, to glory in outward and fleshly things; who in time also, according to the apostle, did not only make merchandize of the people for filthy lucre, but exalted themselves over kings, emperors and princes, and also lorded it, as at this day, over the heritage of God, and church of the Lord Jesus, who had from that time hitherto suffered by them. But that the time is now near wherein that evil spirit, and all that shall in that day be found in him, as members of him, whether as lording Diotrefes, covetous Demas, or legal and ceremonial formalists, who, neglecting the substance, glory in shadows, and in their own inventions, together with all their company and employers among the people, shall be confounded. For as the days are now come, spoken of formerly, wherein men will not endure sound doctrine, but have heaped, and do heap to themselves, teachers after their own hearts' lusts, having itching ears; that day shall cleanse the earth both of the buyer and seller, of that teacher and his employer and hearer. For as the Son of God said, "All the blood that has been shed, from the blood of righteous Abel, to the blood of Zacharias, whom they slew between the altar and the wall, shall be required of that generation;" being of that evil one their father the devil, who had done it all along; even so also are the days hastening upon apostate Christendom, wherein all the blood which hath been shed, from the holy blood of the blessed Son of God upon the cross at Jerusalem, to all that shall be shed to the coming of that day, shall be required of that wicked generation, who call themselves Christians, and are not, but do lie; and are, and will be of that evil one, antichrist, their father, whose works of murder and destruction they will do, till that day of the Lord shall destroy them, wherein Jesus Christ shall be revealed from heaven in flames of fire against him and them all, and shall leave them neither root nor branch; for they shall be turned into hell together, and punished there for ever and ever. Many other particulars opened, which some Friends, after the meeting, said, were so close to him and them

as if done on purpose. It was a good and open meeting.

On the 11th I went to Ramsay, and had an evening meeting there about six, which some Friends thought the most proper time, it being their fair-day, and they expecting some of the people might come in after the fair was over; but they were so taken up with the fair and business, and the vanity thereof, which was great, and had so little desire after good, that we had few but Friends; but the Lord was pleased to visit and comfort us together in his love, and it was a good meeting.

On the 12th I went on to Huntington, John Everet being with me, as at the two last meetings; and there the Lord gave us a very open and comfortable time, there being few except Friends, but of these from several parts about where I had been, and some from Royston. On the 14th, being the first of the week, I went to Ives, where we had a large, good, open meeting, many Friends and professors of several denominations being there.

On the 15th I went to Wellingborough, and the day following had a meeting there, about six in the evening. It being the hay-harvest, people could not well attend sooner. It was late gathering, but in the main, a good meeting, the people being generally solid and sober, and a considerable number. On the 17th I had an evening meeting at Northampton, which, though not large, was an open good time.

On the 18th I was at their week-day meeting at Bugbrook, which was a good meeting, and on the 19th at Kingstrop, which was a large open meeting, and many reached by the Truth, and well satisfied. There had been one or two meetings in that town before, and at the last was John Fallowfield, which was held in the court-house; but the priest being filled with envy, and pretending to be a freeholder by his gain in that parish, and consequently interested in the house, used means to hinder us of it; so that we had our meeting in a Friend's house, licensed for that purpose, there being no other Friend in town.

On the 21st I was at a meeting appointed at Burton, where there had lately been a dispute betwixt some Friends and Baptists, which had not come to any great matter on either side. The meeting was very large, being held in a great barn, and considerable openness among the people. The Lord opened my understanding upon several subjects, and gave me utterance; particularly with respect to faith in the Lord Jesus, repentance from dead works, the doctrine of baptisms, laying on of hands, the resurrection from the dead, eternal judgment, and full perfection; what it is here, and what also regards another world.



It was an open profitable meeting, and many were satisfied concerning the Truth; and there being Friends and people from many places, this gave a general alarm throughout the country, and was helpful on that account, to the following meetings. I was much spent in this meeting; but after some refreshment, went back to Wellingborough that evening.

On the 22nd, in the evening, I had another meeting appointed at Isham, where came several of the contending Baptists, as they had been at Burton; but made no objection, though some of the points they had contended with Friends were there spoken to, as baptism, the Scriptures, &c. It was a good meeting, and the people generally satisfied.

On the 23rd, in the evening, I had a meeting at Wilby. There had been but one meeting held there before, by John Fallowfield. This being after the people had done their day's work, they came pretty generally, and were very quiet; so that we had a good open time.

On the 24th, about six in the evening, I had a meeting appointed at Moulton, where came a few sober people, and sat down with some Friends, and others stood behind the corners, and all about at a distance; and finding something in my mind to say among them, as soon as my voice was heard, they came in fully, as is frequent in new places; so that we had a large meeting. The Lord was pleased to open many things for their edification and convincement, and to the opening of the understandings of several in some degree; and it was a good time to many. I found my strength much spent, and my spirits very low afterwards, the weather being hot, and my love much to the people in the Truth. But the Lord, who never fails, soon repaired my wants, both spiritually and temporally; for, after some refreshment, and a good night's rest, I was very much comforted next morning.

A meeting being appointed to be on the 26th at Arthingborough in the evening, it was pretty large and open. There I was concerned about infants, their salvation, and the ignorance and presumption of such as affirmed there were thousands of them in hell; and the wickedness of that pernicious doctrine of personal predestination and reprobation. Next morning I heard that a Presbyterian teacher had, not long before, been preaching such hideous things among them; from under whose heavy yoke some were that evening relieved.

On the 28th, being the first of the week, we had a large open meeting at Thingdon, where several points opened to general edification and satisfaction. On the 29th I had

another appointed meeting at Rance: it was not large, and a little heavy, Presbytery prevailing there, and the people dead; but some were a little awakened, and it ended well. On the 30th I was at an evening meeting at Bridgestock, which was not large, but very open, and the people satisfied.

On the 31st went to the meeting at Kettering, where it fell to my share to expose that destructive doctrine of personal reprobation from eternity, with sin term of life, and salvation in the end; the insignificance of religion where such tenets take place, and the grievous error of such as reject the covenant of light, and forge to themselves a covenant of works, which they never keep, but are miserable sinners to the end of their days. Things came with good authority, and an open meeting it was to many. On the 2nd of the Sixth month I was again at Bugbrook, where we had a large and good meeting. Many things were opened to the people; as, 1st; A state of sin in all nations. 2nd; Repentance and remission still to be preached in every age, in the name, virtue, and power of Christ; and all to be directed to him as the light, and God's covenant to the Gentiles, and believing and walking in him who is that light, may have holy fellowship one with another, and the blood of Christ, in that case, to cleanse them from all unrighteousness. 3rd; Against the ministers of antichrist, their rising in the days of the apostles, and among them; their going out, and who they were: John says, "They went out from us," &c., viz: Demas, the covetous; Diotrephes, the proud, lofty, and imperious; with such others as drew the people with feigned words to the ceremonies of the law, and made merchandize of them; and whilst they promised them liberty, themselves were the servants of sin. But as the best security against such seducers, the apostle directs all to the anointing; that is, to the Spirit of Christ in their own hearts. 4th; Against tithes, and all among ourselves who have not been true on that account, or in other sufferings; that they are departed from the faith, and are as the stony ground, fruitless and lifeless; and though they may hang on in outward communion, as coming to meetings, &c., yet not of the same spirit with the faithful. This was a solid meeting, and the people satisfied, though things came exceedingly close, especially at last; where I remarked that both the buyers and sellers of the oil in the parable of the ten virgins were excluded whilst they were at that work. On the 4th, being the first of the week, I was at Harborough, where we had a large open meeting, there being Friends from several other places where I had been, and many of the town's people of several



sects; and the name of the Lord was exalted over all.

On the 5th we had an appointed meeting at Desborough, at the house of a farmer, in a large hall; where came a considerable number of people, and things opened full and clear to their states, and we had an open good meeting to general satisfaction. On the 6th I was at a meeting at Norton, which was small, by reason of the harvest, consisting only of a few Friends; but the Lord was good to us, fulfilling that promise, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." On the 7th I went to Leicester, and was at their meeting. It was small, consisting only of Friends, and heavy in the beginning, some giving way to a drowsy spirit; but the faithful continuing in a true concern, we were quickened by degrees, and the Lord gave us a good season together in the end. There I staid at my old friend John Brookes's house till the sixth-day, when fell out their general meeting, which was small, and much as the other before; but some of the town's people were there, and a little affected with Truth. On the 11th, being the first of the week, I went to Cileby, to another general meeting, that is, several meetings in the country, usually meeting at certain interchangeable places, which was pretty large and well.

[After attending meetings at Nottingham, Mansfield, and Chesterfield, he says:] On the 18th, being the first of the week, I went to a meeting at Sheffield, which was large; but consisting for the most part of young people, brought up in a form of Truth, and many of them unacquainted with the power of it, and my concern therein being doctrinal, and out of their reach, having been rather used to some musical noises affecting the passions, than to any rational doctrine reaching the understanding, it did not seem to have much effect upon several. But there being a more grown people among them, they were well satisfied; and it was in the main a good meeting, the Lord's good presence being over the same.

On the 20th I was at an appointed meeting at Highflats, which was large and pretty open, there being several people of the neighbourhood of various notions present, who were generally satisfied. On the 25th, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Leeds, forenoon and afternoon, where I had a comfortable time with Friends; and in the afternoon some people of the town coming in, things were fully opened both to Friends and them. On the 31st I went to Newcastle, and on the 1st of the seventh month was at their meeting forenoon and afternoon; it was pretty large and open, and

the Lord refreshed us together in his goodness. On the 5th was at the meeting at Emelton, which consisted of about eight persons; and yet the Lord's ancient promise was, in some degree, made good in us, "That where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;" for we had a comfortable time in his good presence.

On the 8th, being the first-day of the week, I was at Kelso meeting forenoon and afternoon. There were a few pretty honest Friends, and some persons of the better sort of the people in the forenoon, and in the afternoon a larger number; and several things of moment opened, and a good day the Lord gave us. The Presbyterian church government, and the management of their priests, or ministers, not sitting so easy on the shoulders of some of the people as they desired, some of them about this time were looking out a better way, and several were affected in the meeting.

The next day, accompanied by my old friend Samuel Robinson, I proceeded to Edinburgh, and the day following had a meeting there with about half a dozen Friends still remaining, and some more sober persons that came in. It was in the house of William Miller, junior, and was comfortable, though small, the Lord being with us in some measure, to his own praise, who is only worthy. But though that city hath often been visited, and warned from the Lord by his servants, yet there appears not any inclination in them towards Truth, or the way of it; but the contrary, so far as I can see, or learn from those Friends conversant among them; though some few sober people there are, who in due time may come forward.

On the 11th I crossed the Firth of Forth, and went that night to Kenway, and the next day to the ferry at Montrose, but the winds being high, could not pass over that night; and in the morning following I went to Tayck, and next day to Ury, to my friend Robert Barclay's, where I staid but that night, though weary and feverish by the fatigue of my journey. For the course of the meetings fell out so as that Aberdeen was most convenient the day following; and being the first of the week, Robert Barclay and I went thither, and though too late for the forenoon meeting, were with them in the afternoon. There was a large congregation of people, and having travelled far in the good-will and love of God to see them, a little after I entered the place I was much broken in that love which reaches over sea and land, and engages in the greatest fatigues and labours for the good of souls for whom Christ died, through a never-fading love, not of man, but of God also. I had a



good season in the meeting, and several were reached, and Truth was over all.

On the 17th I lodged at the widow Hall's, my old lodging when formerly in this country, where I was very easy, and comfortably entertained; and the effects of my journey remaining a little upon me, she was very careful and helpful to me, being an honest Friend, of an excellent natural temper, and prone to do good. On the 18th I went to Kingswells, and had a meeting at Alexander Jaffrey's, where I lodged that night, and the next day returned to Aberdeen to their week-day meeting, which was small, but open; and the day following being their meeting for the affairs of the church, I was there also, and a good open time the Lord was pleased to afford us together.

On the 22nd, being the first of the week, I was, in the forenoon, at the meeting at Kilmuck, which was large, and the truths of the gospel and kingdom of our dear Lord, were fully opened, and we comforted together in his presence. In the afternoon I was at a meeting at Inverary, where came people of several sorts, and things were open and well; the next day returned to Aberdeen, and the day following back to Ury with Robert Barclay, who had given me his very acceptable company all this time.

Here I staid till the 25th, and had a meeting with Friends there and of Stonehaven, and so spent the week in the family, his mother being still living, where I had all necessary refreshments and help, being then under a great cold, which affected both my head and lungs. But above all, the help of the Lord was near, and made all things easy and well.

On the 29th, being the first-day following, I was at a six weeks meeting at Ury in the forenoon, which was large, and the Lord was with us to our comfort and help; and in the afternoon, the same day, I was at the meeting at Stonehaven, which was also a pretty large open meeting, and in the evening returned to Ury.

On the 31st, having some remaining inclination to see the Friends and people once more at Aberdeen, I returned with Alexander Jaffrey, to Kingswells, and there I staid till the fifth-day morning following, being at two meetings in the mean time.

On the 3rd of the eighth month I went to the monthly meeting at Aberdeen, where we had a comfortable time in the Lord's goodness; and on the seventh-day following was at a meeting at the Old Town of Aberdeen, and that afternoon returned to the widow Hall's at New Town with Andrew Jaffrey.

On the 6th I was again at the meeting at

Aberdeen, forenoon and afternoon. It was large, and many things were opened of great moment concerning the law of the spirit, and its strivings with the old world, and also with Israel; as likewise with the Gentiles, and now with the nominal Christians; and all guilty, by neglect and opposition to this spirit, and all means and additions proposed; but such justified as believe and obey, to whom the same becomes a "law of life, and makes free from the law of sin and death." This is that book and law written in the heart, sealed with seven seals, which none in heaven, or in earth, or under the earth, can open or explain; but the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Lord Jesus Christ, the mediator of the new covenant, and writer and giver of this law; whose law is light, and his commandment as a lamp that burneth, and whose glowing warmth comforts all who read therein, and are instructed of him who opens the seals. The meeting was solid and large. From the time of the rebellion, in which some of the Episcopal priests had concerned themselves, till the Act of Pardon by the king, the Episcopal people there had generally come to our meetings, rather than go to the Presbyterians, whom they looked upon as their enemies; but since the said Act, had gone back again to their own preachers. However, some of the people had conceived such a liking to the way of Truth in the mean time, that they continue to come at times, and may at length come further. And their being at our meetings has had this good effect generally, that it removed, in great measure, the old prejudices the people lay under, by reason of the many lies and calumnies the priests of all sorts had cast upon Truth and us.

On the 7th I went again to Kingswells, and staid that night, Robert Barclay, his wife and sister, being also there, and next day we went all to Ury, where I staid with them till the 12th, and was at their week-day meeting.

On the 14th I set forward towards England, Robert Barclay and his son and servant being with me, and that night we lodged at Dundee. The next day we passed through the Carse of Gowry, a very rich and pleasant country, and lodged at the Bridge of Airn. Next day, in our road, called to see sir Thomas Bruce Hope, at his house at Kinross, near Loch-Leven. He was religiously inclined, and entertained us very courteously. His house is of wrought white free-stone, large, and well contrived; and near it, in a little island in the Loch, is yet standing the old square tower wherein Mary Queen of Scots, afterwards beheaded by Elizabeth Queen of England, was some time prisoner. That evening after sun-set, we passed over the



Firth of Forth at the Queen's Ferry, where we lodged that night.

On the 17th we went all together to the house of Archibald Shaw, a Friend near Hopeton-House, belonging to the Earl of Hopeton, where we staid together that day; and our friend being gardener there, we had the opportunity to see the gardens and house, which were very neat and convenient.

On the 18th we parted there with considerable reluctance; but as men are variously stated in this world by Providence, who separateth the nearest friends, our differing concerns obliging to it, we were made easier to part by the same who first made us acquainted in the time of our youth. That night I went on to Falkirk.

On the 20th, being the first of the week, I was at their meeting. In the forenoon it was smaller, they said, than for some time before, but quiet and open; but in the afternoon a little larger, and several important truths were set forth in a good measure of the power and wisdom of Truth. In the evening we had another meeting at George Swan's house, which was as large as any of the other, and open, and the people generally satisfied. I observed, that though the Presbyterians have the government there, the people seem more moderate than formerly, whether arising from the many divisions now on foot amongst themselves, or considerations of the lenity of the government in England, or that there is a secret work of God towards their redemption, or a general reformation, I shall not determine, but had rather the latter were the Truth of the case.

On the 24th I went to Hamilton, where there is now remaining but a very small number of Friends, poor and honest, and but one or two of the old stock. The next day was their monthly meeting, which was very small, but open and comfortable, the Lord owning us together.

On the 26th I went to Cumberhead, to the house of my cousin Andrew Latimer, a lonely place among the desolate mountains; and the next day, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting, and though there were but two or three persons besides the family, yet the blessed promise was in some measure afresh fulfilled, "That where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

On the 28th I went forward for Cumberland, accompanied by my cousin Latimer. He took me to the house of one John Williamson, his kinsman by marriage, and a great Presbyterian; with whom falling into discourse, he, with all his might, maintained sin term of life, as that sect commonly does,

in opposition to the plainest Scripture, and the end of the coming of Christ; perversely alleging, that the apostle Paul, at the time of writing his epistle to the Romans, was in that miserable state of sin he speaks of in the seventh chapter. I took much pains to inform him, that the apostle had, in the beginning of that epistle, set forth the general state, both of Jew and Gentile; that all had sinned; that Christ is the Saviour of all; that he saves all who believe and obey, from sin, not in it; that the apostle brings his doctrine of freedom from sin in this life to a result, or period, in the latter end of the sixth chapter, and resumes the same doctrine in the beginning of the seventh, under another similitude, viz: of a woman bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth, but he being dead she is free to take another, &c., and then brings the same doctrine to a like conclusion in a few verses; and the third time, in the same chapter, prosecuting still the same doctrine, in the fore part of the eighth chapter, establishes this great point in these words, "The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death." Here it is evident, that as a man cannot be in these two opposite states at the same time, so the state of liberty from sin was not only the condition of the apostle himself, who preached the doctrine, but of many of the saints at that time in the church, to whom he preached it. But after all this, and much more to the same effect, this person still persisted in defence of sin, as being most suitable to a depraved state, and the prejudice of his education. However, his good nature and civility of temper, so over-balanced the rancour commonly attending that principle, which usually rather depraves than improves nature, that he was conversible on other subjects, and entertained us kindly in his house that night.

On the 29th we went to Wanlockhead, and that evening, had a very comfortable time in the family of a widow, the Lord's good presence being freely with us. Next morning I went on my journey, and the day following arrived at my father's house in Cumberland, where I found him alive and well, being about eighty-seven years of age; and there I staid some days.

On the 3rd of the ninth month I went from my father's house at Justice-Town, to the Border meeting, which was pretty large and open, several of the ancient Friends being still alive. That evening I was again at their meeting, and lodged at Righead with my old friend and kinsman, Christopher Story, and the next day returned to Justice-Town.

On the 6th I went again to their week-day meeting. Calling to see justice Appleby and



his wife, the daughter of counsellor Gilpin, they both went to meeting, he running the hazard of the Act of Parliament then in force against it. We had a good meeting, and things opened well; and they pressing me earnestly, I went with them to dinner, and the justice went with me to Scaleby castle to see Richard Gilpin, the counsellor's eldest son, a sober, good-natured young man. We went that night to Carlisle, and staid their meeting on the first-day. We had a good and comfortable time in the forenoon, but in the afternoon, satan, who ever envies the people of God, gave us some disturbance by his unhappy instruments and servants, Job Pearson and Isaac his brother; who, slipping out of the jail, which was kept by one not well affected to us, came into the meeting, and in the time of silence, used many unsavoury, scurrilous, and provoking expressions; but none gave them a word again; till after some time, Dr. Isaac Huntington giving the governor of the city a private hint of their behaviour, he sent and took them away. Some time after, I had an opportunity to speak to the people, and to lay open the kingdom of Christ, the kingdoms of men, and the kingdom of antichrist; their different natures, jurisdictions, and ends; the divine and spiritual nature of the first, with the subjection of the members thereof in this life in temporal affairs to the second; how far they ought, and where they ought not, to obey: the great and good ends of the second, for the suppression of evil, support and protection of the just and innocent, against the violence and oppression of the unruly and ungodly; and the wicked and unrighteous power of the last, gained by the subtilty of satan in ungodly men, under pretence of the Christian religion, destroying it in all ages; having deceived the temporal powers, and made them the instruments of the greatest cruelty against the innocent children and subjects of the kingdom of Christ; till the Lord, in mercy, is in these latter days beginning to arise, discovering antichrist, undeceiving the powers of the earth, and directing them to a more just and equal application of their authority, for the encouragement of the well-doer, and correction of the ungodly.

On the 12th I went to John Newton's, in Alston-Moor, and on the 14th had a meeting there, which was very open and broken, there being several new-convinced Friends there, among whom was Thomas Erskine, lately a Baptist teacher, a very hopeful young man, and of good repute among the people. On the 15th, in the evening, we had a meeting at Jacob Moor's at Welgill, about two miles further up the Dale, and it was far larger than the former, many strangers being there, and

very sedate and sober, and things were well and satisfactory. On the 17th, being the first of the week, I was again at John Newton's, where the meeting was very open and broken, the Lord's good presence being with us to our general comfort and satisfaction.

On the 18th I had a meeting at East-Allandale; and the same evening had another about three miles off, at ——— Sparkes, where came a considerable number both of Friends and others. We had good meetings there also; for at that time there was considerable openness in the people towards Truth.

On the 19th we went back to Askerton, and the day following I fell in with Solport meeting, which, though small, having had no notice, was comfortable, the blessed Truth being over all. But my distemper returning, through cold and hard riding to reach the meeting, I was much pained at times in it, and though carefully provided for, was very ill most of that night; but towards morning the Lord encouraged me with a little help, which proved very effectual; it was by the operation of his power in my heart, by which all the pains for that time were overcome and quieted, and then I had ease and rest all that day. I having also a great cold, and my lungs a little affected, I staid there till the second-day following, and was at the same meeting again on the 24th, being the first of the week, which was much larger, and very open; and some strangers being touched with the virtue of Truth, spoke well of the meeting afterwards.

On the 25th, going down to my father's house again, I staid there till the 28th, and that evening went to Carlisle, and was at a six weeks meeting there, which was pretty large, and very open, being composed of the members of all the particular meetings of the monthly meeting. The same afternoon I was also at a select meeting of ministers and elders, for inquiry after the prosperity of Truth in those precincts.

On the 1st of the tenth month I was again at the meeting at Carlisle, which was fresh and open, both forenoon and afternoon; and being a little out of order in my health, I staid the fourth-day meeting following, which was a tender good meeting. In the mean time I visited several of my old acquaintance and fellow citizens, among whom was the mayor and some of the aldermen, and old counsellor Aglionby, the recorder, who had often showed kindness to Friends on occasion; especially in that very abusive case of the Pearsons.

On the fifth-day following I was at the meeting at Moorhouse, which was the larger, by reason of a marriage, and a pretty open time the Lord gave us; for many were well



satisfied, amongst whom were some strangers. That evening I returned to Carlisle, and the day following I went to their meeting, and though pretty early, yet John Robinson was got thither, and before the meeting was a quarter part gathered, as soon as he perceived that Truth began to move in the meeting, he began to show his malice against it and Friends, and against me in particular, supposing, that I as a stranger, might have something to say; and so directed abundance of rude, false, railing and impertinent accusations to me, both against myself and Friends. But I answered not a word; nor did this at all provoke me, though it was very abusive, Truth being over my spirit. I stood up and spoke to the meeting, taking no notice at all of him, and things opening suitably and well, in the wisdom and authority of Truth, we had a good and open meeting, the Lord being with us, to John Robinson's great torment; for in time of prayer his envy raged so, that he read some passage out of Robert Barclay's Apology all the time, which he imagined was for him and his few accomplices against Friends and Truth. But none regarded him; and soon after prayer the meeting ended in comfort, over the head of this opposing apostate.

The day following I had a meeting appointed at Bolton, where this Robinson came again, and after some time stood up to preach to us, beginning with the royal law, "That all should do as they would be done by." But before he proceeded any further, a Friend who knew his circumstances in the world, bid him sit down, for we could not receive that doctrine, or any other from him, who was not in the thing, having defrauded many in the country, and detained from them what was their own, whereas himself would not want what was his from such as owed him; and so stopped his preaching. Then he fell to railing, reproaching, reviling, and falsely accusing Friends. I desired him to sit down and be quiet, he railing at me first, and pressing by the other Friend to come towards me, as if he would have offered violence, being in a rage. I said some more words to him, and he was still worse. Then I told him, "Thou art distracted, and fitter for a house of correction than any civil, much less Christian society." He still raged more and more; so I said nothing further to him, knowing that spirit is fed by answering, and destroyed by neglect and silence. After a little silence, I stood up and spoke to the meeting over him, he railing in the mean time, and making all the noise he could to hinder; but he often running himself out of breath, and my voice being raised over him, many things opened to the states of per-

sons and things: and Truth was over all, to our general satisfaction, and his grief.

On the 10th I went to Holm, and next day was at their meeting, which was indifferently large and very open; for, as the Lord ordered it, none of the troublers were there, this meeting being frequently, above many others, the stage of their strange and brutish behaviour. The meeting was much tendered, and many things opened concerning the principle of Truth, and that evil spirit which had opposed it from the days of the apostles, both in the old heathen emperors and people, and most and worst of all, by such as both professed and preached it in words—of which sort were these Pearsons and Robinsons, and their unhappy accomplices. The meeting ended under a sense of the love and goodness of God. That night I staid at Thomas Wilkinson's, where some marks of the violence of these men were still remaining on the house; for as this Friend had much opposed them from the beginning, so their envy and rage were the greater and more particular against him; neither himself, family, nor house escaping the effects of their rage.

On the 12th he went with me to Allanby, where the Lord gave us a tender season with Friends, being their meeting-day. Many things were opened confirming the weak among them, and the meeting ended in peace and comfort in our dear Lord Jesus, whose blessed power was over all.

On the 13th being their meeting-day at Great Broughton, I was with them, and the Lord exalted his own holy name in the midst of us, to his own praise, who alone is worthy. Not having been at this meeting on a first-day for many years, and considering it was the place where I first knew Friends to be the people of God, I staid till the 15th; which being the first of the week, I was at the meeting in the forenoon. It was open and well, but not many strangers present. Desiring to see as many of the people as I could, an evening meeting was appointed at Mary Bowman's, where I lodged, which was the largest they had seen there, and things opened to general satisfaction.

On the 16th I went to Whitehaven, and desiring to have a meeting in town next day, we could not procure a convenient place, and so appointed one at our friend John Nicholson's, about a mile off, to which came justice Gilpin's wife, eldest son, and another, and two daughters, John Gilpin his brother, and many others of the town. James Dickinson met me there, and we had a very good opportunity among them; the power and presence of the Lord was with us, and the people were generally satisfied, and several tendered.



Next day I went to West-side, or Crossfield meeting, which was a very good open meeting, and many were tendered. That evening I went back to John Nicholson's, inclining to see and converse with my old friends and acquaintance at Whitehaven a little more; and accordingly went thither next morning, and that day dined with my old and hearty friend John Gilpin and his family. I lodged there also that night, and tarried all the day following in town.

On the 22nd, being the first of the week, I was at Pardsay-Crag meeting, which was very large and open, and the Lord gave us a good season together, being mostly Friends. That night I went to Meser-Gate, where we had an evening meeting at the widow Fawcet's house, which was heavy at first, but ended pretty well.

The 24th was their monthly meeting at Pardsay-Crag, and we went thither, where was also a select meeting of ministers and elders, for inspecting and promoting the affairs and concerns of truth; and the Lord being with us, gave us a good and open season of his love and counsel together, to his own glory and our help. That evening, after the meeting, I went to Cockermouth, and on the 25th had a meeting there, being that they call Christmas day, and the Lord was with us to our comfort, being for the most part Friends.

On the 28th, in the evening, I returned to Cockermouth, and the next day in the forenoon was at their meeting, which was very large, mostly of Friends from divers parts of the country; and an open time we had. But not many of the town's people being there, we appointed another meeting to begin at five in the evening, which was much crowded by the town's people; and things opened largely, and the Lord's power and Truth were over all, to the glory of him who alone is able and worthy for ever. That night I staid at Cockermouth.

On the 31st I was at Isell meeting, which was a small but comfortable meeting; and that evening had another appointed at John Scot's house, for the sake of the people, which was pretty open and well, the people sitting still long after the meeting was ended.

On the 1st of the eleventh month I went to Keswick, and called together the few Friends in town, who, with those that went with me, made up a little meeting, which was pretty comfortable. That evening going forward to Mossdale, where a meeting was appointed next day, and the frost very hard, and snow blown in deep wreaths in many places, we were in great danger, and much fatigued before we got through, and often almost out of breath with wrestling through the snow. For

our horses could not keep their feet, but often stumbled in it; so that we went mostly on foot, which, with our boots and heavy riding clothes, made it very exhausting. But God's good providence carried us through these dangers, as through many more I have met with on such occasions in times past; and that evening, a little within night, we arrived at George Mark's house.

On the 2nd of eleventh month the meeting at Mossdale was held according to appointment, and being mostly of Friends, the Lord gave us a comfortable season of his goodness together. On the 5th went to the meeting at Coldbeck, and being the first-day of the week it was large and open, and Truth over all. On the 6th I went to Penrith, and the day following, in the evening, had a meeting there, which was large, and a good open time.

On the 9th I went towards Newcastle, accompanied by John Benson and his son James; but could not pass over the mountains for the snow, but by the common road from Brampton; and on the 12th, being the first of the week, I was at their meeting both forenoon and afternoon. It was large and open, several strangers being there, and things passed to general satisfaction. On the 16th I was there again, the meeting being mostly of Friends; and the Lord was with us in his love and divine virtue; by which many were tendered and comforted, to his own praise, and our mutual help and edification.

On the 18th I went to North-Shields, and the next day was at their meeting, which was pretty large both forenoon and afternoon, and things opened well. But though the doctrines of Truth appeared pretty clear in wisdom, yet not so much life accompanied us as at Newcastle, but rather laid more under, as in some way suffering more there from some hidden cause; but in the main things were to general satisfaction.

On the 20th I went to Sunderland, and the day after had a meeting there, which was pretty large, and very open and comfortable. But I found myself under great inconvenience, by reason of cold I had taken before; in which I had good help from my kind friends Lancelot Wardale and his wife, where I lodged, who were very courteous, as were also other Friends there.

On the 22nd James Dickinson coming up, there was a meeting appointed there for him, where I was also; and having no public concern therein, I was much renewed in my strength both of body and mind. For though I had been ill all night, and had little rest, by reason both of a great cough and pain, and so much indisposed in the morning after I arose that I could not go to meeting till about



half an hour after the time; yet within a few minutes after I was there, I found my heart bound up with the girdle of Truth, so that the healing virtue thereof overpowered every other power in me, both of body and mind; and I had no present sense at all of any ailing.

On the 23rd we went together to Shotton meeting, which was pretty large, and indifferently well; but my exercise therein was a little heavy, yet a good meeting in the main. That night we went together about three miles further towards Durham, and the next day had a meeting there, and a good open time the Lord gave us together.

On the 26th, being the first-day of the week, I was at the meeting at Bishop-Auckland, which was pretty large and open as to doctrine, and some reaches of Truth now and then stirring among us, but some secret suffering of the seed still there, though in the main a good meeting. That evening I went home with John Walton, an honest Friend, well skilled in spiritual and natural things. His wife, whose maiden name was Helen Fairlow, served the Countess of Carlisle, as her gentlewoman, at the time of her conviction; in which, by the grace of God, I also had been in some degree instrumental before I went to America.

On the 28th I went to an appointed meeting at Raby, which was large, and very open, and some strangers well affected therein; and on the 29th to Cockerton, and the day following had a large open meeting at Darlington. There being pretty many strangers, things opened clear and free, and the power and wisdom of Truth was over all, to the praise of the great Master Workman, the Lord himself, who worketh all, in all of his people and servants; many of whom were much broken and comforted in that meeting.

On the 31st I went to Stockton, about nine miles, and had an appointed meeting, which was pretty large, and very open; and many being broken and tendered, were also edified and comforted together in the love of our heavenly Father, which plentifully flowed among us, to his glory. Amen.

On the 2nd of the 12th month I went to Yarm meeting, which was not large, but open and living, the life-giving presence of the Lord being graciously afforded to us.

On the 4th of the twelfth month I was at their meeting at Ayton, which was open and comfortable, and that evening called to see old Maurice Lisle, then priest of Kildale, to which I had several inducements. 1st; His eldest son, of the same name, having come over into Pennsylvania, been my clerk for about four years, had been convinced in

the time, and was now among Friends there. 2ndly; This Maurice, the father, had all along been civil and tender to Friends in his way; not suing or imprisoning any for his parish wages, as has been too common in others of his profession, and still is, in this nation. He and his family kindly received my visit, and we parted in pretty open friendship.

On the 5th I was at Gisborough, where the meeting was not large, but Truth was exalted over all, and we were comforted together; and several of the town's people coming in, were quiet, and some of them pretty tender.

Next day I was at the meeting at Moorsham, which was small and heavy; yet the Lord owned us in some measure by his life and presence, which were not afar off several there; and it ended well. That night I lodged near the place, at the house of John Stonehouse, who went with me next day to Roxby meeting, which was small and heavy in the beginning; but the Lord in mercy visited us together, and we had a very comfortable time. That night I staid there, at the widow Anne Furbank's.

On the 8th I went to Whitby, and the day following was at their meeting in the forenoon, which is large, there being a fine body of Friends in that place, and was open and comfortable, and I had several good openings among them, and the testimony of Truth had a free passage. The meeting was also very comfortable in the afternoon.

They have two week-day meetings, the one on the fourth, the other on the sixth; and being also at them, I found them open and comfortable; and staying till the first-day following, being the 16th of the month, the meeting in the forenoon was large and open, but not many strangers. Being desirous to see the people, the afternoon meeting was put off till five in the evening, and notice given, which fully answered the intent; for there was such a crowd as Friends had never seen in that place, and many things opened to them in the wisdom and authority of Truth, to general satisfaction. I do not see but at this day, in all places where Friends are diligent to draw people to meetings, the Truth appears most freely, and things are most lively; but where Friends themselves are set down contented, without any such concern, things are cold and heavy to themselves also, and little appearance of Truth but in reproof and dislike.

On the 18th, being the third of the week, I went forward to a meeting at Staintondale, which was of itself a small meeting, but augmented by Friends who went from Whitby, and was open and comfortable; and that



evening I went to Scarborough, and lodged with Peter Garbut, an ancient Friend there. They have also at Scarborough two week-day meetings, viz: on the fourth and sixth. I was at them both; but the first was a little shut up, especially in the beginning, and the second more open. On the first-day forenoon the meeting consisted for the most part of Friends, and generally young people, and was indifferently open; but that in the evening was very large, and crowded with people of several sorts. Truth came over them with good authority, many things suitable being clearly opened among them, and the meeting ended in a very solid manner, to general comfort and edification.

On the 24th I went to Burlington, and the next day had a meeting there, which was very large; for the Friends having taken care to invite the people, they came fully, and the Lord was with us, and honoured his own name among them, for his blessed Truth was over all, and Friends were generally satisfied. The next day I was at a meeting at Hornsey, which is very small; but some from Burlington and other places made it up pretty well, and it was open and comfortable.

On the 27th I was at a meeting at Ouswick, where came some Friends from several places about; but little notice being given to the people, the meeting was not large, or very open; and I was also heavy in my spirit some time after this meeting, but knew no reason for it.

I lodged that night at Isaac Storr's, and on the 28th he went with me to Hull, and that evening we had a meeting there. They are but few of themselves, but notice being given to some of the people, the meeting was pretty full, and things opened largely, both for the encouragement of the faithful, and rebuke of the backsliders; especially the unfaithful concerning tithes, as a main branch of the testimony of Truth, in our day, against antichrist and his ministers; for which, I heard afterward, there was too much reason in these parts. On the 2nd day of the first month, 1717, being the first of the week, I went to Beverly, where we had a large meeting of Friends and others, and very open, many being reached in it by the power of Truth.

On the 4th day I went to an appointed meeting at North-Cave, where came people of several sects, as Papists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, &c., and there being a burial at the same place, things opened largely, and to general satisfaction, and the Lord gave us a good and comfortable time. After the meeting I went that evening home with Nathaniel Wells, to Cotness, where, on the

6th, I had a meeting, not large, nor much in the flowing of life, but some things of great moment were moving: as the first establishment of the worship of God in spirit, before there was any church in Asia, or the gospel at all preached at Rome; the rise of antichrist in the apostles' days, his progress in the same sort of ministers, his height in the papacy, and approaching downfall in the same, and in all others the like, in all lands, and in all forms; the Truth, and its testimony and followers, persecuted in this land from the beginning; the great reward and triumph of its faithful witnesses, and the mean and base spirits of those who were visited, and were unfaithful; and their reward of infamy and death: and in the main it was a good meeting.

The first of the week I went to Rawcliff, where the meeting was large and open, there being Friends from several meetings about, and some strangers; and the Lord gave us an open and free time. That evening we had another meeting there, which is usual; but no notice being given to the people of the town, we had but a heavy time; as I ever observe in my travels, where the professors of Truth are set down by themselves, without a due concern for others, things are but heavy and dead: and yet, after a considerable time in silence, the Lord condescended to comfort us together, and the little meeting ended well. On the 11th I was at an appointed meeting at Selby, where came some few of the town's people, and Friends from some other parts, and we had a pretty open time and good meeting. On the 12th I went to Pontefract, where we had a small meeting, but indifferently open, there being few but Friends, and some of them young, and not much acquainted with the work of Truth, as is the case in most other places. But being preserved pretty generally from the grosser evils of the world, and keeping orderly, there is good ground of hope the Lord will effectually reach them in his own time; as, blessed be his name, he hath already blessed many of them with the knowledge of his way and Truth, to the comfort of their own souls, and all that are concerned with them. I staid after the meeting at Robert Clarkson's, an ancient Friend of the old stock, and faithful.

On the 13th I was at an appointed meeting at Wakefield, which was but small; but there came in some sober people of the town, and things were very open to them. But a parcel of giggling, rude persons coming also, we had some disturbance by their unchristian and uncivil behaviour; and yet, for the sake of the sober and well-inclined, things opened clear and full, and Truth being in dominion over all, the rude company could not live under



the cutting reproofs of it, but retired, and then we had a good season. I found they were a parcel of scholars belonging to a school in town, with some their like abettors, which gives me occasion to observe, that we have but a melancholy prospect, to see the youth of the age so corrupted, especially at the colleges and schools in the three kingdoms, generally speaking, where young men have the rudiments of that learning and education which should qualify them for the services of their own families and country. Hence arise great mischiefs in church, in state, in the offices and officers, civil, military and ecclesiastical; in pride, in covetousness, in emulation, strife and envy; in lust of dominion, pre-eminence and rule, to the great danger of utter ruin; which surely will come, if they continue to neglect so great salvation as the Lord, in infinite mercy, yet offers to them; in sending forth his light and truth so freely and plentifully among them; in which he will be clear in that day, when their sins will make their deep humiliation so necessary to them.

The 14th was the week-day meeting at Leeds, which was pretty open and well. On the 18th I went to York to the quarterly meeting, which was large, and a very open time the Lord gave us, and things opened clearly to the state of Friends and people. On the 27th I went to Gildersham to a meeting, where came several of the neighbourhood, some Antinomians, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, &c.; and after a considerable time in silence, the Lord gave us a good season, and opened many things to the state and understanding of the people.

On the 30th, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Kendal in the forenoon, where there were few but Friends, and pretty open, but not so full as I could have desired. But the afternoon meeting, at my request, being put off till the fourth hour, and notice given to the people, there came a great company, and the Lord opened many things for their conviction, in the demonstration of his wisdom and power; and many were tendered, and generally very sober. It was a large and good meeting, to the honour of the Lord, who alone can make it so.

On the 31st, in the afternoon, began the yearly meeting; the first meeting being for ministering Friends, several being there from Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Durham, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire. Many things were opened among the brethren to general edification and comfort. In the mean time was a meeting of elders apart, to confer about such affairs of Truth as came under their proper cognizance: and before the meeting of min-

isters ended, the elders desiring admittance to sit with them, as is usual, they were readily received accordingly; and then we had some time together, and all concluded to satisfaction. The next morning about eight, being the 1st of the second month, we had the public meeting for worship, which was very large and open, consisting mostly of young and middle-aged Friends, but not of many other people, considering the occasion.

On the 2nd, in the forenoon, we had a meeting of conference, by ministers and elders from all parts, to confer about the affairs of Truth in general, and how it prospered, and what was yet to be done for the honour of God, and spreading of the blessed Truth still more and more on earth, which is the whole end of these meetings; in which also we had peace and comfort in the Lord, and one in another in him. That afternoon we had a parting meeting, which was large and comfortable. So all ended to our mutual satisfaction, and the meeting was then adjourned to the 14th of the second month, the year following, to be held then at Liverpool in Lancashire.

On the 5th there happening to be a marriage in that town, the woman a grand-daughter of Robert Barrow, who, with others, suffered so much at Florida, &c., I had an inclination to be at it, as I was also requested to be by several Friends; and a marriage among the Quakers being a novelty there, and the public meetings having stirred up the people, more of them came than to the other meetings: and the Lord was pleased to look upon us in his goodness; for his blessed Truth was over all to his own glory, and the comfort of many. The public exercise falling to my share, the Lord opened matters of moment relating to marriage, and some other things, and the meeting ended well, Benjamin Bangs concluding it in prayer.

On the 4th I was at the quarterly meeting at Lancaster, where also the Lord appeared in love, and we had a good season thereof together.

On the 6th, being the first of the week, I was at Penketh, where also came Benjamin Bangs, and we had a large open meeting. Dining at Gilbert Thompson's, we went afterwards to Warrington, where we had a large evening meeting, mostly of the town's people of several persuasions, who were generally sober and pleased; for the Lord was with us, and did us good together.

On the 8th we had a pretty large meeting at Frenchay, which, though a little heavy for a time, the sun at last broke through and dispersed the clouds; and we had a growing season in the end, to the praise of the great



Director of all our seasons of divine love and heavenly enjoyment. On the 9th had a meeting at Newton, which was also large and clouded at the beginning, but ended well, and to general satisfaction, there being pretty many people; and on the 10th Benjamin Bangs returned home, and I went to Nampwich, where a meeting had been appointed. The sheriff of the county living there, let us have an empty house to meet in; for we have no meeting-house there, being but few Friends in those parts. It was a large meeting, and Friends came from several places, and many people, so that all the rooms were crowded; and though many of them came in with light and fleering countenances, yet before the meeting was ended the visitation of the Lord being to them, several were tendered, and generally sober and grave, and the solid Truth was over them: it was a good open meeting.

On the 11th I went to Shrewsbury, where meeting with Thomas Harvey and Charles Lloyd from Wales, met to consult about a place for the yearly meeting, their company made some amends for the fatigue of that day. That evening I went home with Thomas Harvey, where I staid till the first-day morning, and then went to the meeting at Shrewsbury, which was not large in the forenoon, nor very open, though some other strangers were there.

The afternoon meeting was as large as the house could well hold, and a pretty good time; but there being no ministering Friend belonging to the meeting except one, who hath but few words, things looked a little strange to some. Having a kind invitation after the meeting by my friend John Fowler, to lodge with him, I accepted of it, and was kindly entertained at his house all the time of the yearly meeting, which was held once or twice a day till the sixth-day following.

There were several ministering Friends present; as Aaron Atkinson, from Leeds, John Fallowfield, from Hertford, Daniel Bell, from London, Gilbert Thompson, from Penketh, &c. And such meetings being new there, a multitude of people of all ranks flocked thither; and the Lord was evidently with us, and opened many excellent truths of the gospel to general satisfaction, and Truth was over all; the meeting being preserved in good decorum from first to last. But having occasion to speak of the necessity of freedom from sin in this life, I cited the catechism of the church of England among other things, to prove it, for it is held there that people may live all the days of their lives, and never sin, and some one had misrepresented what I said to a priest; who, after the meeting, sent to speak with John Fallowfield and Daniel Bell about it, not knowing my name; and they had some

discourse about it, his chief objection lying against our naming their catechism, and said, we ought to confine ourselves within our own communion, and say nothing that might have any tendency to draw any of another communion to our way: but finding him unreasonable, they soon came over him, and he was running away in a rage, but they staid him till that was over. This priest had met with a young man and woman, who were under conviction, and had been much reached in some of the meetings, and told them the Quakers were in the way of damnation, and therefore cautioned them in private, to fly from us as from a serpent or the plague; which they discovering to John and Daniel, they treated him accordingly, and exposed him.

On the 18th, being the last day of the meeting, and our parting time, the Lord being still with us, in the forenoon I had a large open time; and though I was very weak, and ill of a great cold I had taken a week before, yet the Lord gave me strength and utterance, so that many things were opened to general satisfaction. One thing happened somewhat remarkable in it: for as I was concerned to speak of the crucifixion of Christ, and mentioning the large incision in his side by the spear, whence issued blood and water, which clearly evinced he was wounded to the heart, through the pericardium which held that water; and that this being for the sins of men, without which that would not have been put upon him, I myself was so much affected with it, as also the auditory, that I could not go on; but being much broken, stopped and stood still till my spirit was a little unburdened by an efflux of many tears, and the whole auditory was bowed, and generally broken and melted, so that many confessed the Truth, and that they had never known the like. After some time, I went on further with the matter, which opened so fully as, I believe, nothing stood in the way before all was ended. As this was the Lord's work, and his hand plainly in it, for at first I was very weak to the sight of all, by reason of the cold and hoarseness, but my voice grew stronger than common, and clear, so to him only be the glory and thanks now and for ever. Amen. The meeting ended in prayer, and to general comfort; and I have not known many meetings hold so many days, and so well throughout, which was also the observation of many more. And so Friends returned to their various places with great satisfaction, and the people were generally humbled, and spake well of the Truth; but some were angry that there was no power to suppress us, though they were very few, partly of High



Church, and partly Presbyterians, who would soon be at their old work, if they had but power.

On the 24th, being the fifth of the week, I was at the meeting at Wolverhampton, which was small, because I was not free, as circumstanced, that any notice should be given on my account.

On the 26th I went to Birmingham, and lodged at Richard Park's, and the next day was at their meeting forenoon and afternoon. The first was not large, but indifferently open, but the latter was larger and more open.

On the 29th I went to Stourbridge, where we had a large open meeting, many of the chief of the town being there; and the Lord favoured us with his wisdom and power, which was apparent there to the reaching of several.

On the 30th I went thence to Bromsgrove, and on the 1st of the third month to Worcester, and next day was at their week-day meeting, which consisted mostly of Friends: and the Lord gave us an open time together, affording to us his comfortable presence. Tarrying here till the first-day, I was again at their meeting, which, in the forenoon, was well filled with Friends, pretty open, and a good time; but in the afternoon was much larger, and a great many people there, and things were very open and clear, and Friends and the people generally satisfied; but I found my natural strength much spent, and my spirits exhausted.

On the 5th I went to Tewksbury, and the day after had a meeting there, which was pretty large, and many reached by the power of Truth, both Friends and others, and well satisfied; the blessed presence of the Lord being over all in the meeting. There were also present several scholars of one who taught academical learning in the place, who were very sober and solid in their behaviour.

On the 7th I went to the city of Gloucester, where there is a small meeting, and not many strangers came in; it was heavy and drowsy, but after a considerable time in silence, the Truth working through the cloud and power of darkness, I had a pretty open time among them, and afterwards learned the reason of the hardness; for there were several unruly and shattered persons among them.

On the 10th I reached Bristol, and was at the yearly meeting, which was large and open; and among many others, for there was a large appearance of ministering Friends, I had some concern in the meeting, viz: touching the sins of the old world, and God's long suffering towards them for so many hundred years, and their destruction for sin at last; the re-peopling of the world, and their degeneracy also; the dispensation of God to the

Jews, their apostacy, and many sins and provocations for many ages, and their destruction also. Lastly, the visitation of God, his offers of salvation by Christ, and his light and grace unto all nations; the rise of antichrist in the apostles' days, not among the Jews or Gentiles, but among the Christians; who they were; their progress, height and insults over mankind, subjecting all other powers to themselves, perverting the good ends of civil power, and turning the edge of justice backward against the innocent, and indulging the ungodly; the approach of the final downfall and ruin of that power in all nations, under a profession of the Christian religion, longer than either in the old world or the Jews; and cannot escape condign punishment, for the ocean of blood she hath shed, having the same righteous and Almighty Judge to answer before, and the word of his mouth already gone forth against her, in many prophecies of her final desolation: and the tranquillity of the nations and people after that, to the end of time, under the reign of the Lord Jesus, by his Holy Spirit.

On the 18th I went out of the city to a place about five miles off, called Parsbury, where the priest of the place had been preaching against the king and government, and taken to task about it. The sober people were weary of him; and having notice of it, I found freedom to go thither, where also came many Friends from Bristol, and places adjacent. We were about five hundred together, in a large barn; and the Lord appeared in his love and wisdom, and opened many things instrumentally, to general satisfaction; and that evening we returned to Bristol.

On the 19th I went to Nailsworth again, and was at the quarterly meeting for Gloucester county, held there. Being a little wearied and spent, I staid the fifth-day's meeting, and on the 25th was at the meeting at Reading. In the forenoon it was not large, nor very open, but rather heavy; nor found I any thing to say amongst them, only a little in prayer; but in the afternoon, on occasion of a burial, the meeting was large, and much more open, where I had some concern to expose the kingdom of antichrist, in some degree, and say something also about the resurrection of the dead; and things were pretty well in the main. That evening I went with Hannah Penn and family to Ruscomb, where I found her husband still weak, but very open to receive me, which he expressed several ways. There I staid till third-day, and returned to Reading to their monthly meeting, which being select and quiet, we had a tender time together in waiting upon the Lord; where I also had something in testimony, and after-



wards we proceeded to the business: and so all ended in peace. That evening I returned to Ruscomb, where I staid till the 29th, and then went to a monthly meeting at Winkfield, held at John Finch's, which, though small, was very open.

On the 30th we had a small meeting at Stains, and the day following being the seventh of the week, I went to London to the yearly meeting, which was large; but some debate happening therein concerning the manner of dealing with persons accused of public slander, occasioned by some satirical libels printed the year before, the meeting was somewhat disturbed on that occasion; but yet the Lord was near, and things ended pretty well and comfortable.

On the 14th of the fifth month I went to Chelmsford, and next day to Colchester; and being the first of the week, and the day before the yearly meeting of that place, we had a large appearance of Friends and others, and an open time. The yearly meeting which ensued was large, and the Lord's good presence was there, and many weighty things were, through his grace, opened in the meeting to general edification and comfort.

On the 19th I returned to Coggeshall, being their meeting-day, where the Lord's presence was with us, and a good time we had. That night I lodged with John Osgood, a mile from thence, and the day following had a meeting appointed at Braintree, whither came Friends from several parts adjacent, and things were well.

On the 21st I went back to Chelmsford, and was at their meeting the day following, which was large, and pretty open in the main, Friends from divers parts being there. In the evening, about the sixth hour, I had another meeting, more particularly for the people; but for want of due notice it was not large; yet those who came in being quiet and orderly, many things of great weight opened, and we had, through the goodness of the Lord, a good meeting.

Having visited meetings in town for some time, I left the city again upon the 24th day of the fifth month, in order for Bristol, and that night went to Ruscomb, where I staid till the first-day of the week following. On the 27th I went to the meeting at Reading, which was pretty open both forenoon and afternoon. On the 28th I went to Marlborough, and next day went to Bristol, where staying till the 31st, I received a letter from Hannah Penn, of the decease of her husband, our ancient and honourable friend William Penn, who departed this life on the 30th, between two and three in the morning, of a short sickness, of which he had no symptoms at my departure.

I was much broken in my spirit on reading the letter, considering how nearly we had been acquainted and united in the Truth; and a concern taking hold of my mind to be at the interment of his corpse, I set out that afternoon about three, from Bristol, accompanied by his son John Penn, and on the 1st of the sixth month arrived at Ruscomb late in the evening, where we found the widow and most of the family together. Our coming occasioned a fresh remembrance of the deceased, and also a renewed flood of many tears from all eyes. A solid time we had, but few words among us for some time; for it was a deep baptizing season, and the Lord was near.

Here I staid till the 5th, and that day accompanied the corpse to the grave, at Jordan's meeting-place in the county of Bucks, where we had a large meeting of Friends and others, from many places. And as the Lord had made choice of him in the days of his youth, for great and good services, and had been with him in many dangers and difficulties of various kinds, so he did not leave him in his last moments, but honoured the occasion with his blessed presence, and gave us a happy season of his goodness, to the general satisfaction of all; the meeting being well spoken of by strangers afterwards. That night I returned to Ruscomb with the family, where I staid till the 10th; and being present at the opening of his last Will, had occasion to advise the family touching their various interests therein, as I thought most conducing to equity, and their general peace and good, as became their relation to, and honour of, the deceased.

On the 10th I went to the meeting at Reading, and that evening returned to Ruscomb, being solicited thereto by the family, in order to some further advice concerning their affairs, being of great moment, and accompanied with many and considerable difficulties.

On the 12th I returned to Reading to their meeting, and on the 13th was at the meeting at Newbury, where the Friends who formerly separated themselves, were now, after the example of Reading, returned, and become one with Friends again; and though for some time a spirit of heaviness was over several, yet the Lord condescended to arise for our help, and things opened to the state of the meeting, which concluded in a more living condition. That evening I went to Marlborough.

On the 14th I appointed a meeting there, which, though small, was open and comfortable; and that afternoon I went forward to Monks, where I was kindly received by my friends Caleb Dickinson and his wife, and there I staid till the 16th, being much fatigued in these late long journeys in the heat of the



weather, which had been extreme at times this summer.

On the 17th, being the first of the week, I was at Bath, where many people being come to drink the waters, the meeting was full both forenoon and afternoon, and things were open and well. Finding some remains of the effects of my late journeys, I had freedom to stay a little to try the bath, and drink the water; and yet not without an eye to the good of the people who resorted thither, and frequented our meetings there, rather than in their respective counties, as being less under the observation of their neighbours.

On the 19th we had an appointed meeting there, which was of some service, people of several notions in religion being present, who were generally satisfied. On the 21st was the meeting-day of course; but having had a meeting as before, and no notice given the people, they were not apprized of it, so that we had less company of them than before; but it proved a good season to those who were present; for the Lord was with us in his love and goodness.

On the 24th, being the first of the week, I was at this meeting again, where came Friends from Bristol and some other places, and some strangers in town, so that the place was filled both forenoon and afternoon; and the Lord was near, both to comfort his own, and also to invite others, opening many things to that end, which seemed to be satisfactory in general, by the sober deportment of the people.

On the 28th went to a marriage near Bedford, where came many strangers, with Friends, and the Lord gave us a tender and open season of his love. The doctrine of the kingdom of Christ dropped as the dew, to the refreshing of many, and to general satisfaction; especially in the repetition of things relating to our dear Lord Jesus, and his sufferings upon the cross for the sins of the whole world, and his appearance as the covenant of light and life to all mankind. That evening I returned to Bath, and was at their meeting the day following, which had been put off till then, several Friends being out of town at the marriage aforesaid; but this meeting was small, being out of course, and due notice not given to the people, yet a comfortable time we had before it ended.

I continued here till the 2nd of the seventh month, being partly induced by the concern I had for the Countess of Ranelagh, a good-natured and affable person, and at that time religiously inclined; who having lodgings at my friend Thomas Gingell's, on account of the Bath, and I lodging there also, she had heard some report of me; and being desirous

to see me, invited the Friend, his wife, and me, one evening not long after she came to town, to an entertainment she had provided for us. This began an acquaintance, which was followed with some other interviews on like occasions, which she was pleased to repeat; and gave me opportunity, on her mentioning some matters of religion, to discourse upon several things, which I found not ungrateful to her; particularly upon the subjects of baptism and the supper. The former she readily owned themselves to be wrong in, as practising a thing not instituted; and to confirm her therein, I produced her two old canons made in the time of the apostacy; the first in the Milevetan Council in Africa, Anno. 402, in these words: "It is our will, that all who affirm young children have everlasting life, which are not baptized, to the taking away original sin, that they be anathematized." As by Danvers, page 105. The second, in the fifth Carthaginian Council, 416, runs thus: "We will, that whosoever denieth that little children by baptism are not freed from perdition, and eternally saved, that they be accursed." This was first confirmed by Pope Innocentius and Augustine, with seventy bishops. These ignorant and presumptuous men, upon an imagination that little children are guilty of original sin, so as to be damned for it, invented these curses; wherein their language is, "It is our will," and "We will," and not a word of the will of God; as to be sure the divine Wisdom was never the author of it.

As to sprinkling, instead of baptizing, I observed it was introduced by one Cyprian, sometime bishop of Carthage, by the suffrage of the people; who, from the danger and inconvenience, as he thought, of baptizing the sick, reasoned for their being sprinkled with water, instead of being baptized; and for sprinkling prisoners, converted in prison, for want of conveniency of water to baptize them; and by degrees, they brought it in for sick children, and then for all children. So that here is the proper and true ground of sprinkling and baptizing children, introduced in the time of apostacy and blindness, and continued among the Papists till the time of the Protestant reformation; and they finding with it a great mixture of other things, as salt, spittle, cream, the sign of the cross, godfathers, vows, &c., they saw some of these things to be superstitious innovations, but could not reform the whole at once. They reformed as to salt, spittle, &c., but either could not or would not see, that infants are not subjects of baptism, nor sprinkling the mode of it; and that the sign of the cross therein, with godfathers and vows, are not an institution of Christ, or



practice of the apostles, &c., with all which she seemed fully to acquiesce, owning freely, that sprinkling is not the mode, nor infants the subjects of baptism. But as to the supper, she was not so clear, and consequently more tenacious, and yet with much modesty and condescension; but being too late then to go fully into that subject, it was declined by consent, for that time. But before I departed from Bath, I had more conversation with her on these and other religious subjects; and found her of a very good understanding, and no way tenacious of what seemed amiss in notion or practice.

I came from Bath on the 2nd of the seventh month to Bristol, and next day went to the meeting at Chew, which was not large, but pretty open.

On the 10th I was at Frenchay, on the 11th at Olson, and on the 12th at Thornbury. The last was a large open meeting, as also were most of the rest.

On the 17th I went to the meeting at Clareham, where I met with George Bowles, who had come down that way to visit Friends; and he being an able minister of the gospel of Christ, and the Lord with us, we had a large and good meeting; for the doors were opened by the key of David, both of utterance and entrance, and it was a happy day to several.

On the 18th I was at an appointed meeting at Sidcot, where we sat a long time before the Lord was pleased to open himself; but he condescended at last, and his reward came with him, for we had an open time; and William Jenkins, a schoolmaster and Friend there, bringing with him all his scholars, many of them gentlemen's sons about the country, I had something to them in particular.

On the 19th I had an appointed meeting at Posset, and the first of the week I was at a meeting at Portbury, which had been appointed in the same barn in which we had one before; but the landlord being one of the high sort, threatened the tenant who possessed the same; so we had the grant of another near, which proving too little for the concourse of people, we held the meeting in an orchard adjoining. It was large, and many truths were declared in divine power and wisdom, and some of the people touched, and generally satisfied.

That evening I returned to Posset, and Samuel Bownas with me, who had come to accompany me to some meetings in those parts, having full knowledge of the most advantageous places for Truth's service. On the 22nd we went to Glastonbury, and had a meeting there next evening; and a burying happening about the same time, the meeting was large, and very open and well.

The 25th was the quarterly meeting for the county of Somerset, which was large and open. Here we reconciled a difference that had been long depending between a Friend and a monthly meeting, which had done much hurt among them, and all ended in peace and satisfaction.

On the 26th I had another meeting, which was very open, after some time of hardness. That night I went home with Samuel Bownas to his house, accompanied also by John Andrews of Bristol, and Alexander Arscot of the same place, who had been at the quarterly meeting with us.

On the 27th, being the first of the week, was at their monthly meeting for worship, which was large, and held silent a long time; but at length I had an open time among them, and Samuel Bownas some good time after: I concluded the meeting with prayer, and all ended well and comfortable. That night we went together to Chard, and lodged with our ancient friend Elias Osborne, who was very glad to see us, with his whole family.

On the 30th we went on to Kingsbridge, to the quarterly meeting of Devonshire, which was small, by reason of the weather, and the remoteness of the members constituting it; but we were well rewarded for all our travel and pains, for the Lord was with us, and gave us a good season of his comfortable presence together. The next day we had also a good time before we entered upon the business of the meeting. This being over, I went to Plymouth meeting, which, by reason of the weather, was small and long silent; but in the end I had something to say to them, to stir up the careless to their duty, and the meeting ended well.

On the 5th of eighth month, being the first of the week, I was again there both forenoon and afternoon. The meetings were large and pretty open. We had also a little evening meeting in Henry Cane's house with a few Friends. We set out from Plymouth on the 6th, in order for the quarterly meeting at Falmouth; and the wind being very high, and rain with it, we could not pass at the lower ferry; and when we came to the upper, we were twice repulsed by the storm, but at the third essay, got over, and that night got to St. Austle, and lodged at Samuel Hopwood's. On the 7th I arrived at Falmouth before the meeting was half over, and was opened into some things of moment, and had a good time among Friends there. Next day being their meeting for worship, we had a good season of the blessed presence of the Lord, and an open time, some of the town's people also coming in.

On the 12th I went to Key meeting, which



it was supposed would be large, being a monthly meeting, composed of several meetings for worship. It was a heavy time for the most part, and yet ended well.

The next day I went to Austle, and on the 14th had a meeting there; and though it was the most stormy and rainy day I had observed since I came into Europe, yet we had a large meeting, most of them being of the town's people, and generally sober. A good time we had together, and the people were generally satisfied. On the 15th we had a meeting at Liskeard, which was very open, and Truth over all in dominion, and many tendered. On the 17th were at Sticklepath meeting, which was very small, but comfortable; on the 19th, being the first of the week, was at Exeter meeting, which was large in the morning, by reason of a marriage, that drew many, who were curious to observe it; and a good open time we had. The report of this meeting in town made the afternoon meeting large: it was more open, and to general satisfaction.

On the 22nd I was at the meeting at Topsham, to which, upon notice, came some Presbyterians; and we had an open time, many things in my testimony being very suitable, though I did not know what sect they were of till after the meeting.

[After attending meetings at Exeter, Covington, Spiceland, Wellington, and Taunton,] on the 31st went to Bridgewater, where we arrived about half an hour after twelve, being very wet with rain; and there being but two or three families of Friends in town, they had no meeting-house; and expecting more company than usual, they applied to a Baptist teacher and some of his elders for their meeting-house, which was readily granted. We met at two in the afternoon, and considering the time, we had a pretty large gathering, most of them Baptists, and their teacher was there, and behaved very civilly. We had a good open time, and things were well.

On the 1st of the ninth month I returned to John Govet's, and the day following, being the first of the week, I was again at Wellington; and it being a monthly meeting for worship, many Friends and others came from the country round, and it was a very large gathering: Samuel Bownas being also there, we had an open satisfactory time. On the 4th we had a very large meeting at Chard, being the largest that any had seen there, and very open. There was present a Baptist teacher, and some said an Episcopal priest also. On the 5th went to Malmsbury, where the meeting was long in gathering, and not large, and heavy and flat most of the time, but ended pretty fresh.

On the 6th had a meeting at Lyme, to which came a few of the meaner sort of the people, some others, and a few Friends. The people were low in understanding, so that it was hard to minister to their states, there being little to lay hold of in them; yet in the main it was a good meeting. On the 7th we had a meeting at Bridport, which was pretty full and open. I had many things to say to them in the openings of Truth, which had a good reach upon several. On the 9th I went to the meeting at Thorncomb, and being the first of the week, it was large; and the Lord gave us an open and comfortable time, many strangers being there, and some much broken. On the 11th I was at an appointed meeting at Crewkern, which was not large, there being but few Friends belonging to it; but some sober people coming in, we had a good time, several being touched by the power of Truth.

On the 13th I was at their week-day meeting at Lymington, held in Samuel Bownas's malt-house, which was well filled, and a pretty good meeting.

On the 21st we had an appointed meeting in the evening at Sherburn, which was very large, and though consisting mostly of other people, they were generally very sober. On the 23rd, being the first of the week, we had an appointed meeting in the town hall of Ivelchester, which was very large from all the parishes round, and the Lord was not wanting to us in his goodness, but gave us an open time, to general satisfaction. On the 24th, in the evening, we had a meeting at Summerton, which was large, and many things opened to information, edification, and comfort. On the 25th I went to the funeral of a Friend at Hambridge, where many people appeared, and the Lord was pleased to make it a comfortable time to us; and the people were generally sober and well satisfied. On the 26th, at evening, I returned to Longsutton, and the day after was at their monthly meeting. That evening I had a very large meeting there, where things opened freely, and the Truth was much over the people, to the praise of him without whom we can do nothing.

On the 27th we had a meeting at Langport, in the Presbyterian meeting-house, where Samuel Bownas and I sat in the pulpit, as the most convenient place to be heard. Many of that people came to the meeting, and among others, the elder who granted us the house; they were generally satisfied, things opening clearly and fully to several weighty points. This elder was so well pleased, that after the meeting, he assured Friends that we should have their house for that service as often as we had occasion; which we looked the more at



from him, because some of that sect have formerly behaved in a quite differing manner towards our friends in some other places: but we were glad of this condescension, both for their sakes, and the prevailing of Truth in some measure among the people.

On the 28th we had a meeting at Bridge-water, in a ware-house of Thomas Holwell and Joseph Ball, two Friends, young men, who had lately gone there to live. For a certain high man among the Baptists had been much disgusted against their preacher for letting us have their meeting-house the time before, threatening to withdraw his contribution; but the young man bearing it with patience, another of his hearers, who had been satisfied with the meeting, said, if the other detained what he used to contribute, he would make it up. We did not put him upon it the second time, hoping he will not lose his reward for what he did for Truth's service, though he may lose the favour of some of the angry sort. The meeting was very large and open, and the people generally reached, being, after some time, sober and attentive. The Lord gave us a good time among them, Samuel Bownas being also there. I have some hopes that the Lord will raise a people yet in that place, and there-away, to his own glory.

On the 3rd I went to Bristol, where I staid till the 4th of the twelfth month following. Here I had many good opportunities among Friends, and often among others, who usually came to our meetings on first-days. I was also, during my stay here, at the meeting at Kingsweston, and at a funeral at Frenchay; and Samuel Bownas and I took much pains to reconcile these Friends to the body at Bristol, they having set up a separate meeting by themselves, under pretence that Friends there, especially the men's meeting, were gone from Truth into the grossest evils; and yet would not accuse any particular of any one crime. They said, they and Friends of Bristol were of two different spirits, and till they came to be of one, there could be no reconciliation; and to be sure they meant the better to themselves. We could make but little impression upon them, the women who governed them being very high, and very conceited of themselves, and laid all upon God, as his requirements; putting themselves in the place of the righteous in former ages, the prophets, apostles and martyrs; and Friends of Bristol in the place of Cain, Nimrod, Nebuchadnezzar, heathen persecutors, Papists, and Queen Mary; and themselves as suffering all those cruelties: and all this because the men's meeting could not see any reason for their separate meeting, desiring them to let it alone

as a thing unprofitable, as things were stated at that time in that city. I also tried a second time before I came away; but they seemed still more and more averse, under the pretences abovesaid. During this stay I was at times under great heaviness from the effects of the separation, and other sufferings of the seed of life in that city.

On the 4th of the twelfth month, accompanied by my old friend and long acquaintance, Walter Newbury, of Boston, in New England, I went from thence to Kainsham. On the 7th we went to Bradford, and the day following, being the first of the week, we had three meetings there; that in the morning was not large, but indifferently open, consisting for the most part of Friends. In the afternoon it was large and more open to the people; and in the evening, greatest part of the more reputable people of the town being there, it was very large and very open, and the Lord gave us a good time, and opened, through our ministry, many things of moment; and Truth was over all. Many went away who could not get in, the throng was so great in that large house.

[After attending several meetings he says:] on the 22nd I was at Henley upon Thames, where we had two as open meetings as I had known for a long time. That in the evening was very large, a number of the town's people coming in, and great openness among them; went next day to London, where I found great openness, both among Friends and others, many coming to our meetings on first-days.

During my stay at London, which was from the 23rd of the twelfth month, to the 16th of the seventh month, 1719, I visited meetings there, and some meetings adjacent, and was at the yearly meeting, which was more peaceable than at some other times; and in the main we had a good and comfortable time.

In this meeting John Gurney, jun., of Norwich, though satisfied with the affirmation as it then stood, moved for a further solicitation to the government, for ease also to the dissatisfied Friends in that case, which was seconded by John Eccleston, and followed by Richard Ashby, and some others on that side. And whilst things run in that channel, there was a considerable glory over the meeting, and the peaceable and divine Truth comforted many; and his peaceable wisdom prevailed with most of the meeting to assent and acquiesce. But as there were some particular persons there, who, having more regard to party than unity, and to themselves and what they had procured and set up, than the peace of the church—designing to set the affirmation as it then was,



over all, and not at all in any other terms—in their usual subtilty raised several objections, and a palpable cloud of darkness over the meeting, and a great uneasiness in the minds of many, which, after some time, being dispelled, and that spirit made manifest and repulsed, the meeting concluded for a fresh solicitation to the next session of Parliament, if things should continue as they were till the said session.

One particular passage which happened whilst I was at London, I think proper to insert here, since it fell out so much to my own satisfaction. When the present earl of Carlisle was a boy, he was at that city with his grandfather, then governor of the castle there, and I was at the same time at school in that city, which occasioned my being admitted into the acquaintance and favour of this young nobleman. As I had then a strong affection for him, it did not wear out all this time, notwithstanding the several changes both in him and me, and our differing circumstances; so that I had an inclination to see him, and speak with him, which I had not done in many years. Accordingly, taking Dr. Gilbert Heathcote in my company, partly to introduce me, he being physician to some of the family, and known to the earl, I went one morning to his lodgings.

The earl received us respectfully, though I was become a stranger to him; for he did not at all know me, nor did I presently make myself known. He ordered a couple of chairs to be placed for us, and bid us sit down by him; and some occasional expressions having passed between him and the doctor, I being silent, and my mind inwardly exercised at the same time, and waiting an opportunity for matters of some other consequence, the earl and I fell into discourse after this manner.

"Mr. Story," said he, "are you any thing related to the Storys in Cumberland?" "Yes," said I, "Thomas Story of Justice-Town is my father." "Did you know Mr. James Appleby, a friend of yours, who lived on a farm of mine at Askerton?" "Yes, very well." "I have the bad news to tell you, that he is lately dead. He was a good, industrious man, and improved that estate much since he had the management of it; and I think your people are generally sober and industrious, and few of you poor." "We ought to be so," said I, "for our principles lead us both to sobriety and industry."

"The great end of the Christian religion," said he, "being to mortify and subdue the passions, irregular desires and appetites of men, I see no people in the world come up to that as you do; but cannot apprehend by

what means you arrive at these attainments. It cannot be any thing preached among you that works such effects; for I have been at some of your meetings, and heard some of you preach, but could not make any thing at all of it; and have also read some of your books, but could not make much more sense of them than of your preaching; so that I am still at a loss what to think of you in matters of religion. I knew a young man in the north of England, whom, perhaps you might also know, a brother of Mr. Appleby's, as wild a young fellow as was in England; but by some means or other, turning Quaker, he was no sooner under that profession than he became a very sober good man."

"No doubt," said I, "but thou hast read the Scriptures, and mayst remember what Christ said to his disciples a little before he suffered; 'It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away the Comforter will not come: but if I go away, I will pray the Father, and he shall send you another comforter, even the Spirit of Truth, which the Father will send in my name; he shall lead you into all truth, and bring all things into your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.' Again, 'I will not leave you comfortless; I will come again unto you.' Here is the Spirit of Truth promised, which is no other than the Spirit of Christ; and is the same which was promised of God by his prophet, where he saith, 'I will give him for a light to the Gentiles, and a covenant to the people;' and as the holy Scriptures elsewhere testify, 'he is that true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world:' and of whom the apostle saith, 'Believe in the light, that ye may be children of the light; and if children, then heirs.' Now, though we, in and of ourselves, have been like other men, incident and subject to many failings and weaknesses, yet it being given us to believe in the Lord Jesus, not only as he came in the flesh in that day, but also as he is the light of the world, we do not only find that his Spirit, as he said, reformed us for our sins, but is also become our comforter and supporter, as we have repented and left them off. And according to his promise, by degrees, he leads into all the necessary truths of the gospel, and out of evil into righteousness; giving us also to experience the end of his manifestation, the destruction of the works of the devil, the mortification of our lusts, appetites, and passions, and to be created anew to good works, through him, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And what difference there is between us and other men, and in our present from our former state, it is the Lord that hath done it, and not



ourselves; for we have nothing to boast of but the mercies of God in him."

Then said the earl, "If the Spirit of Christ and his light be all one, and that light be in all men, why does it not work the same effect in all men? Why have not I power over my inclinations, as well as you over yours?"

Then said Dr. Heathcote, "I was once in my time wild enough; but when it pleased God, by the manifestation of his divine light, to convince me of the vanity of these things, and the error of my course of life, through faith in this light, and obedience to its discoveries, I am now reformed and got over those lusts and appetites of many kinds, which once were over me; and as I keep to that light, and not otherwise, I am daily preserved. And the true reason of men's being overcome by evil is, because they believe not in that divine manifestation, which manifests it to be evil, but go on to act the same things after they see them to be wrong. But as men leave off evil when they see it, through the power and virtue of the discoverer, they have further manifestations of that light that discovers it, and greater power over their corruptions, till all be discovered, and all subdued. Then there is a liberty and enjoyment in the Truth, which far exceeds all the enjoyments of this world, and a satisfaction which nothing else can give. Therefore, if thou wouldst be rid of any thing thou finds amiss in thyself, thou must not act again the same thing thou hast once seen to be evil, or else there never can be any reformation."

Then said the earl, of his own accord, and without any thing particularly introductory thereto by either of us, "You are a very useful people in the nation, and I think, deserve encouragement as well as any in it. I know your people are not generally satisfied with the affirmation; because I have been often applied to for relief by such as have suffered that way, and have always done what I could to relieve them, and have helped many. But as the king and government look upon you favourably, it were better you were relieved by law; and if you will move the Parliament for further relief, you shall not want any help I can make you; and I know many are inclined to favour you on that account. And what do you want besides this?"

Then I said, "We are very sensible of the good intentions of the government in what they have already done on that account; but as thou hast been pleased to observe—though we are not come at this time to make any complaint about it, we were not generally easy in it. And as the king and nobility, in some other cases, have been as fathers and supports to us, so we were glad to see their

good inclinations still, and hoped we should not desire any unreasonable thing, there being one wherein we yet want your further aid; and that is, to be further relieved against the tyranny and oppression of your priests; and I hope," said I, (by the way) "the legislature of Great Britain will, in due time, take care that it shall never more be in the power of the clergy to jostle the throne."

Then said the earl, "You would not have us, I hope, break in upon the laws, and deprive the ministers of the maintenance the law provides them! at least till we can see as you see."

"No," said I, "we are very far from desiring any thing that may bring the least reflection, or any just imputation of blame, upon any of you; but are as careful of your true honour as you yourselves can be. Nor do we desire to lead you into any inconvenience, or blame-worthy thing, if it were in our power; and so far are we from setting up any new craft, under any new umbrage, that we would have all men to see with their own eyes, and not to undertake any thing but upon sure and certain grounds. But as the legislature, with very good intent, have made laws for the more easy recovery of what you call their dues, these laws prove very oppressive to many poor, honest, industrious families; for so mean-spirited are some of your country justices in divers parts of the nation, and under the influence of the worse-natured sort of your clergy, that where the demand may happen to be but a groat, sixpence, or a shilling, some of them will award the highest fees the law allows, which is ten shillings; which, though a small sum among you great men, is much to those who must earn it with the sweat of their brows, at two-pence, four-pence, six-pence, or twelve-pence a day. And besides this, the former destructive ways of proceeding in the exchequer for tithes being still left in the power of your priests, many of them decline the more gentle way which the law provides, and make choice of this, if, peradventure, they may at least ruin and destroy some of us, which we hope may not be unworthy of the further consideration of our superiors, so inclinable to equity in our favour."

"Now," said he, "you say something which may bear further consideration: and I know some of your people have suffered by exorbitant fees; for as complaint has been made to me, I have relieved several on that account. But pray, on this occasion, upon what ground do you refuse to pay tithes; were they not commanded of God?"

"We do not deny that they were commanded of God; but they were made payable to the tribe of Levi, and located in the land of Canaan only; but by the coming of Christ,



there is an end of that law by which tithes were given, and an end of that tribe, though your clergy still pray for themselves under that name, the better to insinuate their pretended right, and the land itself where they were payable, now in the hands of the Turks; so that the reason of the thing failing, the thing itself also fails. And since God, by the death of his Son, the great High Priest and Bishop of the soul, hath rejected that tribe, and that service, and established a new one, to whom he hath said, 'Freely ye have received, freely give;' we do not find he hath empowered any of the princes of the Gentiles to assign any maintenance for his ministers. But as they have been deceived by the subtilty of the craft to impose upon mankind by laws on that account, so by that wisdom, which, in due time, will arise among them, they will yet be instrumental to undo what they have done, and leave religion and the gospel upon its own bottom; which needs no other helper than its own author, or maintenance for its ministers, but what itself commands; and they are really such as labour with all their might to make the gospel they preach without charge. So far are they from destroying the people for the maintenance of their bodies, that they have no other reason or inducement for what they do, but obedience to the calling of God, and the good of souls; whereas the end of hirelings, though supported by law, is their own bellies."

"Well," said he, "you do not like our ministers; but after all, I think you want but one thing to make you a very complete people; that is, to bear arms. Pray what would have become of this whole nation the other day when the Spaniards were coming to invade us, if we had all, or the greatest part, been of your religion? No doubt we should all have been destroyed or enslaved."

To this I answered, "It was upon this very consideration that the Jews crucified Christ; for as he had raised Lazarus from the dead, it greatly awakened the people concerning him, and many believed in him; in so much that the rulers began to fear, that if he continued to preach his doctrines among the people, and work miracles, the body of the people would follow him; and the consequence of that would be, the state would not have soldiers or people enough to defend them against their enemies. For as it was prophesied that, under the new covenant, 'they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks; and that nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more,' so Christ being the mediator of that covenant, preached doctrines conducing to that end; 'Love

your enemies; do good to them that hate you; pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.' And to take away all suspicion of any disloyalty to Cæsar, or danger of the state from his kingdom, which was their pretence against him, he said to Pontius Pilate, 'My kingdom is not of this world: for if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but my kingdom is not of this world.' Here he declares his kingdom not to be of this world, being divine and spiritual, and that his servants will not fight. For if they love their enemies, they cannot fight with them, much less their friends; and if they do good to them that hate them, they cannot fight with them neither; and if they pray for them that despitefully use them and persecute them, neither can they fight with them; and if they do not as Christ teacheth, they cannot be his disciples. 'For then are ye my friends,' or disciples 'indeed,' said the Lord, 'if ye do whatsoever I command you.' Now, Christ laying the foundation of such a kingdom, which is not of the world, though in the world, and declaring his subjects will not fight, it is in this kingdom, which is a kingdom of righteousness, truth and peace, in which the prophecy before mentioned is begun to be fulfilled; and of this kingdom Christ himself, the Prince of righteousness and peace, is only king, ruler, and lawgiver. This no way interferes with the kingdoms of this world. For as Christ himself, being born a Jew, and they, at that time being subject in some sort, to the Romans, paid tribute to Cæsar, thereby giving an example to all his disciples, in all countries and states, and in all future ages, as well as that time; so the disciples of Christ, though they may not fight, pay taxes and tribute to civil states, as well by the example of their Lord and Master, as the doctrine of the apostle, in the 13th chapter to the Romans; where he sets forth clearly, that civil states and powers are of God, and that their end is, to be 'a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well.' Since then the kingdom of Christ is not of this world; neither is it national, but spiritual. It cannot be supposed that any one nation will ever be the church of Christ, which is not national, and so subjected to the violence of any other nation. But God, 'by whom kings reign, and princes decree justice,' having ordained government and rule, entrusts it with whom he pleases; and they must apply and administer it accordingly, till by degrees, the kingdom of Christ, the Prince of divine peace, has the ascendant over all kingdoms: not by violence, for his servants can offer none: 'Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit,' saith the Lord.



It will not be by human force or policy, but by conviction; not by violence, but consent, that 'the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdoms of God, and of his Christ.' Nor will the kingdoms and powers in this world ever cease, being God's ordinance in natural and civil affairs, till the reason of them cease; that is, till all violence and injustice cease, and evil-doing come to an end, by the advancement of Truth, righteousness, love and peace, over all nations, which is the true end of the coming of the Lord Jesus, and nature of his kingdom here on earth. So that as the kingdom of Christ can offer no other force to the kingdoms or states of men than that of love and truth, and his subjects may not fight, but pay taxes, customs, tribute, fear, and honour to all kings, powers and states, in all nations where they are chosen of God out of the world to serve him, and bear testimony to his name, neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, Mahometan, Infidel, nor nominal Christian, can have any reasonable jealousy of the true Christian, whose practice is according to the doctrine and commandments of his Lord and Master Christ Jesus: and whosoever falls short of that ceases to be his disciple, and reverts to the world. But to his disciples he saith, 'Ye are not of the world; but God hath chosen you out of the world. If ye were of the world, the world would love you; for the world loveth its own: but ye are not of the world, therefore the world hateth you. But marvel not that the world hateth you; for it hated me before it hated you.' So that upon the whole, this nation is not in danger of the Spaniard, or of any other nation, by reason of our principle, or for want of our help in fighting, which we have declined, because we durst not, or could not use the weapons of war. For many of us have been fighters; and I myself have worn a sword, and knew very well how to use it; but being convinced of the evil, by the Spirit of the Lord Jesus, working in us a conformity to the will of God, and subjecting us to himself, as subjects of his peaceable kingdom, it is neither cowardice in ourselves, nor rebellion, nor disloyalty to kings or rulers, whom God, in the course of his providence, advances in nations, but conscience towards God, and obedience to his dear Son, the Prince of peace, our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, which make us decline fighting."

To this effect, and much in the same words, was my answer to the earl, who heard me with great patience and candour, and then replied, "It is true," said he, "so long as you behave peaceably, are loyal to the government, and pay your taxes, as you do, I think, when all is done, there is not an absolute ne-

cessity for your personal service in war, since his majesty may always have soldiers enough for money, as he may have occasion."

Some time being spent in what I have here related, and things seeming to sit well on this great man's mind, I was willing to withdraw; and then rising upon my feet, I said further unto him, "Considering thy station and resort, we may trespass, though undesigned, on thy time, which may be necessarily employed on public services; but if I might have liberty to wait on thee at leisure times, I do not doubt but to make all these points we have gone upon, and all others wherein we differ from other professors of Christianity, as clear as the sun at noon-day, in favour of our profession, and that the same thing which now goes under the reproachful name of Quakerism and error, is no other than primitive Christianity."

To which he replied, "I shall be glad to see you at any convenient time. My hour is about nine or ten in the morning; and if I should happen to be indisposed, or otherwise engaged, I will let you know it, and expect you another time;" which accepting as a favour, I proceeded thus:

"I took notice of what thou said in this discourse concerning our preaching and writings, that they seemed both awkward and unintelligible. I suppose thou mayst remember something of one James Wilson, who has waited on thee some times to solicit thy assistance for relief of several of our friends."

"This is," said he, "Wilson of Westmoreland, an honest good man." "It is the same," said I. "Thou was pleased to admit him to some discourse with thee on some points of religion, on some of those occasions; and he then promised to send thee a book, which would clear up some of those matters more than could then be done by him; and he hath accordingly requested me to present thee with it:" and so I gave it him, being Robert Barclay's Apology, and said, "If thou pleases to read this book over with attention, I hope it will give thee some more satisfaction, both concerning the principles we believe and suffer for, ourselves, and our writings." He readily received the book, and said, "I will peruse it." I said further, "It is below the earl of Carlisle to be flattered, and inconsistent with me to do it; but this I can say with much freedom, I have often remembered thee and thine, with many good wishes, when far remote, in another part of the world; and since I returned to Europe have, from time to time, desired to see thee, but the circumstances of my concerns would not allow me till now. I am glad of this opportunity, and thy condescension herein, and may make use of the liberty given me, in some other convenient



time; and in the mean time wish thy happiness and prosperity." And so we departed with great satisfaction.

[After being at some meetings he went to Bath, where he remained some time, and attended the meeting on the 4th of eighth month, respecting which he remarks:]

On the 4th I was there again. In the forenoon we had but few strangers, but in the afternoon came a great company of the nobility and gentry, so that the house could not hold them, and all the yard before the door was filled. And though, in the beginning of the meeting, some of them, as they are used in their own worship, were a little airy and pleasant among themselves, expecting something to make them diversion, being wholly unacquainted with Truth, and the way of it, and lying under the prejudices of false rumours; yet in a short time many of them began to change countenance, and look with another aspect; for God, who wills the good of all men, favoured the opportunity, and gave me several matters of moment to declare among them, to the surprise of some, and general liking of most, if not all of them, except some few Papists and their favourers, whose principles and errors were a little exposed. Finding Truth over all, and love towards them, after the service of the meeting was over, I told the auditory, that we were to have another meeting there on the fifth-day of the week, which they call Thursday, and we should be glad of their company; and they seemed generally pleased with it. But for some reasons the meeting being put off a day longer, we gave notice accordingly, and it had the desired effect; for there was so great a concourse, especially of the quality, so called, that the house could not hold them, and many were in the yard; but as the ladies and women were generally preferred to the seats, several of the nobility stood great part of the time with great patience and attention, suitable things being opened to them, and the meeting held between two and three hours. That day Truth gained ground considerably; for as many of them had before odd notions of us and our way, they now began to see we were a people greatly abused by rumours, and the world imposed upon concerning us, our way and worship, and were generally well satisfied.

On the 7th, being the fourth of the week, I had an evening meeting at Bradford, which was pretty large and open. That night I lodged at Dr. Clark's, and the next day was at a meeting at Cosham, which, though not large, was a good meeting.

On the 11th I was at Bath again, and as many persons of rank, and others, were by

these several meetings generally alarmed, we had more than we had room for, especially in the afternoon; and many went away out of the yard and lane, who could not bear the weather, and to stand so long a time. A good season the Lord gave us to general satisfaction; for the blessed Truth was over all, and many of them reached, and went away with solid countenances.

On the 12th I went with Caleb Dickinson to Chew-Magna, to the marriage of Martha Vickris, youngest daughter of Richard Vickris, who, in his day, was an honest Friend, and a man of good sense and reputation, and Robert Button of Taunton; which was solemnized on the 15th, at the meeting-house there. Many of their relations, and generally the neighbourhood, were present; and among others, sir William Cann of Bustleton, whose sister had intermarried with Robert Vickris's eldest son, and heir of the said Richard, with whom I had much discourse afterwards on many points of religion, to satisfaction. He and his lady, with some others of such sort, having been well pleased with the meeting, both with the manner of the celebration of our marriages, and what they heard; he obliged me to call at his house, if I should come that way. The day before the marriage I was at the meeting at Belton, two miles from Chew, which, though small, was very open and comfortable.

On the 16th I returned to Bath, and on the 18th, being the first of the week, we had the lord Carpenter, general of the forces in Scotland, and his son, at meeting in the forenoon, and some other strangers. The subject matter was concerning Christ the foundation, and that Peter could not be so. I do not remember I was ever more clearly opened upon it than at that time; nor did I ever observe any person more grave and attentive than he during the time of it, and I thought, sometimes affected with the power of Truth, and what he heard. It was a good time to Friends, and we were thankful to the Lord that gave it.

Some time before this, divers poor people came up to Bath, in order for help by the waters against their several diseases, who had not wherewithal to procure accommodations for so long a time as was needful for their cure, and were not permitted to beg in public, the city being often oppressed by the resort of common beggars, who rather make a trade of their real distempers than come there for cure, and too often make false pretences of ailments, to deceive, where there is nothing real. Yet being willing to relieve the truly necessitous, proper notice had been given the week before in our meeting of such an intention, and Friends desired to come prepared for a contribution that way at this meeting; the



thing being distinctly stated, lest any should think it was for our own poor, or for any other secret or particular purpose, of which some might be jealous. The meeting was very large this afternoon, and several of the nobility of both sexes, and others present. Good part of what I had then to say was concerning that creed commonly called the apostles', and the interpretation of it; some things concerning the state of both Jews and Gentiles at the coming of Christ; the gross idolatry of the latter, and apostacy of the former; and that great part of the supposed Christian world now at this day is under as great idolatry; instancing, in the worship of a piece of bread or wafer in the Romish church, and the inconsistency of transubstantiation both with sense and reason; both which are, and ought to be, used in the Christian religion, and both helped and improved; but falling in also against Deism, so much at this day prevailing, I said, "Reason is not to be the sole guide of man, but the light and Spirit of Christ; which being above reason, and the true illuminator and rectifier thereof, is the sure and unerring guide unto all that believe and truly follow him. This was a great and glorious meeting, where many of the nobility and gentry were present: but that which was the crown and glory of all, was the presence of the King of kings, and Lord of lords, among us, whose Truth was over all in the demonstration of his wisdom and power, to his own glory; and many were that day sensible of it. This meeting was most generally satisfactory to all sorts, and as it was our parting meeting, a general solidity and awe were over the most of the audience of all ranks. The meeting held near three hours, till it began to be dusk, and I was concerned in testimony about two hours and a half; and though many of the quality, as well as others, stood most of the time, I did not observe any of them express any weariness or other dislike.

The meeting being ended, we proceeded to the collection; and before we began, John Eccleston of London, who being there for his health, had been very serviceable in procuring some great persons to come to our meetings, and in answering questions among them, where any thing had not been well understood, made a short speech to this effect: "That though this collection was intended wholly in our own communion, yet being for poor people not of our own sort, we were not so narrow, or tied up to ourselves on such accounts, but that the charitable contributions of others would be acceptable to that end." Upon which several did contribute liberally with us. And lest any should, through malice or evil

surmising, pervert our good intentions, we desired that some one or more of their sort might be concerned to see the distribution according to the intent, which was accordingly done; but notwithstanding all our precautions, this charitable action was perverted, as I afterwards heard, by some who made an injurious and perverse remark upon what John Eccleston said, that we had first drawn people to our meeting as if we had expected nothing from them, and when there, obliged them to a contribution by another speech, to the support of our own poor, or worse; all which I had an opportunity to clear.

I was there again on the 25th, being the first of the week, where the meeting was not large, great part of those who usually came to us being out of the town; but some other strangers being there, we had a pretty good meeting: and finding myself clear, I now began to think of some other places, and accordingly, on the 27th I went to Bradford, where we had an evening meeting, pretty open and well.

On the 28th I went to Warminster; but happening to be their fair day, the Friends there gave no encouragement for a meeting that evening, saying the people would be attending the puppet-shows, &c., which usually came to fairs; and as for themselves, there would be but two or three out of two families at meeting, if we had one; but if I would have one the next day, they thought I might. Finding things thus, and notice of a meeting at Froom being already given to be the evening following, I passed them by, though with some inward trouble.

On the 29th I went to Froom, and that evening had a full open meeting there, in a large new meeting-house of the general Baptists, which they readily lent us for that occasion, our own place being too small to accommodate the number expected. There was a pulpit finely carved and set off, which might have been free for me, but I declined it, and took a seat with two or three Friends in a place under that, enclosing their communion table; and when I found my time to begin to speak, though the table was the most convenient place to stand upon, yet I declined that, lest I might offend some of the weaker sort of their people, most of whom, with many others, were present. The subject was, God's universal free grace through Christ unto all people: and I do not remember I was ever more fully or clearly opened upon it. A good time the Lord gave us, not only to the satisfaction of Friends, but of all in general.

The meeting being over, as I came out of the pew, an ancient grave woman, a particular Baptist, as I suppose, asked me this question, "That if Christ died for all, why were



not all saved, since there could be no insufficiency in the blood of Christ to answer the end proposed?" I answered her, "That if she had taken good heed to the whole of what was said in the meeting, that point had been made very plain and clear to her understanding; but since she had not, I further said, that there is no insufficiency in the offering or offerer, but in mankind, that do not believe and obey: 'For this is the condemnation of the world, that they have not believed in the only begotten Son of God.' Again, 'I am the light of the world,' said Christ the Lord, 'whosoever followeth me shall not abide in darkness.' And again, 'This is the condemnation of the world, that light is come into the world, but men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.' And again, 'Whatsoever things are reprov'd are made manifest by the light; for whatsoever makes manifest is light.' All this is said of Christ, who is that one propitiation for the sins, not only of the apostles and those that had already believed, but also for the sins of the whole world, who at that time had not yet believed, but were still in unbelief; which offering being on God's part, in discharge of his promises before by his prophets, the way that the promises become effectual unto us is, to believe in this light, that we may be the children of God in him. And first believing in this light, and walking in him, that is, in obedience to his manifestation and discoveries, then the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin, and the promises are so applied; but the unbelieving and disobedient are under condemnation still, rejecting him, the light of the Gentiles, in whom the covenant is, and who is that covenant, and is altogether sufficient and complete in himself, though we may fail by our own neglect." This answer she received and was silent, and went away with some signs of respect.

On the 31st I went to Bristol, and staid there some time. From thence I visited some ancient Friends in the country near, and also several meetings, as Frenchay, Portshead, Claverham and Sidcot; and having an invitation by sir William Cann to his house, I went thither one day from Bristol; but he being from home, his lady being a very civil good-tempered person, obliged us to stay dinner with her. In the mean time came — Cobb, esq., and his wife and a young maid, a cousin of her's, and after some civilities on all hands, we fell into discourse on various subjects and points of religion, where I had an opportunity to clear several to them; and also that aspersion mentioned before, relating to our collection for the poor at Bath, whereof I found some of them had received false no-

tions, and all ended in civility and good temper on all hands. We returned that evening to Bristol.

There are at this time in that city a young people, the offspring of Friends, a considerable body, who love Truth when preached to them in the life and demonstration of the wisdom and power of it; but many of them, not yet much acquainted with the powerful work of Truth in themselves, are not apt to relish the harsh and unsavoury discourses of some among themselves, who very unwarrantably and falsely apply to them, and even to the men's meeting there, all the woes and judgments against old Israel in their most degenerate state, of which these young people and others, knowing themselves not to be guilty, though perhaps in some things they want amendment, are greatly offended and hurt, judging the prating of such to arise from no other ground than their own ill-nature, heightened by some private offences taken at some particulars, against whom they cannot have revenge in their own way.

I had some open and good times among them in the love of Truth, the visitation whereof, I know, is towards them. Many important Truths were opened among them, and the way of satan's temptations in the thoughts and imaginations of mankind, exposed to the meanest capacities, and the necessity of regeneration, by the holy convincing power and Spirit of the Lord Jesus, inculcated and enforced; using all decent plainness with them concerning their present state. And as it was in the love of Truth, they received it in the same ground: and my ministry reaching their understandings, and not their affections only, I hope it may be serviceable to many of them; observing that, as I came in love among them, they generally paid me a regard arising from the same ground; though they despise the speeches of those who know not their own spirits, or ground of their own ministry, which gives no testimony for Truth, nor ascends higher than its own fountain, begetting harsh ideas like itself, but nothing that is sweet or lovely.

On the 22nd of the tenth month I departed thence, leaving them in mutual love and friendship, and the next day in the evening I had a good time in a ministering Friends' meeting, mixed with elders, at Glastonbury, where the quarterly meeting being next day, the Lord gave us a comfortable meeting.

On the 25th I was at an appointed meeting at Grinton. Our friend Philip Watts, landlord of the parish, of a considerable estate, was in Ivelchester prison for non-payment of church rates, so called, by the malicious prosecution of an ill-natured person in the neigh-



bourhood, and I suppose one of his own tenants, who being instigated and supported by some of the members of the ecclesiastical court at Wells, and others of that sort, an old antichristian engine of great oppression upon mankind, had been thus very mischievous and wicked. This our friend bore with Christian patience, though separated from the comforts of his new married wife and family, and necessary concerns of life. I was concerned to take some notice of the circumstances that day in my testimony, which was very open in the love of Truth to the faithful. Many truths opened to the people for their information and help, and we had a good season, to general satisfaction.

I staid there that night, and on the 26th went to Longsutton. The day following, being the first-day of the week, I was at their meeting in a large new meeting-house, where we had the company of some hundreds of people, and two very open meetings. On the 30th I was again at their week-day meeting, which was fresh and well, and that evening had a large good meeting at Summerton; for though their meeting be small of itself, the people came in fully, and we had a good time, things opening freely to the state of the meeting.

On the 1st of the eleventh month I was at a funeral at Ivil, where we had a large meeting on the occasion, and I believe, to general satisfaction; for the truths of the gospel were opened freely, with great authority and demonstration. After some refreshment I returned that night with Samuel Bownas to Lymington, where I staid till the first-day following, and then had a large open meeting in the town-hall at Ivelchester.

On the 4th I went to Grinton, upon the occasion of the death of the widow Powel, mother of Philip Watts, who was then prisoner at Ivelchester for church rates, and had leave to go home on that occasion. We went together, and next day had a large open meeting at the funeral.

Two Friends being deceased at Glastonbury, the Friends of that place desired my company at the funerals, and I found freedom to answer their request. The meeting was very large on that occasion, the town's people coming fully in, and a very open and comfortable time the Lord gave us, to his own praise, which I believe many will remember. That evening Samuel Bownas and I went to Puddymoor, and I lodged at James Salter's. On the 7th we had a meeting there, and on the 8th at Weston Bamfield, which, though laborious, I believe was of service; for there were several strangers there, not observed to have been at meetings before, and things opened suitably and clear. On the 9th I went

to Sherbourn, and on first-day had a large open meeting there, many of the people coming in, and Friends from the meetings round the country.

On the 11th I went to Bridport, and had two meetings there on the 13th, one being more select among Friends, which was a very solid and comfortable time, and the other in the evening, where the people came fully, and things opened well in order to their conviction; but they being as the stony ground, my time was something laborious, though it was a good meeting. Perceiving the people willing to hear, we appointed another meeting on the 15th, which was larger and more open than the former; and staying over first-day, we had two meetings more, one in the forenoon, of Friends for the greatest part, and the other in the evening, which was very large, so that the house, though lately enlarged, could not contain them; and they were very sober and attentive, many things opening to them, both by Samuel Bownas and me, suiting their condition, and so far as I could observe, to general edification and satisfaction.

On the 19th, leaving Samuel Bownas there, I went to Dorchester. There are but a few Friends belonging to that meeting; but notice being given in the town, there came some of the people, who looking in, and seeing but a few mean-like persons, went away, but after a while came again, and some others also. I found a concern in my mind, but delayed, as long as I well could; and perceiving some without, waiting till they could hear some speak, I at length stood up and began to speak, which, when they heard, many more rushed in, and in half an hour the place was crowded, and we had a meeting much more open and large than I expected. And though many of them being strangers to Truth and our way, were at first airy and wanton, yet Truth coming over them, most of them were very solid before the meeting was over, which, when done, some of them, as their manner is, gave me thanks for my good sermon, and gave me also their good wishes.

On the 20th we had a meeting at Weymouth; on the 22nd two appointed meetings at Corf, which were not very full; and on the 24th, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Pool, which was large and open in the forenoon; but on occasion of a funeral, was much larger in the evening, and very open, there being many strangers at the meeting of several notions. Here I staid till the 26th, and had another good meeting that evening, many of the inhabitants being there, who did not usually come. On the 28th I was at Ringwood meeting, which was small



and heavy in some part, the life of Truth not having for some time a free passage, and some terms of correction and reproof were uttered in my testimony; but at length Truth making its own way, we had a good meeting. On the 29th we had a meeting at Fordingbridge, to which many of the inhabitants coming, and the truths of the gospel opening freely, in the demonstration of the wisdom and power of the Lord, we had a very open good time.

On the 30th I went to Salisbury, and the day following, being the first of the week, was at their meeting, where, in the forenoon, came several Friends from Fordingbridge, and the Lord gave us a good time together. There were also some of the town's people with us. I was greatly comforted in this meeting in silence, and had an open time in testimony; but in the afternoon the place was crowded with all sorts, the controversy being then warm about the Trinity, and some being willing to hear what might be said on that head. But I rather set forth Christ the light of the Gentiles and object of faith; exhorting all to a holy life, and to keep the commandments of God, Christ setting himself forth as an example that way, saying, "If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love; even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love." That keeping Christ's commandments is a necessary consequence of loving him; and without keeping his commandments, all profession of discipleship is vain. "If any man love me he will keep my commandments, and my Father will love him, and we will come and make our abode with him." Again, "In that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you." Again, "He that saith he loves God, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the Truth is not in him." And since it is eternal life "to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent," and that knowledge is not to be acquired but as God pleases to make himself known, it was better to wait humbly upon God for this knowledge, to be experimental witnesses of his presence in the Son of his love, than to have any notions of him other than what he gives, since no man can form any true idea of him, or is he any thing to any man, but what he himself pleases. But as he is declared to be love to all the humble, faithful, and obedient, and a consuming fire to the ungodly, it is better we all labour so to demean ourselves to him, and one to another, as to escape his wrath, and abide in his love, than by unwarrantable curiosities, and neglect of our duty, to provoke his displeasure, since this is the sum of all his requirings, "To love God with all the soul, and with all the

strength, and one another in him;" without which all speculations are vain; with many other truths of the gospel, which freely, and with good authority, opened in that meeting, to general satisfaction.

On the 1st of the twelfth month I went to Romsey, where we had a very small meeting the day following, they having given little or no notice to the neighbourhood; and as they were sparing that way, so the Lord was also sparing to them, for we had a poor time, though some were alive. On the 3rd I came away with a load upon my mind on that account, and at Southampton had another like meeting. I every where observe, that where the pretenders to Truth are cold and indifferent that way, they are asleep; and God is also sparing of his living mercies unto all such, and justly. After this meeting, which was a little better than that at Romsey, I staid at Thomas Curtis's house till about four next morning, and then embarked in a Cowes hoy for that place, in the Isle of Wight: where we arrived next morning about eight, being a very clear and pleasant morning, and that evening had a small meeting there, at the house of Jonathan Ely.

On the 5th, at six in the evening, I had another meeting on the east side, at Daniel Hollis's, which being very small, by the same neglect as at Romsey, we fared accordingly, though not quite without the presence of the Lord.

On the 7th I went to Newport, where the meeting was small in the forenoon, there being but few in the island, and most of them there at that time; but we had a very comfortable season. And putting off the afternoon meeting till five in the evening, there came a mixed multitude, some of the age of discretion, but had none, and others too young to have much of themselves, nor were there any signs of instruction at all upon them; yet I had an open full time among them. And though many of them kept talking, and making noise most of the time, yet not regarding them, and my voice being over them, the sober sort were informed and satisfied, and I came away easy. But after the meeting was ended, I stood up and reproved them. First, I put them in mind of what the apostle Paul said of the trouble he had with the baser sort, who were like themselves; and then told them they were a reproach to government, a shame to their parents, a scandal to their teachers, if they had any, and a grief to the honest-hearted. I added, that the teachers among the first reforming Protestants, used to catechise the youth of their profession every first-day, by which some impressions of religion were made early in their minds. But as most of



those now in this nation, of all sorts, mind little else than to seek their gain from their quarters, their hearers were too generally gone so far from religion, that they were below a moral education. And having been so guilty, this they bore without reply, and went away quiet, only some of the soberer sort said, there was too much in it to be denied, and they blamed one another as they passed in the streets.

On the 8th, accompanied by Jonathan Ely of West-Cowes, I passed over to Portsmouth, where we had a meeting the same evening, which, though small, was very open. Here I met with Robert Roberts of Maryland, waiting for a wind for Barbadoes; being an old acquaintance, the occasion was acceptable. That night we lodged at Mary Graysden's together.

On the 9th we crossed the harbour to Gosport, and had an evening meeting in the Baptist meeting-house there, which was exceedingly thronged, being a new thing among them, but with a yet ruder company than at Newport; though, to do them justice, the noises were rather occasioned by the great press and crowd, than intentionally, and were most in the door and passage. But notwithstanding the inconveniences and disadvantages we laboured under that way, many things of great moment opened, with clearness and authority, of which many sober people among them had the advantage, who spoke well of the meeting, though grieved with the noises and ill-behaviour of others; for which I also reproved the offenders in the end of the meeting.

The 10th being very cold, and a high wind, we crossed over again to Portsmouth, to accompany the corpse of a deceased Friend up to Port Chester, where it was to be interred; and the deceased being the commander of a ship, many of the same faculty went to the meeting on that occasion. We rowed against the wind and tide, and arrived not there till near the second hour afternoon; but having a large, sober, and open meeting, to general satisfaction, we were sufficiently rewarded for all our fatigue and labour. Here I parted with my friend Robert Roberts, who went back with the company to the town. That night I staid at Port Chester, lodging with Thomas Whiting, an ancient Friend of that old village, reported to be first settled, and the old castle there built, by Julius Cæsar.

On the 11th I went to Alsford, where I met with James Simpson, of Yorkshire, who had that day appointed an evening meeting there, to which I also went. We had some sober people, there being but few Friends; but a company of boys belonging to a free school taught by

a priest in town, were very rude and troublesome, whom both James and I reproved. He had the concern of the meeting, only I concluded it; and being desirous to have a time with the people, gave them notice of another meeting at the same place the next evening, which accordingly was held. But being a wet evening, we were not troubled with the rude boys, nor with such as were more dainty than desirous, but a sober solid people, among whom I had an open time, wherein Friends were comforted in the Truth, and others satisfied in what was opened.

On the 13th I went to Alton, to James Hawkins's, and the day following, being the first of the week, was at their meeting, being a monthly day for worship, and many Friends from the places adjacent, and the Lord gave us a comfortable time together, there being also some strangers among us. The afternoon meeting, at my request, was put off till the fifth hour in the evening, and notice given in the close of the first meeting. We had a large gathering, and many of the inhabitants of different notions came, who were generally very sober and attentive to what the Lord gave me to say among them, which was not little, for I was largely opened, both in spirit and doctrine, which had a free and open passage. I had comfort concerning this memorable meeting, in which my natural strength being much exhausted, and the family where I lodged agreeable, and also desirous of my company, I staid there the next day, and visited some families and a Friend who lay ill, with whom I was comforted in prayer. And being well refreshed and recruited, both temporally and spiritually, and pleased with the conversation of Friends, as they with mine, on the 16th I proceeded to Godalming, having a particular desire to see and converse with Joseph Taylor, who had been teacher of a congregation of Baptists at London, and visited of the Lord with his day-spring from on high, had believed and obeyed the divine light, and thereby become a minister of it in a good degree, according to the dispensation that now is in the church of Christ, gathered thereinto throughout the world. I staid at his house, two nights, and we had much conference about divine things, and I found him a man of good understanding. As I desired to see not only the few Friends belonging to the meeting, but as many of the inhabitants as might be, he and they took some pains to give large notice, and on the 17th in the evening, we had a very full and open meeting, more than their meeting-house could hold, and the people generally behaving very soberly, as Friends, went away solid and satisfied.

On the 18th I had an evening meeting at



Guildford, where were Joseph Taylor, John Smith, and others, from Godalming; but there happening a burial of the corpse of one of the magistrates, where a sermon was expected, and general invitation given to the inhabitants, and also a Baptist meeting at the same time, our meeting was not so large as otherwise it might, and yet a pretty large gathering both of Friends and others. We had an open meeting, which Joseph Taylor concluded in prayer, after I had been largely opened in it, in matters doctrinal, which seemed to have a good reach upon the people, and Friends were comforted, especially those who travail in spirit for the prosperity and spreading of Truth, both in themselves and others.

On the 19th I went to Dorking, where we had a large meeting, though there are but few Friends. The people were generally sober, and the time satisfactory to most, if not to all, many things of moment being opened among them, and with good authority; coming close upon such as secretly are convinced of the way of Truth, but for reasons relating to this world, will not own it; especially in these texts, and some short comments upon them, viz; "He that denieth me before men, him will I also deny before my Father and the holy angels; and he that confesseth me before men, him will I also confess before my Father and the holy angels. He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me: and he that rejecteth you, rejecteth me; and he that rejecteth me, rejecteth him that sent me," &c. And "with the heart man believes unto righteousness; but with the mouth confession is made to salvation." It is not therefore sufficient that a man be inwardly and secretly convinced of the Truth, and way of it, or to know who are the people of God, and yet not own it openly; but as the unbelieving are excluded, so also the fearful. Neither father, mother, wife nor children, houses nor lands, oxen nor farms, liberty nor life, is to be preferred to the calling of God, since Christ has told his disciples from the beginning, what they must expect in this world for his name's sake, if they believe in him, and follow him fully. And as ignorance will be no excuse in the day of the Lord, and the unbelieving are condemned already, so it will be no plea in the day of the Lord, for any to say, I did not believe these were thy ministers, or these the truths of thy gospel, which I heard them declare; or that thy light and grace they witnessed unto or declared; since this is the condemnation of the world, "that they have not believed in the only begotten Son of God," who hath declared himself to be the light of the world; and his servants have witnessed

that he is that true light "that lighteth every man that cometh into the world," that all men, through him, might believe. The 21st being the first of the week, I went to a meeting at Street Cobham, which was not large, yet a comfortable time the Lord gave us. That evening I went with Samuel Streeter, to his sister's house at Kingston upon Thames, and the next day to London.

On the 18th of the first month, 1719-20, I was committed to the Fleet for not taking the affirmation; in which suffering I had great peace and acceptance with the Lord, who hath forbidden swearing to his disciples. On the 18th of the sixth month, 1721, I was released by order of the lord chancellor.

On the 25th of the third month, 1722, I went from London, accompanied by honest Benjamin Holme, and that night we lodged at our Friend Thomas Wyat's, at Chelmsford. On the 27th we were at a meeting at Coggeshall, and appointing another about five in the evening, it was very large and open, many of the town's people being there, and very sober. On the 28th we went to Colchester quarterly meeting, and were, on the 29th and 30th, at the yearly meeting there, which was large and open. On the 30th, in the afternoon, we returned to Coggeshall, to the burial of a Friend; where we had the largest meeting that could be remembered there, and very open, the people being very sober and attentive. The things of God were largely and clearly opened and demonstrated to general satisfaction.

On the 31st we went to Witham to a marriage, which was attended by many Friends and others, and the Lord gave us an open and comfortable time on that occasion. On the 3rd of fourth month, being the first of the week, we had a meeting at Aughton Hall, which was small, by reason of thunder and much rain that fell that day. On the 4th we went to the quarterly meeting at Woodbridge, where I found it upon my mind to exhort Friends to faithfulness against antichristian priests and priestcraft; as the successors, not of the apostles, but of those antichrists the apostles witnessed against in their day; "who, with feigned words," according to the apostle's prophecy, "make merchandize of the people." On the 5th we were at their yearly meeting in that place, which was large and open, many of the town's people being there. On the 6th, being the fourth of the week, we had a large open meeting by appointment at Ipswich, where came many people of note of the town, and were generally satisfied. On the 8th I had a good meeting at Needham, where some people of account in the town came, and were very quiet



and attentive, though it was not so open as at Ipswich.

On the 9th I went to Edmundsbury, Benjamin Holme having gone thither before from Needham, and the day following was at their meeting in the morning, which was pretty open, but small; but in the afternoon Friends from divers parts, and a multitude of the town's people, coming in, it was the largest known there; the house, galleries, and greatest part of the court-yard being filled. Some persons of note in the world were there, among whom was sir John Holland's lady, daughter of the earl of Yarmouth, and granddaughter of king Charles II. a mild affable person. She came to the widow Dikes's, where I lodged, and drank tea with some of her sisters, with whom she was acquainted. We had some solid discourse concerning the meeting, which was open, though laborious, both by reason of its largeness, and the heat of the season.

On the 11th, parting with Samuel Alexander, his wife, sister and niece, who came from Needham on that occasion, I went to Milner, where I lodged with Simon Burgess, and the day following had an appointed meeting, which was large, considering it was the time of hay-harvest; and a very open season the Lord was pleased to give us, in showers of heavenly rain, and some pruning and digging, in order to more fruit.

On the 13th I went to Cambridge, and that afternoon had an appointed meeting, which the scholars of the university hearing of, many of them came, and I had good suitable matter for them. But, alas! they were so wild, so airy, wanton, and foolish, many of them could not be touched; and yet several of them, in some time, grew much more solid and attentive, till some, to scare the rest and divert themselves, suddenly reported that the proctor was coming; upon which they all flounced away like wild colts that had never been haltered. However I did not mind that, but went on with what was in my mind to the people that staid; and the alarm proving false, many of them came back, and would have staid quietly, but others still renewed their fears by fresh alarms. I compared them to wild fowls, which are not to be taken, but shot flying. And I do believe the arrows of the Almighty did not miss them all. O that they had been still but one hour, for the advantage which might have accrued to them by the excellent openings I had that day, through the grace of God, which flowed towards them in me from the Lord! But this sort, of all men, are most miserably staid; professing themselves wise, (the leaders of them I mean) they are the greatest fools. And if that saying be

true, that the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, be the two eyes of the nation, or national church, how blind are they in the things of God! And in whom more than in them, and those led by them, is that saying fulfilled, "If the blind lead the blind, they shall both fall in the ditch;" as at this day is too much the sad case of this professing nation, through the fogs of the pit, rather than any light of the gospel of Christ, issuing from these rude and benighted dungeons; the stink of which poisoneth and stifeth the people, that they draw little or no breath from the Lord and Giver of life, though near them, even in their own bosoms; but unknown, by the force of the power of death, still reigning by means of those children of darkness, those learned fools. These young men are lamentably circumstanced; they have not a sober education, and seem utter strangers to all piety and virtue. What then can be expected from the baser sort, if any thing can be baser than such behaviour as is too common among them?

The 14th being their meeting-day, I staid, which consisting only of a very few Friends, who live there, and two or three of the neighbourhood who came in, was sober and comfortable. After I had visited a young person who was lying ill near the town, I went that evening to Zachariah Wyat's, at Saffron-Walden. On the 17th, being the first of the week, I was at their meeting at Walden, which was not large in the morning, yet living; but in the afternoon very large, so that several went away, not being able to endure the heat of the sun without. Some of the aldermen of the town were there, and a very free open time the Lord gave us to general satisfaction.

On the 18th I went to Royston, to Robert Izard's, and had a meeting there the day following, which was small, but a good one. On the 20th was at Bishop-Strafford, where the meeting was small, and many drowsy, but pretty well awake before the meeting ended. On the 21st I went with Joseph Dockwray to his house at Ware, where we had a meeting next day. It was heavy and drowsy in the fore part, but more open in the end.

On the 25th, in the morning, I visited a daughter of John Stout, who lay very ill of a lingering distemper, and had a very open and comfortable time in prayer with her and some other Friends, to our mutual refreshment. After that I went to Baldock, to John Izard's, where I staid writing letters, and putting some things in order till the 27th, and then had a meeting, which was small, heavy, and drowsy for some time, but ended well.

On the 28th I went to Hitchin week-day meeting, which was very heavy and sleepy a



while, but afterwards very open and tender, and ended in a living sense of the goodness of the Lord.

On the 29th we had a small meeting at Albans: it was flat and dull awhile, but ended fresh and living.

On the 1st of the fifth month, being the first of the week, the meeting at Woodend, about two miles from Hampstead, was an open living time. In the evening, about the sixth hour, we had another meeting at Hampstead, where many of the town's people came in; and we had a large open time, and many were tendered, and generally satisfied.

On the 6th I went to Wickham, and that evening had a meeting there, which was pretty large, and very open, the power of the blessed Truth reigning triumphantly, and the meeting generally broken and comforted. I left an exhortation with them to keep up their testimony faithfully, against the payment of tithes, that great support of antichristian priestcraft. There are at this time very few Friends belonging to the meeting at Oxford, and few, if any, in town, but Thomas Nichols and his family; but the scholars come much more to meetings of late than for many years past, and generally are not so rude as heretofore; though some of them now and then very waggish and arch, but few malicious. Some of them frequently come to week-day meetings, and sit silently with the two or three Friends, sometimes the whole time, and go away silent and sober; which Friends observing, make no complaint against the ruder sort, lest the better sort should be hindered from coming, and lose that advantage, which some time or other, they might reap in our meetings.

It being the first-day of the week, many of them and others came to the meeting in the morning. Some of them looked wild and airy, but others more solid; some sat down and were quiet, others were restless and floating, full of tricks, whisperings, and smirking, and sometimes fleerings; and one young man, not of them, but of the same temper, and countenanced by some of them, played tricks with a spaniel dog in the meeting: all which we bore as if it had not been. I had a great work of Truth in my spirit; and when I found a fit time, I stepped up into the gallery, for none sat in it at that time, being but few Friends there, and delivered what was in my mind; during which some of them went out, and some of them and others came in again; but most staid the meeting, and were generally more sober and attentive than I have seen them, and went away quietly.

In the afternoon the meeting was very full, both of the scholars and other people of both

sexes. Most of the scholars were very solid and attentive, and staid the meeting, there being little smiling at all among them; but such as attempted that way to draw out the minds of others, were disappointed, finding but little countenance, so that we had a very large, open, comfortable meeting; and by the exercise of my own mind, the doctrines I had to deliver, and the love of Truth attending, and by what went out among them, I hope there was some good done that day. To the Lord be the praise, whose work alone it is to save—whether immediately or instrumentally, it is the Lord's.

On the 10th I went to Witney, going round by Woodstock, where I took a turn in the duke of Marlborough's gardens, and viewed some part of the house, with the famous bridge before it; all very noble. On the 11th the meeting there was large, many Friends belonging to it, and very open in the main; but there was a drowsy heavy sort here also, as there is at this day in most places of the world, though others are fresh and living. On the 12th I had a meeting appointed at Burford, which was pretty large and open, some strangers being there; but we had also some sleepers, who are always a dead weight wherever they are in any meeting, or in any society. At this meeting another was appointed to be next day at Milton, about three miles from thence, which was held about the sixth hour in the evening, and was as large as could be expected in that time of hay-harvest, where pretty many of the country people came in, and things were open and well. It is near that parish, if not in part of it, the tithe whereof was given to John Fox and his heirs, for his great care and pains in compiling his large and useful history, entitled, "Acts and Monuments of the Church," &c.

On the 14th I went to Cirencester, and the day following was at their meeting forenoon and afternoon. It was small, by reason of the weather, and a very drowsy, sleepy sort among them; and yet a remnant alive, who were tender, and some of the younger sort broken and melted. On the 16th I went to Tedbury, and the day following had a meeting there, which was small, there being few Friends in that place, but the Lord was with us, and gave us a comfortable time; and some neighbours who came in were well satisfied.

The week-day meeting at Painswick being on the 18th, I went thither. It was small and heavy in the beginning, but ended fresh and lively. The hindrance was drowsiness, a great evil, hindering the living worship of the living God; and in which hidden temptation, satan has greatly prevailed in some places, to the dishonour of God, and hurt of



many souls. For if satan can transform himself into an angel of light, and in that way deceive the simple, and such as know not the true light, how much more may he transform himself into the image of death and darkness in a dead and drowsy soul; through which, as a veil he puts on in a meeting, he also loads and grieves the upright and living; and where this prevails there can be no worship of God, but rather a yielding and bowing to the enemy, whereby all worship of God is much more effectually suppressed, than by all the powers of the earth in times of their open opposition and persecution.

On the 20th I returned to their week-day's meeting at Nailsworth, which being large, was laborious; and the more so, because most of them were young people, hardly convinced, and of little knowledge of Truth as it is in Christ Jesus, and yet sober as men, and hopeful. On the 21st I had a meeting at Sedbury, which was not large. Some sleepers were well awakened by the word of reproof, which flowed plentifully; and though a rebuke upon the careless, it was health to the diligent and living.

On the 22nd I went to the city of Bristol, and meeting with Alexander Arcot, went with him to see his wife, who lay dangerously ill of a fever, and having some time in free prayer, was much comforted with them; and from that time, it pleased the Lord she began to recover. It was near the time of the fair in that place, which usually holding about two weeks, I fell in there on purpose to attend the meetings on that occasion, being usually larger than at other times; and yet was much hindered and disappointed for a time, by some other forward persons, who had come there only about their trades, and buying and selling. But when once I had an opportunity, under the weight of one of their great meetings, consisting of many hundreds of Friends and others, I was easier, as also were the meetings; and after some few times I had very open service for the Lord, his Truth and people, and continued therein from time to time, till the 8th of the sixth month, and then was at the week-day meeting at Frenchay, which was a good, open, comfortable time. I lodged at Abraham Lloyd's, on my way to Thornbury, to the burial of our ancient and honest friend, John Thurston. It was on a first-day of the week, and as he was a man well beloved, and much esteemed of Friends and neighbours in his life time, so many came to our meeting on that occasion, and the Lord gave us a good time, and many were reached and satisfied; things opening very plainly to most understandings, who had any love for Truth, or concern for religion. That evening I went again towards

Bristol, and next day to the city, where I had a very open time on the third-day following, and another on the sixth, to the help and comfort of many, though to the rebuke of some states; and some other ministering Friends coming to town, I departed thence on the 25th of the month, for Claverham, on my journey to the yearly meeting at Exeter. On the 26th I was at their first-day's meeting, which was pretty large, consisting mostly of young people, not yet much baptized into the nature of Truth, which made my exercise for them a little harder. On the 27th I went to Chew-Magna, on a visit to my ancient and much esteemed Friend, the widow Elizabeth Vickris, I having been, in my early time, well acquainted in that then honourable family.

On the 29th I went to Sidcot week-day meeting, where the Lord was pleased to favour us with his presence to a good degree. On the 1st of the seventh month I went to Taunton-Dean, and the next day was at their meeting, both forenoon and after, which were large and open, especially the latter. Their monthly meeting falling of course the next day, I tarried with them, and the day following had an evening meeting appointed, for the most part, for the sake of the neighbouring people, who, though they are willing to come to our meetings, yet would not be seen there. This meeting was large, and the Truths of the gospel flowed plentifully among them, to general satisfaction; so that I am not without hopes some good might be effected in some of them, through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which mercifully attended the meeting. I went away very easy, and Friends rejoiced and were comforted.

The week-day meeting at Wellington falling in course on the 5th, I went thither, it being the road to Exon; and though but small, yet was comfortable, some reputable neighbours also being there. The 6th, being the usual day of the meeting at Spiceland, I fell in with them there, and we had a good season together in Christ Jesus our Lord, though some sharp things were uttered in the authority of Truth to some states, especially to the drowsy, sleepy, lukewarm and indolent, who take up a false rest in that unhappy state, to the danger of their utter ruin, after many years fruitless profession of the living and life giving Truth of God.

On the 7th, being the sixth of the week, and the usual week-day meeting at Collumpton, I took that also in my way. It was pretty large; but there were some young people, little acquainted with the work of Truth, and some older who had set down short, and at ease; in which unhappiness they are not alone. Yet the Lord was mercifully with us,



notwithstanding the word of reproof was not wanting, nor consolation withheld, from the several subjects. That night I lodged at Thomas Fennimore's, where, in the evening, came Thomas Beavan, from Melksham, and several Friends with him; and he favoured us with the reading of his manuscript, proving that reason in man, and divine Truth, are distinct things. On this subject he and I had discoursed before, as very necessary to be fully and plainly treated on. At that time many of the more ingenious sort of people, of divers denominations, some among ourselves not excepted, were ready to mistake one for the other, and establish their own reason instead of divine Truth; the spirit of man, with his uncertain and fallacious reasonings, in which are endless wranglings, uncertainty and confusion, instead of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ, which is self-evident and certain Truth, and leadeth the rational man into all righteousness and truth in spiritual things, with demonstrative certainty, and undoubted assurance; which his own reason, without the light of Truth, can never do, any more than the eye can see without the medium of light, though its faculty of seeing, in itself, be ever so perfect.

On the 8th, being the seventh of the week, we went to Exeter yearly meeting, appointed by consent of the yearly meeting at London, and intended for the more effectual promulgation of Truth in those several counties to which it was confined, and moveable at its own discretion, the better to answer the end; and like those in the north, not meddling with matters of business or discipline, but only worship, doctrine, and occasional communication of holy things.

The meeting began on first-day morning, the 9th of the month, and ended the third-day following, and was a good time throughout; but as generally such meetings are observed to be, was brighter and brighter, and brightest in the end. For as they consist of a mixed multitude of all sorts and notions, the understandings of the uncouth and ignorant are darkest at first coming; but as they begin to be illuminated by the testimony of Truth, and their senses a little awakened to relish something of the sweetness and virtue of it, Truth then flows more freely to them, with a greater facility in the minister, and reception in the hearer. The sensible and living, who, in the life of the Son, and as they stand related to him who beareth the infirmities of all from the foundation of the world, in the beginning of such meetings, are often deeply and mysteriously laden, but being eased of their burthen and travail, now laid upon those in the auditory, where it rightly belongs, things then

proceed, and conclude to mutual comfort and ease. This was much the case in this meeting, the most part consisting of a young uncultivated sort of our own natural offspring, and others, strangers to the verbal testimony of Truth; but some were a living people and ministry among us; and as the true and worthy crown of all, the living presence of the everlasting Lord God, in some good degree, blessed our assembly. The meeting of ministers, on the second-day morning was eminently favoured with it, to our general and mutual help and encouragement. This meeting ending in peace and gravity, I staid in town that night, and the next morning, being the 12th, returned towards Taunton.

On the 13th, the quarterly meeting for the county of Somerset was held there, and well filled with good Friends, and those with divine truths; in which the Lord gave me an open utterance at that time, and a free reception, to my satisfaction, and the hearts of Friends were freely opened in the same; for he who openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth, and who hath and hath the key of David, was there, and blessed us together in one name, unto which we bowed, and in which we worshipped and adored him, who liveth and reigneth, and is worthy for evermore. Our spirits being thus refreshed in the presence of the Lord, the concerns of the meeting for business were carried on and finished with unity and comfort.

Next morning, accompanied by a Friend belonging to Sidcot meeting, I set forward for Bridgewater. About three miles from Taunton we met three companies of foot soldiers, newly come over from Ireland in the king's service, marching to Exeter. Having acquaintance in Ireland, and being a well-wisher to the country, I asked several questions, of health, whence they came, and the like, and was answered civilly. But having passed the whole three companies, and riding near the hedge, we suddenly met a running footman in white, leading a dog, which so scared my horse, that he flounced round, and jumped to the other side of the lane, by which he threw me out of the stirrups, and upon the pummel of the saddle. Finding himself loose, he run back towards Taunton, so that I could by no means turn or stop him, or recover the stirrups or saddle. Coming up with the rear of the soldiers, I called to them to stop him if they could, for I was not able, which several of them attempted with their muskets and staffs, but in vain. However, it broke his career, and I had an opportunity to be willingly thrown off. In the fall he happened to set one foot upon my head, a little above my



temple, and another upon my breast; but so it was ordered that he laid not his weight upon me, but in dragging his foot off, wounded me a little with his shoe behind the ear.

My strength being gone, and quite out of breath, I lay a while, till some of the soldiers came, and kindly took me up in their arms, lamenting my misfortune, thinking I had been crushed and slain. But though I was bruised, and my strength gone, my understanding remained, and they were gladly convinced of their mistake as soon as I could speak to them, though I staggered, which gave one of them occasion to say, "The gentleman is in drink;" which I perceiving, took care to assure him of his mistake, and that I was never so in my life, but it was only the effects of my weakness and fall, having drank nothing that day but a little tea and milk, and a wine glass of middling ale.

The officers were very kind, and offered to send for the doctor of the companies, gone before; but not apprehending myself to be so ill as I was, I acknowledged the kind offer, and declined the trouble of sending.

Finding myself, as I thought, able to walk, and not willing to remount my horse till his fright was more over, I leaned on the arm of my friend, and went a short way. But my strength failing, and my breath shortening, I was forced at last to sit down upon the ground on the side of the way. I was then more sensible of my hurt; and putting up my hand to the side of my head, found it wounded and bloody, which the Friend perceiving, shook his head, and turned pale, supposing it worse than it was. My strength however gradually returned, and I grew very easy, as if nothing had befallen me. In about half an hour's time we mounted again, the Friend upon my horse and I upon his, in order for Bridgewater; but the weather being cold, and riding slowly, I became very sensible of other bruises, and I felt myself much weakened in my journey. But though I rested better that night than could have been expected, yet the next day I found myself stiff all over, so that I could scarcely walk; upon which I became thoughtful for the meetings appointed before this accident fell out, one being the day following in the evening, at that place, desiring, if it pleased the Lord, I might be enabled to the service of them, since, on the one hand, some persons might be disappointed and hurt that way, and others might reproach the Truth and ministry by that accident. The Lord heard and granted my desire; for though in the morning there were few but Friends in a small chamber, yet in the evening we had a large meeting of the town's people in a warehouse, and the whole service of it, as to out-

ward ministry, falling upon me, I was not in the least sensible of any deficiency or weakness from my bruises; but the Lord was pleased to work in and by me in a good degree, affording healing virtue by the same power, and I was, from that time, little sensible of any danger, but recovered far beyond my own expectation, or that of others.

Here I staid till the 18th, and then went to Marks, where a meeting had been appointed before the accident happened. It was an open comfortable time, consisting of a tender people, but few of them yet professing the Truth; and that evening I returned to Sidcot, to William Jenkins's.

On the 19th I went to the general meeting at Claverham, which was more open than the time before; and lodging at Arthur Thomas's that night, I went next day to Bristol, where Friends were glad of my return and escape from so great danger, and I was also glad to find them in peace and love. I tarried in the city till the 26th, having some as open times as ever I knew in that place, to general satisfaction, as well as to my own great consolation, my testimony tending in the main to a visitation of the love of Truth to the young generation; many of them being much touched with a sense of the goodness of the Lord therein.

In my way to Bath I made a visit to sir William Cann and his lady, who had borne me respect ever since the marriage of Robert Button and Martha Vickris at Chew, some years since, where they were present. We had more discourse concerning some points of religion on this occasion, which gave me no uneasiness; for they both treated me with civility and good nature. The season of the Bath not being over, and many of the nobility and gentry frequenting our meetings, I attended the service of Truth there for some time, and in the mean time drank the waters, till the cold weather setting in a little sooner than usual, I took cold, and upon that an intermitting fever, which weakened me much for the time; but as it pleased the Lord, it was fully over in about two weeks.

During this time we had many strangers at the meetings, and some clear and open seasons, according to the manner and degrees of the working of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; in which some of them were sensibly touched and affected with that which is good. And the season being nearly over before I removed from thence, and less of such company, the Lord was pleased to give us some more select times and enjoyments of his good presence in our own less mixed assemblies, and we were greatly comforted together.

On the 18th of ninth month, being the first



of the week, I was at the meeting at Bradford, forenoon and afternoon, the latter being large and open. I had likewise been there one first-day before during my stay at Bath. That evening returning to Joseph Hull's with some Friends from Bath, I staid there that night also.

On the 20th I was at the week-day meeting at Melksham, and the Lord gave us a comfortable time in his good presence. That night I lodged with Thomas Beavan, junior; and his father, my long acquainted friend, being then living in that place, we had good agreeable conversation together.

I went to Calne on the 22nd, where was appointed an evening meeting, to which came several professors in the Presbyterian and Baptist ways; and as things opened very fully in some points relating to them, they were very still, giving no signs of dislike, and we had a good time.

On the 24th I went to Marlborough, and the day after was at two meetings there; that in the evening was large, many of the neighbours of various distinctions being there, and many important truths of the gospel were plainly opened, through the grace of God among them; and by their peaceable and quiet deportment, they seemed generally pleased, and some pretty well affected.

On the 26th I went to Newbury, where we had a meeting that evening, to which came some professors, and among others, a Baptist teacher. I was fully and clearly opened upon the universal love of God in Jesus Christ unto all men, and the subject of predestination, as clearly as I have known for some time. They were all calm, and for any thing that appeared, well satisfied, there being a good degree of that holy love among us, in the virtue of it, as well as words upon the subject, which affected Friends as well as other people, and seasoned us together as one lump.

On the 28th I went to Henley meeting, but no notice being given, it was small; yet we were favoured with the experience of the fulfilling of that good promise of old, that "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of you;" though among these few some never were at any of our meetings before, and things opened larger than reason could have expected in so small a gathering.

On the 30th was the meeting day at Reading, but a burial happening on the same day, the meeting was put off till the afternoon, when came many of the neighbours of all sorts, and among others, several military officers. The Lord gave me a door of utterance, and a considerable entrance also with Friends

and people, the gospel of the kingdom of Christ being plainly laid open to them, and many well affected among them. A lieutenant afterwards said, that he had never been at any of our meetings before, or at any other with like satisfaction, nor had he ever heard such things in any assembly; and that we were a people much misrepresented and abused: which he also hinted to myself, I accidentally seeing him in a shop in town next day. On the 2nd of the tenth month I was there again, and the meetings were both large and open; so that I had never been there with the like satisfaction before, and hope there was some good done among both Friends and others.

On the 3rd I had a meeting appointed at the house of John Fellows, at Maidenhead. The house was small, and notice only given to a few: but when the meeting was set, and my voice heard, the place was quickly crowded, and many in the street who could not get in, and some military officers and soldiers were there; and as the Lord was pleased to open in me several gospel-truths for their sakes, I found a very ready passage for them among the people, so that I concluded some good was done to them also.

On the 4th I went to Windsor and had an evening meeting, which was large, a great many of the town's people coming in. As we were often concerned to declare the universal love of God to mankind, so about this time, as often before, I felt much of it, even a dispensation of it, to the people in most places; and many great and necessary truths were declared as the Lord opened, on that occasion, with good authority, and many clear proofs out of the Holy Scriptures, both of the prophets, and also of the apostles of Christ. Truth was over and upon the people, and they departed from the place, when the meeting was over, under a grave and solid concern. The Lord gave me great peace, as a full reward in that work, blessing me as a co-worker with himself, the great Master workman, therein.

On the 5th I went to Jordan week-day meeting, which was but small, most of the ancients, who were once numerous there, being deceased, and their reward sure for ever, and of late many died of the small pox; but the Lord made up all by the comfort of his life-giving presence, which, through his mercy, was not wanting.

The next being week-day meeting at Windsor, consisting mostly of Friends, we were refreshed together in the presence of the Lord. The meeting ending about mid-day, I went that afternoon to Stains, where I fell in with their meeting, which is usually in the even-



ing; and as they had heard of my intentions, so they had given notice to some of the neighbours, and the meeting was larger than usual, and very open, much beyond my expectation. The goodness of the Lord is boundless, and the treasures of his divine wisdom not to be searched out, or exhausted, which he freely dispenses and opens, when and where, and in what manner and degree he pleases, and to the purposes of his own glory and good of souls; and here he was pleased to give some renewed instances of it, affecting many with his divine goodness, to his own praise, who is worthy of all dominion, praise and thanks for evermore.

On the 7th I went to London, where I met with a kind reception from Friends in general, and great openness in several meetings among them, where the Lord gave evidence of his presence and power with me in his service, as at many other times it had so pleased him. I staid at London till the 15th, and then went to the burial of the corpse of my very good friend, Anne How, a woman generally beloved of all who knew her; for she was a loyal and affectionate wife, an indulgent mother, a kind relation, a good neighbour, and very charitable to the poor, doing good to all as opportunity offered; and as precious to the Lord is the death of his saints, so he was pleased both to honour and comfort us with his solacing presence on that occasion, where we had the company of many neighbours, and some of quality, and generally satisfied.

After this I continued at London some time, visiting the meetings there and in some adjacent places, and had some very open times, on first-days especially, many people usually attending our meetings, and also at marriages and funerals, till the moveable yearly meeting for worship for the northern counties drew near; and then, on the 4th of the second month, 1723, being the fifth of the week, I set forward from London for Chester, where the meeting had been appointed for that year, and arrived there on the 8th in the evening, and lodged at the Talbot inn, there being few Friends in town, and I little acquainted with any of them.

On the 10th began the first meeting for public worship; and to prevent any disorder by too great a concourse of the baser sort, several constables were placed in a narrow lane leading to the town's court, where the meeting was held, in order to intercept and stop them. The meeting was very large, and great openness to the people as well as Friends; for the universal love of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to mankind, was not only preached, but in some measure enjoyed among

us; and the people, as well as Friends, were generally satisfied.

On the 11th, from eight to ten, we held a meeting of conference among the ministers and elders of the several counties, as is usual, concerning the affairs of Truth, and how they prosper in those parts, and also the quarterly meeting for business in the county of Chester; and that afternoon had another, and the last, public meeting, which was very large, to the number of about three thousand, and by the goodness of the Lord, preserved in good order. Many of the gentry, both in the city and country, were there; and among others, the mother of the duke of Argyle's lady, and two of her daughters, who were very solid and attentive; and sir Thomas Brooks, Bart., was at all the meetings for worship, and some said, eight priests in common habits, and some of them well pleased with the meetings, as also were the people in a general way. The meeting ended that evening to our mutual edification and general satisfaction, to the praise of the Lord alone, of whom is the power, and to whom it doth of right belong, now and for ever.

On the 12th I went to Rixham, in company with John Thompson, of Crook, an able and experienced minister, and some other Friends; and there we had a small, but open meeting, some of the town's people coming in and sitting with us. On the 13th we went together for Shrewsbury; and next day being the first of the week, we had two pretty open meetings there. Here John Thompson and I parted; and I went that evening to Prestane on the borders of Wales, in order to that yearly meeting; which began the day following. People came from many places, and it was a very large meeting, and many gospel Truths were opened, by the grace of God, therein, and the Truth, in some good degree, was in dominion over the people, full as much as could be expected, considering great part of them had not been at any meeting before; and the meeting throughout being preserved in a good decorum, it ended well, to general satisfaction, on the 18th.

On the 19th I went to Lempster, where we had a large and very open meeting in the evening, and many of the town's people came in, and were very sober. Truth was much in dominion, and the testimony thereof full and clear, and we came away in peace. The day following I went to Worcester, and on the 21st was at their meeting forenoon and afternoon; the latter was very large and open, and the gospel preached in the demonstration and authority of it. On the 24th I went to Evesham, where a meeting was appointed. In the beginning, and time of silence, it was very



heavy and hard; but soon after I got through all that load of darkness and death, under which I was baptized for the sake of the dead and drowsy, and a spring of life opened in me, so that we had an open time and a good meeting. Friends being very earnest with me to stay there till the 25th, being their week-day meeting, I did accordingly. The meeting was pretty open, especially in prayer at the conclusion. That night I tarried there, and on the 26th went to their week-day meeting at Chipping-Norton, which was very small, but the Lord was in some measure with us.

On the 27th I went to Oxford, and the day following was at their first-day meeting in the morning, which, though still small of Friends, was pretty well filled with scholars, who were very quiet and attentive, things opening with authority, upon the promises and covenant of life and light, and that afternoon I went to Wickam, and next day to London.

Being detained at London about divers negotiations relating to my own concerns, as also those of others, I visited the meetings there till the 7th of the ninth month, 1723, and then set forward for Cumberland, and took Tottenham week-day meeting in my way.

[After attending several meetings, he proceeds:] On the 5th I went to John Moor's, at Gaile, and next day was at a monthly meeting for worship at Kendal; where I met with many friends and acquaintances, to our mutual satisfaction, the Lord giving us a comfortable time together. I staid there till first-day, where the meeting was large and open in the forenoon; but being put off in the afternoon till five in the evening, some hundreds of the town's people came in, and we had a large meeting, where the Lord opened several things to information, edification, and consolation. I lodged that time at Thomas Ellwood's, and on the 9th went to my friend James Wilson's, about three miles from Kendal, where several Friends being in company, we were freely and agreeably entertained. On the 10th, though very stormy, we were at a monthly meeting for worship at Grayrig, about a mile distant, where the Lord gave us an open and comfortable time in his good presence; and that afternoon I returned with some other Friends to James Wilson's. On the 11th, in the forenoon, we set forward for Penrith, but the wind was so very high, we could scarcely sit our horses; and finding it dangerous to proceed, we returned till afternoon, and the wind being much abated, we went that night to Shap.

On the 12th went on to Penrith, and had an evening meeting there, which was not

large, nor very open, though some of the neighbours came in, and things were clear and safe, but not much capacity in the people to receive the flowing cup of the Lord, being too much like the old bottles, not fit for the new wine, which yet was not altogether wanting to us.

I went to Wigton, to a ministering Friend's meeting, and was next day at the quarterly meeting, which was large, and the glory of Truth over all, to general satisfaction. It was a blessed meeting, where the Lord met freely with his people, and the light shined clear, to the edifying and settling of many.

In this country I remained, and was at the yearly meeting for the northern counties at Carlisle; and with John Irwin and some other Friends, had some meetings in fresh places in the summer following; and in the winter I resided for the most part at my friend Isaac Huntington's, in Carlisle, attending the meetings as they fell in course in the county, and was, the spring following, at the yearly meeting this year, 1725, held at Kendal, which was the largest I ever saw there, and very open. The mayor of the town, and many of the chief of the people were there, and were generally well satisfied, and afterwards loving and respectful.

From this meeting I returned into Cumberland, by the way of Hawkside, where we had an open meeting, and so by Whitehaven; where on the day they call Easter, I had a large meeting, the first in our new meeting-house, and open to my satisfaction, and of all there, so far as I could learn. Some Glasgow merchants, of the Presbyterian way, who were occasionally in the town, were at the meeting, and spoke well of it.

During the time of my abode in this country, having some concerns with the lord Lonsdale, I went to Lowther-hall, where he then resided, to attend him therein, where he gave me more respect than I desired or expected; and after I had finished my business with him, he moved some discourse concerning some points of religion, there being none else in the company but counsellor Blencoe, a young lawyer. The point chiefly discussed, was the knowledge of God, and by what means mankind may arrive at it; in which I was drawn out to this purpose, "That many wise and ingenious men apply themselves, with success, to the knowledge of things in this life, and relating thereto, and yet keep not within the strict rules of virtue; whereby their knowledge vanishes in the end, as not subservient to the purposes of another world. Wherefore I recommended them to a real inquiry after the knowledge of God, as the most noble and most profitable subject a rational



being could be concerned about, and altogether necessary in order to our happiness, as well in this, as in a future state; which man can never arrive at by the utmost efforts of human reason. For though a rational being cannot deny, but conclude there is a God, by the works of the creation, which produced not themselves, but were produced by another; and though reason must conclude the Creator to be eternal, without beginning or end, all-wise, all-knowing, all-powerful, omnipresent, holy, righteous, just and good, in all divine perfections unchangeable; and though in all these attributes we read of him in the Holy Scriptures, and hear clear discourses of him frequently made by such as say they know him, and perhaps, in some measure may; yet all this is but an image of knowledge, as to us, until, by the agency of his own power and will, he is pleased to work in us such qualifications whereby we may perceive him, and say, 'This is he,' through that holy and blessed medium which he himself hath, in good-will to mankind, provided to that end; that we may believe in him, hope for him, know him, have communion with him in a degree in this life, and be for ever blessed in the enjoyment of him in a future condition. Of this knowledge no man can rightly conceive, by any thing another can say who hath that knowledge, unless he to whom it is said or declared, be in himself, in some degree, under the same qualifications, by which the things declared or spoken of, present in the mind and understanding, by a kind of divine sensation or intuition, are self-evidencing by their own nature and energy. As for example, to a man born blind, another can find no terms whereby to give him a proper and distinct idea of colours, of light, and the manner of the discovery of objects by that medium unto those that see; whereas every one that doth see, concludes the same thing by a kind of sensitive intuition, at first view, without the expense of ratiocination, or deducing conclusions from stated premises. Nor, if we can suppose any one has never in his life been touched with any sense of that natural affection, or principle we call love, can any, by any terms he can use, inculcate in such a person any idea of the thing. Whereas all the experienced are affected in the same manner, though perhaps not to the same degree, and need no other terms but itself to inculcate the thing. Since then, in natural things, it is impossible to exhibit proper ideas to the apprehensions of those who are deprived of natural qualifications and capacities to receive them, how much more so in spirituals; for we cannot find out proper terms by which to exhibit them to the view, understanding, or

apprehension of others; but as we borrow them from natural things, which can never reach them as they are. When it is said, God is a spirit, a man must first have a distinct idea of a spirit, before he can fix any notion of God by that term; and by the word God, we intend to express an awful and ineffable being: but none of these terms exhibit that being to our sense, either in fear or love. I come then to some positive expressions of Christ, viz: 'No man hath known the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him.' 'This is life eternal, to know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' 'No man can come unto me, except the Father which has sent me draw him.' 'No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten (or first begotten) Son of God, who dwelleth in the bosom of the Father, he hath manifested (or revealed) him.'

"By this it appears, 1st; That God may be known, though not immediately, but by a proper medium.

"2nd; That this medium is Christ, the Word of God; who having a reasonable soul, and clothed therewith as a veil, is homogeneous to mankind, and thereby proportions the splendour of his glory, as God, to the state of every soul; gradually revealing or manifesting the Father therein, according to the degrees of purification, capacity, and qualification he worketh in it.

"3rd; That this knowledge is an experience, and gives the soul a certain evidence and assurance of eternal life; and God himself is that eternal life.

"4th; That as the knowledge of the Son makes way for the knowledge of the Father, so the drawings of the Father excite to the knowledge of the Son.

"It is not therefore the knowledge of the things of God, or of all his attributes, or of any, or all formal truths, but of God himself, who is the essential Truth, in which our happiness stands, and for ever shall remain. For there are essential truths, and there are formal truths. Jesus Christ the wisdom of God, and power of God, is that essential Truth; and that he is the Son of God, was incarnate, lived as a man here on earth, was crucified as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, died, rose again, ascended, is glorified in heaven, &c., are all formal and unalterable truths; and yet the knowledge of all these does not give life eternal, until the soul comes to experience the in-dwelling of the essential Truth, in its nature and being, through that holy and blessed medium, homogeneous unto all; which cannot be until we be reduced unto a state of holiness and purity of mind.



And therefore, to illustrate all I have said in a practical way, give me leave to add a little further. Whilst I was yet in a natural and unconverted state, I believed the being of God, and all his attributes; but I did not actually know God to be righteous or holy, till he reformed unrighteousness or unholiness in me; or merciful and good, until, through condemnation of evil, convincing me of evil in myself, he also pardoned the acts of sin, and destroyed the effects thereof, by the agency of his own power, working that change that is meet, according to his own will, through which I experience both his goodness and mercy; nor had I known him as a consuming fire, unless by the refining operation of his Spirit, he had consumed my corruptions, or begun that work; or that he is love, divine and unspeakable love, unless, by his own power, he had fitted me, in some measure, to enjoy the influences of his grace in a state of holiness; in which he rules as a Monarch in the soul, according to that saying, 'The kingdom of heaven stands not in meats and drinks; (no outward or natural enjoyments) but in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost:' which I know, through grace, infinitely transcends, even in this life, all that can be named besides.

"And though formal truths are commonly clouded and confounded by the perverse and ignorant reasonings of the learned of this world, and numerous opinions and sects are produced and engendered thereby; yet the essential Truth is self-evidencing, and whenever it appears in the soul she cannot deny or doubt, but by the cogency of his power and virtue, certainly and infallibly concludes in herself, that this is He. For as there is no way or medium, by which we discover or perceive the body of the sun in the firmament of heaven outward, but by the light which proceeded from it; so there is not any medium by which we can know God, but by his own light and Truth, which is Jesus Christ, the efflux and emanation of his own glory and being, and through that holy and homogeneal mind where-with he is veiled.

"And as the light of the sun carries along with it the power and virtue of the sun, wherever it shineth in its unclouded rays, and by its influence, nourishes and makes fertile the animal and vegetable worlds; even so, and much more also, doth the heavenly Sun of righteousness, Jesus Christ, the essential Truth and light of the rational and intellectual world, arise, make known, and manifest himself in the soul; into whom, by the rays of his divine light, he introduceth and dispenseth the influence of divine heavenly virtue. Into them, I mean, who believe and obey in the day

of small things; according to that doctrine of an experienced holy man, 'Whatsoever things are reprov'd, are made manifest by the light; for whatsoever makes manifest, is light.' And again, according to that saying of the Truth himself, 'I am the light of the world; whosoever followeth me, shall not abide in darkness, but have the light of life.' We must therefore begin at the word of reproof, in order to the sure knowledge of God, and enjoyment of him, as he is love, and an ocean of unspeakable pleasure, and renounce the low and sordid pleasures of the animal life, which disqualify for divine enjoyments here and hereafter. But love God, love his judgments and reproofs in your hearts, which are all in love, in order to the manifestation of himself, according to that saying, 'Every son whom I love, I rebuke and chasten, saith the Lord.' And I can assure you, if you can believe me, that as I have tasted of the pleasures of this world, and through the goodness of God, known condemnation therein; so, through his great mercy, I am favoured of him with this certain experience in some measure; that the enjoyment of God, in a state of reconciliation, is undecarably more excellent and eligible than all other things, to the experience whereof I would recommend and excite you." This was the substance of what then passed among us, the lord Lonsdale, being a very ingenious person, of strong natural parts and penetration, asked me, "Since you had, before you came to the knowledge of God, in the way you have spoken of, believed the being of God, and all his attributes, did that knowledge make any alteration in your way of thinking on that subject, or give you any contrary sentiments that way?"

I replied, "No; for as reason, a constituent property of man, is still the same, and its proper objects the same also; so the knowledge of God makes no alteration there."

Then he was pleased to say, "Some things you have hinted at are new to me; which I have never read of in any book, or heard before."

By the time all this was finished, and some intervening questions and objections answered, it was about one in the morning, and then we went to rest; and the next day after dinner, I departed in peace.

One thing previous to this I have omitted, viz: that a little before night, some airy young persons threw in some reflections upon Friends about going naked, as they said, which could not be consisting with God to command.

To which I replied, "That about the time that Friends first appeared, there were a sort of people called Ranters, who frequented our meetings, and mixing themselves among them,



acted some unaccountable things, which were imputed unto us by such as could not, or would not, distinguish them from us; for which we were not accountable, they not being of us. And yet going naked is not inconsistent with God, in some cases, since he commanded one of the greatest of all his prophets to go so for the space of three years, as a sign to Egypt and Ethiopia; and what hath been, may be, since God is still the same." This abated their ridicule, so that they did not proceed any further upon the subject.

Since that time, upon another like occasion, I had some further discourse with the same lord Lonsdale upon another subject, that of tithes and maintenance.

He was pleased to allege, though perhaps not seriously, "That kings and great men, being possessed of countries, and large quantities of land, gave the tenths to the support of ministers; and the same laws which gave nine parts to the laity, gave the tenth to the clergy."

To this I replied, "That the law gives no property, but protects the possessor in it against violence." And then I deduced property from its original thus: "The first property a man hath, is his person, life and liberty; and as these are from God, and the right of all men, so he has provided means for the support of them unto all. The means of the support of person and life, are food and raiment, arising either naturally from the fruits of the earth, spontaneously growing, animal creatures, or by the personal labour or industry of man.

"Cain, it is said, was a tiller of the ground, and Abel a keeper of sheep. When Cain had cleared and cultivated a piece of ground, and propagated useful things thereon, that and those became the property of Cain by his personal labour; in which the law of natural reason will protect him against any thing but personal violence. And Abel, taking under his care and management some of the creatures he found most proper for his use and purpose, they became his property, by his care, labour and pains; in which also he was protected by the same law: and all just laws are no other than right reason, declared by way of compact upon that principle of reason constituent of our being. But when the earth was filled with violence, God destroyed the world, save Noah and his family, by whom he replenished it.

"In process of time, 'Nimrod became a mighty hunter before the Lord;' that is, his hunting was of that nature and tendency, as that God took notice of him therein; for he, with his company, first hunting wild beasts, became wild also themselves, and then hunted after the liberties and properties of other men,

invading them by force and numbers; till the rest of mankind, in their own just defence, entered into reasonable compacts against unreasonable invasions, repelling an unjust violence by a just and equitable force or power.

"Having essayed to fix a proper idea of the rise of property, I next observe how men may forfeit it, in all these respects, in the sight of God; and that is, by extreme wickedness, as may be instanced in a malefactor, who, by his evil deeds, forfeits his liberty, or property, or all; but then no private person can take cognizance of such offences, incurring such forfeitures, other than to bear witness against the offender, in order to conviction and adequate punishment before a proper stated judicature, of which no nation is destitute, though varying in circumstances. Since then property in lands, &c., cannot be justly taken away from any one—not forfeiting—without consent, what is that consent necessary to that end? It must be either in a public or private capacity. Private, as by his own particular act to give such lands to such a minister or priest, on condition of certain services, or saying so many masses or prayers, either for the living or the dead, or the like; or for the service of religion in general, according to the notion the donor had of it. Or public, as where the legislature of any country, for politic views and interests, makes laws for alienating the property of the subjects, with or without their private or particular consent; where, though property is truly invaded, the major directing the minor, the compulsion to obedience is held lawful and just, whatever it may be in the nature of the thing; and particulars sit under the burden where they have no redress. But all this binds not the conscience, though property is forced.

"All which I apply as followeth: This nation was once free from tithes and other impositions of that set of men, enslaving the world on pretence of the liberty of the gospel, till antichristian priestcraft, more subtle than that of the heathen, so far seduced the minds of weak and ignorant men, prone to superstition and idolatry, that they often gave away to the priests even their whole substance, at least on their dying beds, for pretended services, merely imaginary; for praying the departed souls of themselves or friends, out of a supposititious purgatory, with such and such masses on such and such days. This so far prevailed in this nation, that the legislature, fearing the whole lands would, in time, fall into the hands of the priests, made a law called the Statute of Mortmain, as a means to prevent it; which, in some degree, answered the end, and clogged their proceedings. But I do not remember any law, made by the legislature of this king-



dom, for imposing tithes, or for the recovery of them, or any thing to the priests, under the notion of dues, until the reign of king Henry VIII., when men's eyes began to be so far opened, that many throughout the nation refused to pay them, as may appear by the preamble of the statutes for that end made in his reign. This law establishes the customs on foot in favour of the priests, and no doubt, originally of their own beginning and imposing, for forty years before; which statutes being defective, they were corroborated by the second statute of Edward VI., still in force. By all which it appears, that this set of men never came fairly and equitably to the large and unreasonable share they demand, and receive out of the property of others; especially of those who do not, nay cannot, receive them, and their pretended services, as gospel ministers, and means of salvation; since the Author of religion himself hath commanded his ministers, that 'as freely they have received, they shall freely give.'

"The laws of the land therefore, upon the whole, though they bind the property by a sort of national violence, yet they can never bind the conscience; for which, and the Lord of conscience, we suffer with patience, as witnesses on earth, for him who reigneth in heaven; until, in the course of his providence, he appears for our relief, who is the King of kings and Lord of lords, and doth what he will in and with the kingdoms of men."

My noble antagonist replied, and not without a little pleasantness, that he would not yet yield me the argument; though he was pleased to propose another subject, of a different tenor.

At this time I staid in Cumberland about two years, sometimes visiting Friends there-away, and having some meetings in new places about in the country; and was twice at the yearly meeting for the north, once at Carlisle and once at Kendal, and some meetings also in Westmoreland, and the north parts of Lancashire; and among others, was at the first meeting in the new meeting-house at Whitehaven, on the day called Easter-day, in the year 1725. It was a large and open meeting, many, both Friends and others being there; and I heard not of any objection.

On the 6th of the eighth month I went from Carlisle to Alston-moor, and the quarterly meeting for Northumberland falling the next day at East-Allandale, I went to it; where the Lord was good to us, and I had a very open time among them. On the 8th I went to Newcastle, and on the 10th was at their meeting forenoon and afternoon; which were large and open. Joseph Jordan, son of Robert Jordan of Virginia, was also there. He is a young man, of a clean life, and solid testimo-

ny, calm and deliberate in his ministry, which is reaching and edifying; and I was glad to see and hear him. When I was last at his father's house, after that dispute with the French priest Burtell, at his uncle Thomas Jordan's, he was but a boy; and I did not know him when I saw him here.

The next day we went together to Shields to a monthly meeting; which was pretty large, and very open, several Friends from Sunderland being also there.

From hence Joseph Jordan went, on the third-day, westward, in order for Cumberland; and I staid at Newcastle till the fifth; which being the day of their weekly meeting, I was there, and an open time the Lord gave us, to our mutual comfort. On the 15th I went to Sunderland; and on the 17th, being the first of the week, was at their meeting forenoon and afternoon. The first was more select, for the most part Friends; but in the afternoon there came in many others, and among the rest, three attorneys at law; who, hearing that I had formerly been initiated into that faculty, came of curiosity to make their observations; and as I heard afterwards, were well satisfied; especially one of them, who said, he would not have missed that meeting. It was an open time, and to general satisfaction.

On the 22nd I went to Bishop-Auckland; where Friends of that place and of Raby met together: and though we sat long in silence, it was a profitable meeting; and I had a good time among them, both in testimony and prayer; and in the evening went home with my old friend the widow Walton. She had been formerly waiting-woman to the countess Carlisle; and convinced, in her service, whilst in Cumberland, by William Armstrong, and helped forward and confirmed by me at London; our old and early acquaintance in the Truth still remaining fresh and living.

On the 24th, being the first of the week, I was at Darlington meeting, forenoon and afternoon. It is a pretty gathering of Friends. We had a tender open time in the morning; and in the afternoon several strangers came in, of divers persuasions: and an opening, convincing time it was to several, and a solid meeting.

On the 30th I went to Whitby, and next day, being the first of the week, was at their meeting forenoon and afternoon. The meeting is considerable, as to the number of Friends; and at this time open and clear; and several of the neighbourhood there in the afternoon, very solid. On the fourth of the week was at Scarborough meeting, a good number of Friends belonging it, and we had a seasoning time together in the Truth; and



on the fifth-day following, they put off the time of their meeting till the evening; and then came many of the people; and we had a good open time, all being sober and solid. On first-day following, in the forenoon, the meeting was well filled with Friends and some others, and a good meeting; but for the sake of the people, the afternoon meeting being put off till the evening, the house, though large, was extremely crowded, and many in the street who could not get in, and some went away for that reason. Some truths of the gospel were clearly preached among them, in the authority of it; but the press was so great, especially towards the door, that they of necessity made themselves uneasy; which hurt the meeting in some degree, yet in the main it was an open, informing, and confirming time to Friends and others. Many of the reputable inhabitants were there.

Third-day went to a meeting at Pickering; which was small, and for some time, heavy; but the Lord quickened us together, and gave us comfort in the end. On the 9th of the ninth month the waters were very high, overflowing the banks; so that with difficulty and some danger, I got to the fourth-day meeting at Malton; which was small, but very open and comfortable. On the 11th I made a visit to the earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard, about three miles from Malton. He was confined to his chamber in a fit of the gout; but sending up my name, he readily admitted me, and expressed satisfaction to see me. Being set down, after a little pause of silence, he moved a discourse to this purpose: that mankind are incident to many troubles and temptations in life, and he observed a great difference between the trouble of mind which ariseth from losses and disappointments in the things of the world, and that which proceeds from a sense of misconduct, in a course inconsistent with duty to God and his known laws; and in the first instance, a man's hazarding his all, in one bottom, at sea, and suffering shipwreck.

This great truth I confirmed in the words of Solomon, "The spirit of a man may bear his infirmity; but a wounded spirit who can bear?" Magnanimous persons may sustain, for a long time, the shocks of bodily ailments, as likewise of losses and disappointments in life; but when, by our rebellion and disobedience to that holy law of life and grace, which God in mercy hath placed in us, for our guide and conductor, with respect to himself and towards one another, we wound not only our own consciences, but crucify to ourselves the Son of God afresh, and wound his holy Spirit in us, our anxiety must needs be incomparably greater in this case than the former. Yet such is the unspeakable goodness of God to

mankind, and the efficacy of the virtue of that grace that flows from him, that he not only shows us our transgressions and the evil of them; not only the wounds and sores thereby produced; but as we are truly humbled in that view, and willing to amend for time to come, he, most kind and beneficent, sends forth his healing and restoring virtue, as emollient ointment, taking away the anguish, and healing all our wounds."

This introduced a large field of discourse on such and the like subjects, which held nearly three hours; and I believe, to mutual satisfaction, and much upon the particular points following, viz:

"1. Faith in Christ, as come in the flesh, being the word, power, and wisdom of God assuming our nature, in a person separate from all men, as all others are. 2. Faith in him as a quickening spirit, and divine light, flowing from the Father into our minds, affecting and influencing both body and mind at certain times and modes, and degrees, as pleaseth him; being as a condemning law in us whilst we are in a state of unbelief, sin and rebellion; but a law of divine and immortal life, and true comforter in a penitent and faithful state; to which he himself reduceth us by his judgments and by his mercy, inwardly revealed and applied: by the ministration of judgment, wasting, as with divine fire and sword, the whole body of the sins of the flesh and carnal mind; and at the same time, in and by the same Spirit, manifesting and applying mercy and life eternal to the believing, humble, and penitent soul; and so completing that salvation declared by the coming of Jesus Christ, his death and sufferings.

"2. The kingdom of Christ in this world, ruling and reigning in the minds of regenerate men, by his grace and spirit, as King of Salem, Prince of righteousness and peace, in all them that believe and obey; who are the children of this kingdom in divine communion. The kingdoms of men, established by the providence of God for the government of the world in its natural state, for the preservation of life, liberty, character, property; the better sort of men, in a moral social state, being children of this kingdom.

"3. The kingdom of antichrist, being a false show, counterfeit, and pretence of Christianity, under which all cruelties and oppressions are, and have been, acted, to the destruction of life, limb, liberty, property, and religion. The children of this kingdom are priests, professing Christ, but living to themselves; being called by hopes of honour, power and advantages in this world, and not of the Lord; and the great men and small of this world confederating with them in worldly views,



against the natural and common interests of the rest of mankind, enslaving the conscience by force of human laws of their own devising, according to that observation of Christ to his disciples, 'Do not great men hale you out of the synagogues before the judgment seats,' and the like; in all which they are influenced, and often out of their own sight, by a devouring destroying spirit, contrary to the nature of Christ; who is most gentle, wise, and beneficent, bringing forth in men his own fruits, and making them like unto himself; as anti-christ renders all his children like unto him, proud, lofty angry, fierce, cruel, and unjust, bloodthirsty, arbitrary and tyrannical, without compassion and mercy, implacable and unreasonable; as is ever seen in all persecutors, whether under the pretence of national laws, or despotic and absolute rule." With some other important matters, not now to be fully collected.

Near the time of their dining came in the lady Irwin, one of his daughters, then a widow, desiring to know what he would please to eat; to which he did not presently answer, but bid her sit down in the room; which she did. After a little pause, he said to her, "I could have wished you had been present, to hear what has passed between us on different subjects;" and then gave her to understand how great an esteem he had for Friends, as an honest religious people: and as we had been great sufferers on account of our principles, he had ever helped and served us to the best of his power, and ever would. All which he spake with solid gravity, as if he meant to impress in her mind a good opinion of us. And when he had finished, desired her to take me with her to dinner, for he could not go himself; which accordingly she did: but before I went out of the room, he repeated his good opinion of Friends, and his respect for myself in particular, desiring me to call as often as my concerns lay that way. I went to dinner accordingly, the company being only that lady, her maiden sister, his son colonel Howard, an old gentlewoman, and the chaplain; among whom I was civilly treated. In the afternoon I returned to Malton, to an evening meeting I had appointed there. The meeting was large, many of the town's people coming in; and a very free and open time we had, the people being very sober and attentive, and the truths of the gospel were opened among them. The 12th, their monthly meeting at that place falling in course, I staid and attended it, having a very open time before we went upon the business of it. On the 13th I went to York, and on first-day morning the meeting was not large, there being but few Friends there for so large a

city; but in the afternoon, much larger, many of the town's people coming in, and very sober. On the third-day evening we had another meeting in the great meeting-house; which was well filled, many people, and some of note being there; and things were open and well. Fifth-day was their week-day meeting. Some persons of note sent to know the time, and came; but did not behave well. They were light, and whispered, and after a while, went out; but on some consultation among themselves, came in again, were much soberer, and staid the meeting. On sixth-day there happened a burial; and to the graveyard came many of the people, one of the aldermen, and one of his sheriffs, and some others of distinction; and I had an open time amongst them.

On the first-day following, the meeting in the morning was pretty large and open; and notice being given beforehand of one that evening in the great meeting-house, it was much crowded, many of the better sort being there, and nothing rude or indecent appeared in so great a multitude; but a decent sobriety, to the general satisfaction of Friends, as the meeting was also to the people. After that meeting I was easy to leave the place.

On the 28th, being the first of the week, we had a quiet meeting at Gainsborough in the forenoon, and another in the afternoon; both small, and few besides Friends: but not being easy to leave the place without seeing more of the people, the Friends, at my request, appointed another meeting on the second-day evening; and the people having notice, and many of the more noted sort, the house was filled, and many in the yard; and a very open satisfactory time we had on that occasion.

On the 4th of tenth month we went to Stanford, to John Young's; and the day following, being the first of the week, had two meetings in his house. The first was very small; there being few Friends in town, or near it; but as he had contrived to lay two front rooms into one, and had given notice to the neighbours, some of whom had also been at meeting in the forenoon, we had in the evening a large meeting, and an open time among the more reputable sort of both sexes, and some military officers. The meeting was held and ended in sobriety. On the 6th, in the evening, we had a meeting at Cliff; which was pretty well filled with a low people, but not too mean for the grace of life; for I had an open time among them; though but few Friends were there.

On the 10th I went to Cambridge to John Chapman's; and that day was at a meeting in town; which was small: but several of the



scholars being there, were more sober than ever I observed them before. I had a very open time among them; and one of the inhabitants, a light airy person, coming to that meeting, with intent to make himself and others diversion, was much disappointed; being so touched, as he confessed he never had been before; and had no power to be rude, as he intended; but was very sober and attentive all the time, and went off solid and serious.

On the 20th I went to London, and visited the meetings there; Friends were generally glad to see me, and I also of them in the Lord; and many open, comfortable, and confirming meetings we had to our great satisfaction.

After some time I returned to Carlisle and Justice-town, visiting some neighbouring meetings, and prosecuting some affairs of my own, and did not take any journey out of the county of Cumberland till the 25th of the second month, 1728, when I set forward towards the yearly meeting at Edinburgh. On the 29th we went to the city of Edinburgh, where I lodged with William Miller, jun., and on the 30th we had a meeting of ministering Friends, and after that their yearly meeting for business began; where things were carried on with unanimity and satisfaction.

On the 1st of the third month, being the fourth of the week, we had a select meeting, at the house of our friend William Miller, where I lodged, consisting of Friends only; and that afternoon had another public meeting, at the meeting-house, at the West-Port; where came many of the inhabitants of the city, and were much more quiet and attentive than heretofore, to whom several important truths of the gospel were clearly opened: and having another meeting in the afternoon, our company increased; and a good season the Lord gave us.

On the 2nd we had two meetings in the same place; and our company and satisfaction still increasing, it gave us encouragement to appoint another on the 3rd, which was the largest and most satisfactory of all; for Truth was over all in authority and brightness, and the people departed under a grave sense of a degree of the virtue of it, much beyond what I had observed in that city at any time before.

On the 6th, accompanied by Thomas Erskine, I went to Linlithgow, and that evening had a meeting there; where came a wild looking sort, there being but about half a dozen Friends remaining in that town: but we sitting under some concern and sense of the grace of God towards them, they grew more solid, and we had a good time among them, and they went away very grave and sober.

On the 7th we went to Glasgow, and lodged at George Swan's; where we staid till the

9th, their usual meeting-day; and notice being given, as many of the more reputable sort of people of the city came to the room as it could contain, and more; and the Lord gave us a very clear, open, and solid time among them. On the 10th we had another meeting there, much larger; so that the next room, stairs, and yard, or lane, were crowded; not with a rude rabble, as in times past, but an intelligent people, reputable among men; and as things opened in the wisdom and power of Truth, they were received with sobriety and attention, to mutual and common satisfaction; by which, and the open flowing of Truth, I perceived the state of that people was much altered for the better since I first knew that place, and the old prejudices much worn away in many of them.

On the 11th we had another large and open meeting, at eleven in the morning, at George Swan's; where all the room and yard, and some places adjacent, were filled; and the Lord favoured us with his good presence, and gave us good matter and utterance among them. The main points falling to my share therein, were the new covenant of light and life, and the elect Seed; Christ as the mediator and messenger of it to all that believe: of whom the sons of the first Adam, being born again, became of that Seed which never fell, and in whom also they stand and are established for ever. At this meeting were still more of the better sort, and one magistrate; and for any thing that appeared, generally satisfied. After that meeting we returned in peace the same evening to Robert Gray's, near Garthshore; where we had a very peaceable open meeting next day with a few plain and quiet people among the few Friends remaining in those parts.

On the 19th, being the first of the week, I was at Kelso both forenoon and afternoon; where came several of the neighbourhood: and as things opened clear and full, the meetings were, for any thing I could observe, very acceptable both to Friends and strangers.

On the 20th I went to Berwick, where there had formerly been a meeting of Friends; but they are all gone except one man and a woman: so that at this time the meeting was quite lost, and the meeting-house being small, and I willing to see as many of the people together as I could, perceiving the grace of life to remain in my mind towards them, the Friends with me applied to an acquaintance of theirs, a Presbyterian by profession, who furnished us next day with a ware-house, and back-yard, wherein he ordered convenient seats of deal boards, &c., and we had a large auditory. And as the Lord furnished my heart with much grace towards them, so out of that abundance,



I was enabled to say many things to them of moment; and the necessary truths of the gospel were plentifully and clearly opened that day among them, and the solid weight of divine Truth reigned over all, to general satisfaction, and the sole glory of Him, of whom is the power, and whose right it is to reign, both now and forever. Amen.

The meeting being thus well over, after some refreshment, I set forward towards Alnwick-Abbey, my old friend Samuel Robertson and his son going with me. That night we lodged at an inn about twelve miles from Berwick, and the next day went to the Abbey with our friend John Doubleday, jun., where we were kindly received by him and his wife, she being the eldest daughter of Robert Barclay, sen., of Ury, and grand-daughter of the famous and honourable Robert Barclay of the same place.

In the afternoon John Doubleday ordered notice to be given through the town of Alnwick, of a meeting at his father's house at the Abbey next day, where we lodged, and where his father had provided a meeting-house, chiefly to suit such occasions, and several of the more reputable sort of the inhabitants were there; but the quarter sessions of the peace sitting in town, occasioned the meeting to be thinner than otherwise it might; though a comfortable and very open time was given us.

On the 26th, being the first of the week, I was at Newcastle meeting; which, in the forenoon, was pretty open; but in the afternoon much shut up a long time, and the heavens seemed like brass, and the gates thereof fastened as with bars of iron: but waiting in patience and in sorrow, at length in his own time, which is ever the best, the Lord came, who appeared of old, the doors being shut, and who penetrates all things when he pleases, and makes all opposition fly at the beckoning of his hand, though fortified by hell, and secured with the chains and bars of death. A little help from him altered the case, and his presence gave life and ability to utter many good things out of his treasury, to the general edification and consolation of the meeting, and to his own praise who alone deserves it.

On the 1st of the fourth month I went to Durham, and the next day was at their meeting; which was large and very open, many Friends being there from Sunderland. Finding an inclination to see more of the town's people than were at that meeting, I appointed another next day at two in the afternoon; where many of them came, but were hard, dull, and drowsy; yet some of them more lively and attentive, and some good and necessary things were opened to them. But I had the least satisfaction in that meeting of

any before, and that afternoon was under some heaviness.

[Soon after, he returned to his lodgings at Carlisle, and on the 30th of the second month, 1730, again set out for the yearly meeting at Edinburgh—respecting which he says:]

On the 4th I went to Edinburgh, to William Miller's, the yearly meeting there being on the first fourth-day of the month as usual. It was held in the new meeting-house, which contained about six hundred, and was every day full, and many in the yard. They were not, for the greater part, a rude rabble, as formerly in that place, but generally sober, reputable people; and the truths of the gospel were plentifully opened, and with good authority. The meeting held two days; and after it was over, I staid until the first-day following, in the mean time visiting the dean of Gild, a very sober religious person, with whom I had some discourse, chiefly concerning the bread and wine, and the substance; in which I had great satisfaction, and the rather, that he also declared his in what passed amongst us on that subject.

On the second-day following, accompanied by Thomas Erskine, I went to Glasgow, where we had a meeting the next day; which being in their new meeting-house, was much larger, than heretofore, and very quiet and open, many of the better sort being there. On the 14th had two meetings, one in the forenoon, and the other in the after. That in the forenoon was large, and in the main, quiet and open; only as there came a great company of the collegians, they were much ruder than any other of the baser sort; which gave me some heavy reflections, that these seminaries of the members, both of the national, or political, church and state, should be more peculiarly depraved than the worst of the other rabble. To see the good intentions of well-meaning parents so cheated and eluded by the ignorance, perfidiousness and idleness of those well-paid and over-paid teachers, to whom the care of them and their education is committed, is lamentable. For, alas! what but bitter and poisonous waters can be expected from such depraved fountains.

In the afternoon the meeting was large, with sober persons of the chief rank, and the truths of the gospel in a good degree cleared among them; and the meeting ended well, and in peace. That which contributed not a little to our outward quiet, was the care of the magistrates in sending civil officers to keep out the baser sort; which we were favoured with at every meeting; and was the first time, so far as I have heard, that ever any magistrates of that nation took any care to preserve our meetings in peace that way.



On the 15th of the third month, being the sixth of the week, we returned to Edinburgh; and the first-day following I was again at the meeting there; which was the largest that had ever been in that place, and very open. On the 18th I went for Kelso, accompanied by Joseph Miller; and when we came to the inn at Channelkirk, we met with the marquis of Lothian and sir John Rutherford of Egerton. They were very familiar and courteous, though strangers to us; and as their company and attendants made a throng in the inn, my companion and I could not be so well accommodated as otherwise we might; which the marquis understanding, he courteously sent us some of his own provisions which his servants had brought for them.

I continued my progress to Justice-Town; where I employed my time in my favourite amusement, of planting and improving my land, and at the same time visiting meetings as they came of course, and enjoying the conversation of my friends and neighbours, till the second month, 1731, when I prepared for London. On the 13th I went to the yearly meeting at Chester; which began about two in the afternoon for ministers and elders; and the next day, the 14th, meetings for worship, both forenoon and after; which were very large and well, we having the company of great part of the citizens, and many of the gentry round. On the 15th, in the forenoon, was the meeting for conference, and quarterly meeting for Cheshire, and in the afternoon, a meeting for worship; where we had an audience of several thousands of people in a great tennis court, many of them being of the more reputable sort, and among others, seven ministers of the national church; who, as well as the people, spake well of the testimony of Truth which was delivered among them; for which many Friends were thankful to the Lord our God, who hath wrought so great a change in the minds of the people, not only in this place, but also in most places at this day throughout all Britain, and the British dominions every where.

On the 19th we set forward for Shrewsbury, and on the 20th went to Ludlow, where the yearly meeting for Wales was that year to be held, and where there were no Friends, or any meeting for so long a time, if ever. The first was held in the prince's palace, in a very large hall, by the favour of captain Jones, the governor. But the morning meeting being very much crowded, the ministering Friends divided themselves in the afternoon, and several held another meeting at the same time in a large room adjoining the hall; and both were exceedingly crowded, and many could not get in at all. The Lord was with

us, and the gospel was preached in his wisdom and power to general satisfaction. Notwithstanding the great throng of people, there was not any disturbance or disorder among them; for the magistrates, to their just commendation, had taken great precaution, by making proclamation, through the town beforehand, posting the same up in writing in the market, or some public place, that if any should molest the meeting, or give any disturbance, such should be severely punished. Besides this encouragement, they appointed constables to attend the gates, keep out children and rabble, and the meetings peaceable; some of whom were very serviceable in the meetings, in directing the people to convenient seats, and placing them to the best advantage for general accommodation. The meetings ended on the 22nd; and the next day I went with our friend Gabriel Smith, to his house at Lempster, and we had a very open meeting with Friends, and some others there, on the 24th.

On the 25th, being the first of the week, we returned with several Friends to Ludlow; where notice had been given of two meetings that day; but the person who undertook it, not doing it so certainly as it should have been, the morning meeting was not large; but in the afternoon, the great hall was well filled with sober people, to whom the gospel was yet more fully preached, and was the most open meeting we had in the place; and so we left them in peace and love. Returning that evening with Friends to Lempster, many of the people at Ludlow, watching our departure out of the town, stood in companies on the sides of the streets, to salute us with their civilities, as did many others in their doors and windows; and we departed in peace, and in that humility wherewith the Truth adorns the mind, being thankful to the Lord for his great favours; his reducing magistracy to its proper use and end, a terror to evil-doers, and praise and protection to them that do well, being none of the least, considering how much our friends, and myself in some measure, have suffered under magistrates of a persecuting spirit in former times.

On the 26th we went to Worcester, to the widow Pardoe's; and the next day had a large and open meeting there; many of those called gentry with military officers and others being present; and the authority of Truth over all. That evening we visited several families in town; and next fourth-day had a meeting at Evesham; which was also open and well. On the 29th we had a meeting at Cheltenham; in which divers important truths of the gospel were clearly, and with good authority, opened and delivered.



On the 1st of the third month we went to Nailsworth, and the day following had two meetings; which were very large and open: that in the afternoon was the largest, some said, that ever had been known there, many Presbyterians and Baptists being present; especially of the former, and in the afternoon the matter of election and reprobation was fully handled and opened, not knowing, till after the meeting, that so many of that sort were present. The meeting was peaceable, and ended well. On the 4th we had a small, but pretty open meeting at Tedbury; and next day at Dedmartin. On the 6th we had a very open meeting at Bath; and we tarried till the 9th, being the first of the week, and had two large meetings, and pretty open, many strangers of account in the world being there.

On the 10th we went to Froom, and the day following had two large and very open meetings among the general Baptists, and others, in their meeting-house. Having had a meeting in the same house many years ago, as soon as they heard I was come to town, and desired such a meeting with them, they readily granted us their house, and generally came to the meeting; two of their teachers being there also. On the 12th we went to Bradford, where we had a good meeting; the truths of the gospel being clearly preached in the demonstration of the Spirit, and power of Truth. On the 14th went to the week-day meeting at Bristol; where we staid all the week following, it being the yearly meeting; we had good times with both Friends and people, the meetings being very large and open, and the kingdom of God fully preached. On the 22nd I went back to Nailsworth, and was at their meeting next day; which was large and open, but laborious, by reason of the extreme heat and crowd of people. The quarterly meeting being on the third-day following, I staid; where many things were opened, in the meeting for business, concerning the discipline of the church, and the use and necessity of it; against the payment of tithes; and especially the hypocrisy and deceit of such as profess Truth, in this present dispensation of it, and yet, by collusion and subtle practices, evade the testimony, by dark, indirect, and underhand practices; as if the Lord could not see, though they may veil their own understandings by covetousness, or any other blind: the faithful there had comfort and confirmation thereby.

On the 26th I went to the week-day meeting at Painswick, which was small; but staying there next day, on occasion of a marriage, the meeting-house was crowded with people;

and many important truths of the gospel were clearly, and with authority, opened and preached among them, to the honour of Truth, and comfort of those who desired the prosperity and spreading of it in the earth. On the 29th I went to Warminster; and the day following, being the first of the week, was at the meeting forenoon and afternoon. The former was small, being few but Friends, and a little heavy at first, but lively in the end. That in the afternoon was filled with other people, and very open; many truths of the gospel being published in their audience with good authority and clearness; and they departed in solidity, as if things had in some measure impressed them.

On the 31st I went to Sherburn, and the day after to Bridport, and was at their meeting on fourth-day; which was small, and something heavy in the beginning of it, but more open in the end. On the 8th of the fourth month, accompanied by Samuel Bownas, then living at Bridport, we had an appointed meeting in a barn at Kingham, belonging to William Smith, about five miles from Bridport; where no meeting is settled, and but one family of Friends there. It was pretty large, though few Friends, and a good meeting. The day following we had another appointed at Beaminster, where there were but one Friend and his wife in town; but a pretty large and open meeting. On the 11th we went to Chard and had a small evening meeting there, and on the 13th, being the first of the week, we were at Taunton, forenoon and afternoon; the latter was large, and both well. On the 14th, in the evening, we had a meeting at Creech. It was very open; and a lawyer and his wife, and some others of the gentry, being there, they staid the evening with us, and were very sociable. On the 15th we had a meeting at Bridgewater, which was very small; for several of the Friends in that place, who in time past had been in reputation as the chief among them, being trading men, had fallen short in their business, and many had suffered loss by them; so that the people were generally under offence by this means, and despised our meetings, and neglected the Truth on that account; yet the meeting was open, and the right-minded among them comforted.

On the 16th we went to Summerton, and the day following were at the quarterly meeting there. On the 20th, being the first of the week, the meetings at Bridport were very large and open, especially in the afternoon; which being put off till five o'clock, was the largest, as some Friends supposed, that ever had been in that place; and the important



truths of the gospel were largely, clearly, and with authority, opened among them; and Truth was over all.

On the 22nd, being the third of the week, was the yearly meeting at Pool; and the next day the quarterly meeting; and that evening another meeting for worship; when, the town's people coming in, it was the largest and most open.

On the 27th, being the first of the week, the meeting at Sarum being small in itself, several of the neighbourhood came in, and things opened well; and the meeting being comfortable, we had much more company in the afternoon. Some of the Baptists were so well satisfied, that two of them, of good understanding, and honest, well-meaning men, came to John Moor's, where I lodged, after the meeting; with whom I had conversation to edification. They declared their satisfaction with the meeting; but one of them still thought the bread and wine ought to be continued in the church; but reasoned moderately: and the other owned that I had given him more satisfaction concerning the incarnation of the Word of God, in some discourse I had had with him the day before, than he ever had met with by word or writing. We parted with good will on all-sides.

On the 4th of fifth month I went to Melksham meeting, which was one of the most open I had in those parts; the important truths of the gospel being opened in the wisdom and power of Truth, to general satisfaction. On the 6th I went to Bradford, where I had an evening meeting, which was indifferently well, several of the neighbours being there, and very solid. That night I lodged at John Ballard's; who went with me to Bath next day. He was an attorney at law; and being convinced of Truth, made profession with us: but the law being altered with respect to men of his practice, and some new oaths required of them, he had offered his affirmation according to the law made in our favour, in matters of evidence; but judge Ayres, not being our friend, denied him that privilege; which, it was generally held, the law and common right allowed him; since that practice, being his way of livelihood and subsistence before that law was made, was no office, or place of trust or profit in the government; which, with serving on juries concerning life and death, was all the exception in any of the Acts concerning the affirmation of Friends, instead of oaths.

On the 9th I went to Bristol; and on the first-day following had two full and open meetings; though I never went to that city with less hope, or more down in my mind than at that time; but on the third-day, the

meeting being larger than usual, was pretty generally reached, and more of the young sort, of both sexes, tendered, than I have observed there, or elsewhere, for a long time; after which I was not so much laden in my spirit as before in that city; where there is a great body of people under our profession; who I hope will remain honourable in the Truth, and increase in the power and virtue of it. On the 14th I went to a monthly meeting for worship at Belton, accompanied by Alexander Arcot, an honest and good warrior for Truth on earth, against the antichristian infidels of this present age. We had the company of some Friends and others, to the number, in all, of nearly forty persons; among whom I laboured hard for some time; but to what purpose I do not know: for, though many important truths of the gospel were plainly opened, I did not find any great impression made, nor was I very easy afterwards, but rather under a kind of deadness; which, I fear, is the state of too many people to whom we minister; though several of them at that time seemed well satisfied with the meeting.

On the 21st I went to Frenchay, where we had a good open meeting; the greatest part were young people, there being several schools at that place for both sexes; and that evening returned to Bristol; and the great fair approaching, which is usually attended with a great concourse of people, I staid till it was over. There are, at this time, two great meetings of Friends at Bristol; the greater part being young, many of them are hardly distinguishable from the world by any outward appearance, either in speech or habit; but as people of all ranks and opinions now frequent our meetings every where, they were very large and open on this occasion. I staid at that city till the 4th of the sixth month, and then went to the week-day meeting at Sidbury, accompanied by my old friend and acquaintance, Richard Champion, and his son; where, though a small meeting, by reason of the prevalence of the small-pox in the place, and harvest, yet a comfortable time the Lord gave us.

[After several other meetings, he says;] On the 14th I went to Oxford; but soon after I arrived, my mind became laden with that power of gross darkness, that may be felt, constantly attending and prevailing in that seat of wisdom and subtilty, but not of God. Next day, being the first of the week, in the meeting it remained heavy and dark a considerable time, till the never failing Truth arose and dispersed it; and then, being over all evil spirits, I stood up, and many things were opened of great importance, without any



disturbance by the scholars, many of whom were there, but not altogether so rude as at times heretofore, or even the preceding first-day meeting; for, of all places wherever I have been, these scholars of Oxford were the rudest, most giddy and unruly rabble, and most mischievous. But having got over them in the forenoon, the way was easier in the afternoon; and having matter of importance to deliver, and with full authority, several of them were affected, and all chained.

On the 29th I was at Nottingham meeting, which was not large in the forenoon; but much fuller in the afternoon by the coming in of many of several sects, as Baptists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, &c. But one Joshua Par, who had been denied by Friends, gave some disturbance to the meeting; which was customary with him. His father had been convinced, and was hopeful for a time, but declined at last; and, as I remember, had been denied. This Joshua was likewise hopeful, till he undertook to preach in our meetings, which being in a confused manner, Friends could not receive him as a minister; and continuing to impose himself, and becoming very turbulent and insolent, they denied him as a member; on which he became an open enemy. He began to accuse the meeting in a little time, calling them hypocrites, and other ill names, after the manner of the Ranters. William Thompson opposed him; and a constable appearing, he was daunted a little, and became silent. Then I had the time of the meeting; and things were pretty well.

In the afternoon he came again, and acted in like manner; and pretending to pray in the meeting, the constable then came to take him away; but he refused, pretending he had not broken any law; which was not true; for disturbance of our meetings is against the Toleration Act. William Thompson bid the constable let him alone, if he would be quiet, and give no disturbance; which he did: and a little after I began to speak on several important truths of the gospel. The meeting was open and well; but having said something concerning civil government as an ordinance of God for the punishment of evil-doers, &c., he took that as if intended against him; and came to my lodging to wrangle about it. I said not much to him; for the little I did say he could not bear, being full of himself, and pouring out his resentments; which gave me occasion to tell him, he was deaf and blind, he could not hear what I said, or see the truth of it. I told him he was a Ranter; that I had seen many such in America, and some of late in Cumberland; that he was of the same spirit and practice, speaking after the same foolish and blasphemous manner as they did;

and advised him to decline that way, and forbear to disturb our meetings any more. He began to flee, scoff, and giggle; for which, I reproving him, he pretended that whenever he felt the comfortable presence of the Lord to support him against his opposers, he then could not forbear laughing. This was a special note of the Ranters; for they pretended that God had taken up their souls unto himself, and possessed their bodies, and he being under no law but his own will, could do no evil; therefore all those actions they did, they imputed to God, though ever so foolish and wicked.

On the 30th I went to Mansfield, and on the 3rd had a meeting there; and when I went in, found this Joshua Par in the gallery. He was not long silent, but began to accuse Friends there as hypocrites; saying also, "Men gather not grapes of thorns, nor figs of thistles." Then Richard Marriot, one of that meeting, replied, "Thou art a thistle; thou bringest forth ill fruits, by which thou art known." Another Friend went out quietly, and brought in a constable, who was followed by some of the town's people; and as soon as Joshua Par saw them, he sat silent; and the constable and neighbours staying, we had an open comfortable meeting. That afternoon I went on to Balberhall, to sir John Rhodes', and there staid two nights; and on the 2nd of the seventh month, being the fifth of the week, I went with him to the meeting at Chesterfield. Next day I went to visit the widow Elizabeth Heathcoate and children at Cuthorp, where I staid two nights; and on the first-day following was at the same meeting. It consisted for the greater part of Friends in the forenoon, and pretty open; but having requested Friends in the place to invite the neighbours in the afternoon, the meeting was much larger, and very open; the important truths of the gospel being with good authority preached among them.

On the 9th I was at a monthly meeting at Burton; which was small, but very comfortable; and the next day at Woodhouse, the village adjacent, which consisted, for the greatest part, of Friends, and pretty open; though it is observable, in these days, that our meetings are generally brightest and most open, and the necessary truths of the gospel most clearly and powerfully opened, where the people are invited by Friends, and come freely in; whereby Friends themselves become further informed and edified.

On the 15th I was at Halifax; where the meeting was small, none but Friends being present, and few of them. On the 16th I went to Bradford, and the day following had a meeting there; which consisted mostly of



Friends, and was large and open. But having a mind to see the people, Friends ordered their new meeting-house—not being fully finished—to be fitted up as well as could be for that occasion; and notice being given in town, and some adjacent parts of the country, we had a large meeting the first-day following; and the people being sober and attentive, the Lord opened things to them with authority and clearness; and many of them seemed well affected with what they heard and felt.

On the 29th and 30th was the quarterly meeting at York; where the envy and ill contrivance of some priests of the national church fell under consideration. The case was this: It had been falsely reported to some meeting of priests at London, that Friends of the north, especially in Yorkshire, had been very industrious in spreading and promoting the blasphemous and antichristian books, published of late by Woolston; and the bishop of Lichfield and Coventry having written two volumes in answer to Woolston, took occasion therein to vent his spleen against us; designing, but with no truth, to put us on the same foundation with him, the Familists, and other heterodox persons, as deniers of the outward coming of Christ, and despisers of the holy Scriptures, the old, thread-bare, false charges of little credit at this day, if at all believed even by these mercenary hirelings and scribblers themselves. Yet, to obviate the hurt that some weak and credulous persons might sustain by our silence to those charges, the meeting extracted some paragraphs out of our yearly meeting epistles, from the year 1706, to this year 1731, containing earnest and repeated advice to Friends every where to read the holy Scriptures, and wait upon the Lord for his help in understanding them; and also not to read, or suffer to be read in their families, any books of deists, plays, romances, &c., tending to the discredit of the holy Scriptures, and contrary to the Christian religion. These extracts the meeting committed to the care of several to be printed and published, with a short introduction; which resulting to the particular care of Roger Shackleton of York and myself, it was accordingly printed at York, and published there the 4th of the eighth month following.

At York I staid till the 3rd of the eighth month, being the first-day of the week; when the meeting was very large in the afternoon, chiefly with strangers, for the meeting of itself is but small, and many truths of the gospel were freely opened; and for any thing I could observe, well received by the auditory; which consisted in the main of reputable people. The next day I staid at York to see the printed extracts finished, and on the 5th went

toward Northallerton, and was at their meeting on the 7th, which was very open and comfortable.

[After attending several other meetings he reached his home at Carlisle on the 25th.]

I staid at and about Carlisle till the 30th of the sixth month, 1732; when I went to York, and on the first of the week, was at the meetings there, both forenoon and after; which were very open.

On the 5th of the seventh month I called at Castle-Howard, and dined with the earl of Carlisle and his family; the lord Cornbury being likewise there. About the conclusion of our dinner, the earl, in a frank manner, moved some discourse about the ceremonies of the national church, and asked me if we would join with them, in case they would lay aside the surplice and sign of the cross in baptism?

I answered, "Lay these things aside, and then we will confer with you about the rest." Then said the earl, "These things are no way essential to religion, and may well be spared; and we have no foundation in Scripture for them, and some other things we use." Then said his chaplain, "Things innocent in their own nature may be enjoined by the church and the legislature; and thence arises a duty to obedience." The earl replied, "Whatever is invented and imposed by man, in matters of religion, more than was ordained by Christ, and taught by him and his apostles, is vicious, and ought not to be regarded;" (a noble confession!) and dismissed his chaplain with a frown, whilst I was asking him this question, "When and where did the Lord Jesus ever give power to any temporal prince or state, to add to, alter, or diminish, the religion he himself established on the earth? Is not he all-sufficient in himself for that, without the direction, concurrence, or aid of any other power, since all power in heaven and earth is given unto him?"

The chaplain departing the room, I requested liberty of the earl for a few words further, that since he had been pleased to mention their baptism, and object to an incident of it, as now used by them, I hoped it would not be illy resented, if I endeavoured to inform him how we understood the Christian baptism; and having his countenance therein, I proceeded.

[To the remarks made on the subject] neither of the lords made any reply; but after a short pause, entered into some discourse between themselves, concerning the meaning of John the Baptist, when he sent two of his disciples to Christ, to ask whether he was the Messiah, after he had so fully before owned and declared him to be so. They could not at first think the same way about his meaning;



one supposing he doubted under the temptation of persecution and imprisonment: but that instance being advanced, where Christ, speaking to the Father, saith, "Father, I knew that thou hearest me always: but because of the people which stand by, I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me;" it was then concluded, that the message from John was not for his own sake, or as doubting concerning Christ; but for the sake of his disciples, and others, for their further information and establishment in the faith of Christ: and so the conversation ended. Then I took leave; but the earl, though weak in his limbs, by a late fit of the gout, went before me to the head of the stairs, and standing there a while, professed his good liking to Friends, as a religious, useful people, and good commonwealth's men; and wished his tenants were all of our way.

On the 7th I had an open comfortable meeting at Pickering; and that afternoon went to Scarborough. On the 8th I was at their week-day meeting; which, though in the season for drinking the Spa water there, and many strangers remaining in town, was small and select, consisting of Friends only; but open and edifying.

The 10th, being the first of the week, the meeting was not large in the morning, few strangers coming in, and my exercise a little heavy: but in the afternoon many accompanied us, and the truths of the gospel were preached among them with clearness and authority; and then I was much easier and satisfied for that time: for the whole meeting continued under a solid quietude a considerable time after all outward exercise was over; and they seemed rather unwilling to depart than hasty.

On the 14th I went to Whitby; and had an open and solid meeting with Friends there the day after, and came back to Scarborough, and on the first of the week, I was again at their meeting; which was large and open, especially in the afternoon; when we had the company of many strangers of the better sort.

On the 22nd I went to Newton, to Robert Milner's, in whose house we had a meeting the next day in the evening; and though no Friends were present, except his family, we had an open time, the truths of the gospel being suitably opened to the state of the people. On the 24th, being the first of the week, I went to Malton; and the people having notice, many came to the meeting; which was large, and the most important truths, relating to the salvation both of Jews and Gentiles, plainly, and with full authority, opened to them; which, by a close attention, many seemed to favour; and I hope, some good was

done among them that day. On the 25th I went to York, in order for the quarterly meeting. It was not large, but very comfortable: but as few of the people came in during the time of worship, and I desiring to see them, staid there till the 1st of the eighth month; when, in the evening, the great meeting-house was filled, so that several could not get in: and the multitude being generally quiet and attentive, I had a free open time among them, to the satisfaction of Friends, and I believe the people in general. I went next day to Leeds, to my old friend Benjamin Horner's; where I have ever been easy, finding the Son of peace there: and the fourth-day following, being their week-day meeting, I had a free and comfortable time with Friends.

On the 7th I returned to Leeds; and next day was at their meetings, both forenoon and after. The latter being attended with many of the neighbourhood, was a good meeting, as that in the forenoon also was, though not so large, the gospel of the kingdom of God being fully preached unto them; to which many seemed to assent by their sobriety and attention. On the 10th I went to Bradford, and the next day, had a very open and satisfactory meeting; where several of the chief people of the town were present, and very attentive. On the 13th we had an appointed meeting at Bridgehouse, which was not large, being very wet weather and windy; but an open comfortable meeting. On the 20th a meeting being appointed at Meadop, near Pennyston, I went thither; and the Lord gave us a good time in his holy presence. That evening I went to Sheffield, and lodged at Thomas Buck's; where I staid till the 22nd, being the first of the week, and was at their meeting there; and some of the most important truths of the gospel were opened with authority and clearness, and I think, to general satisfaction.

On the 23rd I went to Dronefield, and the day after had a small, but open meeting there. Next day I was at Woodhouse meeting; which was small, and not so open as I could have desired; yet the Lord was with us, and owned us; and that is sufficient at all times. No notice having been given to the town's people, and I having an inclination to see them, communicated it to the elders of the meeting; who readily concurred with me to have another meeting, and notice given; which accordingly was held on the 27th. Many of the people came, and some from other villages; and the Lord gave us a free and open time, and the people were generally satisfied; only I heard of one who was not pleased to hear of any other baptism but sprinkling, the baptism of the Holy Spirit being at that time recommended to their consideration.



On the 29th, being the first of the week, I was again at the meeting at Dronefield, that of Chesterfield likewise meeting with them that day of course; and the Lord gave us an open, powerful, and comfortable meeting, matters of the greatest moment being opened among us.

On the 31st I went to Chesterfield, to Joseph Storr's, and that evening had the largest meeting ever known there: for I had desired the Friends to give notice to the people, that a stranger desired to see them; and though it was a mixed multitude, the Lord was pleased to own us, and open the doctrine and truths of the gospel with clearness and authority; which seemed to affect many of the auditory, being generally still though much crowded, and many without: the effects whereof must be left to the Lord, of whom is the power and wisdom, and to whom be the glory of all his works.

On the 1st of the ninth month I went to Balber-Hall, to see my worthy friend and old acquaintance, sir John Rhodes, who had embraced the Truth early in his youth, under great self-denial; in which he had continued, and holds his integrity unto this day, and without doubt will to the end: and then an unspeakable overbalance, to all the honour and pleasure he hath, for the cross of Christ, sacrificed in this world, will he meet with in that which is to come, never ending, and without change, but from glory to glory for ever. Here I staid in open friendship with him till the 4th; which being the seventh of the week, and no meeting near, I went forward to Mansfield, to Richard Marriot's, and was at their meeting next day; which, though small in the forenoon, was open and comfortable; and in the afternoon, many of the neighbourhood coming, I had a full time, and suitable matter given me among them: and an ancient Friend departing this life while I was there, I staid to attend the service at his interment. The meeting was the largest that had been known there, with a mixed multitude of all sorts. The Truth was preached to them in terms suitable to their states; and they were much more sober and attentive than could have been expected from their first appearance, many of them looking wild and airy; which gave me occasion to think, what good do their parents do them, and where is the care of parents to be seen? But he that commandeth the winds, and stilleth the raging waves of the sea, calmeth the most turbulent spirits, by his invisible word, working effects visible and surprising. The meeting ended in peace, and in all appearance, to general satisfaction.

On the 15th I was at a meeting appointed at Harborough; which was very small, but

very comfortable, the Lord delighting more to visit a few right-minded, than many thousands of the rebellious and unfaithful.

[Attending a number of meetings by the way, he reached London the 7th of the tenth month, 1732, and says:]

At this time deism was much advanced in the city and nation, and the former zeal of all sects nearly expired; yet our meetings were much crowded on first-days: and though the generality of Friends in the city were young people, they delighted to hear the principles and doctrines of Truth published with authority and demonstration; of which the Lord was pleased to furnish me, in good measure, for his holy name's sake, and the help of his people; though I boast not but of his mercy only. I was frequently concerned to distinguish between a natural and spiritual state. In the former, man has the use of his reason and understanding in natural things, receiving all his ideas thereof from without by his senses within him, and making a judgment according to the ability of his natural faculties, deducing consequences from premises, by ratiocination: by which he may rationally conclude the existence of the Almighty, from his work of the creation, cognizable, in some measure, by the senses; but cannot form any proper idea of the enjoyment of God, from the works of creation.

But in the spiritual state, whereinto man is brought, not by any natural ability or effort, but by the word or Spirit of God; by which he operates in and upon the natural man, as upon the dust of the earth, and worketh in his spiritual senses, whereby he is capacitated to enjoy God, as he is essential love, wisdom, truth, power, &c., through Christ; who presents in the mind of the spiritual man every proper idea of God, necessary to the complete happiness of man, and admiration and adoration of the divine Majesty, now and for ever. The essential Truth, Christ Jesus, by the emanation of his own divine light, exhibits these in the mind by divine intuition, even as the sun in the firmament of heaven exhibits himself to the natural man by his own light, immediately, without any reasoning.

One day during my stay in the city, I, with some other Friends, fell in company with a deist occasionally, at a Friend's house; and something being moved relating to his principles, he was furnished with divers subtle arguments in opposition to the Christian religion; which yet had no weight with us; and one of the company, to bring him, in some respect, under the authority of the Holy Scriptures, asked him, if he did believe what was written therein? He answered equivocally, that he did believe many things therein, but not all.



However, he soon after urged the apostle Paul's doctrine in his epistle to the Romans, in defence of their position, "That the reason of man is his only guide in the way to please God, and the only principle by which man can apprehend there is a God; for, saith that Scripture, 'That which may be known of God is manifest in them (men); for God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse.' I replied, "That man, taking in the idea of the outward creation by his senses, and reasoning from the effect to the cause, may conclude, and cannot avoid it, that there is an Almighty all-wise Agent, who has produced and supports all things; and that he hath all the divine and moral attributes commonly ascribed; and that a great satisfaction may arise from a reasonable contemplation that way: and yet all this is, in comparison, but a history or report of God, though for ever true, and gives not the enjoyment of his presence sensibly as he is divine essential Truth and love, wisdom, light and power; as which, he cannot be known but by his own light, flowing from himself, through Christ; through which, as through a veil, man sees the inaccessible glory of the Father, who dwelleth in the light, which no man hath seen, or can see by any other medium; and not by that, till due qualifications be wrought in the mind by the power dwelling in that light, which shineth in the mind of the natural reasonable man, though he, as such only, cannot comprehend it."

I added to this, "That the divine light of Truth, or Spirit of Christ, is another thing than human reason; and is superadded to the rational man, after he is already rational; and is not a constituent of his being, as is his reason: and instanced Cornelius, who was not only a rational man, but also a devout man, and one that feared God, with all his house; who gave much alms, and prayed to God always; and whose prayers and alms went up as a memorial before God. Yet it was needful that an apostle of Christ should tell him what he ought to do further; that is, to receive the word, anointing, or Holy Ghost; which believing, he did accordingly receive it. This is the Spirit of Truth, and leads into all truth relating to the spiritual world, and the things thereof. This human reason can never do, receiving all its ideas from without, concerning natural, nay even spiritual, things; whereas the knowledge of things spiritual is conceived in the mind from the Spirit of Truth within; and those things exhibit their

own ideas after their kind and nature, to the mind, as outward things exhibit their ideas, after their sort, to the senses, by sensible intuition, and not by reasoning." These things seeming, at that time, to take some hold of the mind of this person, I recommended them to his further consideration; and he said, he would examine them: but I have not seen him since.

Having visited all the meetings at London, and one at Croydon, and being easy, for the present, concerning them, I set forward for the north on the 2nd day of the twelfth month; but went no further than Tottenham; and the next day to Hartford. On the 4th, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting there, which was large and open, especially in the afternoon; and the next day, in the evening, we had a pretty good meeting at Hitching.

On the 8th I had an open meeting at Sherington. On the 9th, in the evening, at Bugbrook; many of the town's people, and of a neighbouring village being there, and on the 10th I went to Coventry, and the day following was at their meeting; which was large and open, especially in the afternoon. That evening I had the satisfaction of the company of many Friends, and among others, of Josiah Forster, author of a treatise lately printed, styled, *A Vindication of the Doctrine of Baptism*; a worthy performance.

On 12th I went to Birmingham, and lodged at John Pemberton's, and the day after had a meeting there; which was not large, by reason of an epidemical distemper then in town, but a good meeting. On the 15th I went forward to Leek, and the evening following had a meeting there, the largest, as was reported, ever seen there: for notice had been given in the day-time before, and the town's people came freely, and were generally very sober and attentive; and things opened freely with authority and demonstration. On the 17th I went forward to Stockport, where I met with our ancient and honourable friend Benjamin Bangs, who lived in that town. It being the first of the week, I was at their meetings; that in the afternoon being put off till the evening, was larger than the former; and indifferently well and open.

On the 19th I went to Manchester; and the next day, in the evening, had a meeting at a farm-house belonging to a Friend; where we had the company of many country people, who were very sober; and things opened well among them to general satisfaction. That night returning to Manchester, we had a meeting next day there; and the town's people having notice, many of the first rank came to it; and the Lord favoured us with suitable matter and an open time. There



being a burial on the 22nd, we had the company of many more; and things were well, through that grace which fails not those who trust therein, and attend to its virtue. Here I tarried till the 24th, and then went to Preston; where the meeting is small, but was at it the next day, being the first of the week.

On the 1st of the first month, 1733, I went to Kendal, to Thomas Ellwood's, and was at their monthly meeting the day after; which was large and open, and the business thereof managed in the peaceable wisdom of Truth; and a comfortable time the Lord gave us. This being the sixth-day of the week, I staid till the first of the next, when the morning meeting was large, consisting for the most part of Friends; and the truths of the gospel were opened clearly, and with tendering authority, persuading the youth not to rest in the outside of things only, in a formal exercise of those things left by example, by those who are gone before; but to wait for the same word of wisdom and power in themselves, as their conductor also in the same things in their day. Several of them were tendered and broken; and we were favoured of the Lord with his presence, and comforted together in him. The afternoon meeting was put off, at my request, till between four and five; when came a multitude of all sorts, and several of the magistrates, and generally sedate and attentive, and many things relating to the kingdom of God, were opened among them with good authority and demonstration; especially concerning regeneration, the difference between a natural and spiritual state, and the necessity of a real and sensible change; and I believe, to general satisfaction. I had thanks from one of the justices for my good instructions, as he was pleased to call it: but that is a thing of course among themselves. However, it was much better than being sent into a dungeon for it; which was often the portion of those who made way in times past, by their sufferings, for this liberty, and whose memory ought to be retained with great respect; though some at this day, under the same profession, and enjoying that liberty, despise and trample upon the most essential part of their testimony, as also most of the incidents and exterior marks of distinction between us and the world: for such incidents there are, besides a holy life and moral decorum among men. Passing that evening in agreeable conversation with some select friends, I went next to Penrith; and the day after that to my usual lodging at Carlisle.

Having settled some concerns I had in the country, I went to Kendal on the 9th of the second month, in order for the yearly meeting there; which was very large, consisting for

the most part, of young people; as do our Society throughout the world at this day. We were favoured with the divine presence in some degree, but not so gloriously as I have experienced: for the state of the people could not bear it; the generality of them being as the Samaritans of old. They believed that Jesus Christ was the Messiah that was to come; and so far they were right: but the Holy Spirit of Christ was not, for some time after they had so believed, come upon any of them. And so likewise these our younger sort of Friends, having believed the same things concerning the coming of Christ in that administration, as also the general doctrines published among us at this day, of his light, grace, or Holy Spirit; yet the Spirit himself is not fallen upon many of them, as a sensible and experimental dispensation of life and power; which is properly the gospel; and the former is rather previous and introductory. The meetings held three days; and the last being in the afternoon, two large galleries were left open for people of the town, and other strangers; and many of them were there. The meeting concluded well, to edification and satisfaction, to the praise of the Holy One, who never wearies or fails to do good to his people.

Here I staid till the 14th; and that evening went to Richard Willan's near Sedbergh; and next day, being the first of the week, was at their meeting; which was very open and tender, and several of the people there well satisfied concerning the way of Truth.

On the 18th I fell in with a general meeting of Friends at Raby; where came also some few strangers; and the Lord gave us an open and comfortable time.

On the 19th we went to Durham, where I appointed a meeting next day; which, though not large, was very open, several men of the law and other strangers being there; and Robert Wardel and his wife being there from Auckland that morning, we went together to Lancelot Wardel's, at Barns, that evening; where we found him in a low condition of health, and his house-keeper under the hands of physicians, but her death not feared; yet about the second hour next morning, she departed this life; which gave both surprise and great concern to the family. Her distemper being a rash-fever, they interred the corpse on the 22nd in the afternoon at Sunderland, where we had the company of many of the neighbourhood, and a good meeting; many necessary truths of the gospel being opened to them. It was the largest and most open meeting I ever was at there: but the day before, being the seventh of the week, we had another meeting there, on occasion of the



interment of the corpse of another Friend, where we had also the company of a good number of the neighbours; whose report of this meeting had occasioned the crowd in that above mentioned. The weather becoming very cold, with high winds and much rain, I rested at Sunderland, and on the 25th went to Newcastle. The next day their week-day meeting was very open, though small; and being desirous to see Friends more generally together, as also as many of the people as could be drawn, I staid there till the 29th; which being the first of the week, the meeting was not very large in the forenoon, but comfortable, through the divine presence of Him whose presence is life to all that are favoured with a sense of it in them; but in the afternoon it was much larger by the company of other people, and very open; the truths of the gospel being declared, the kingdom of Christ described, and antichrist and his false church and priesthood made manifest; with some hints of his downfall and destruction, by the brightness of the glory of the coming and manifestation of the Son of God, Christ Jesus, the light of the world.

On the 30th I went to Haltwhistle, on my way towards Carlisle; where I arrived the next day about noon, and tarried there till the 4th of the third month following; and then set forward for the yearly meeting at London. It was, in the main, peaceable, and the testimony of Truth further established against the payment of tithes; which had been weakened by the unfaithfulness of several professors of Truth; who, for the time, might have known better, and arrived at greater perfection. And some members of the meeting offering subtle and illusive apologies for delinquencies of this nature, I put the meeting in mind, that at a time of the greatest confusion and distraction about matters of religion in this nation, when all sects were imbruing their hands in one another's blood, contrary both to the nature and end of the Christian religion, which they all professed, but did not understand, the Lord, in infinite mercy, stretched forth the arm of his power, by which he gathered to himself a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people; who, through the virtue and power of his grace, bore a threefold testimony in the world. 1st; To the manifestation of the holy and powerful spirit of Christ, as the only infallible and all-sufficient teacher of mankind, in the things of God and eternal life. 2ndly; To a holy, innocent, righteous life, as the natural and necessary consequence of such teaching. 3rdly; Against an antichristian priesthood and ministry, set up and subsisting in the world, by tithes, and other oppressive means,

never appointed of God for a Christian ministry; but invented and obtruded upon the world by the subtilty and violence of an antichristian power, usurping authority, in the name of the Lord Jesus, whose kingdom is not of this world, over all the kings and princes, and moral establishments where Christ was named and owned. In all which our primitives, in this dispensation, were true and faithful; so that these three points were settled and held as essential and indispensable to the dispensation of the Almighty committed unto his people in this and all future ages. So that none were from the beginning really accounted under that dispensation, who came not up in the practice of them. I therefore conclude that it is the same still, and ever will be; and that the former yearly meetings, whose minutes on that behalf, particularly about the payment of tithes, are now inspected and referred to, did but their duty in distinguishing such as fall short of the common testimony and dispensation, from the faithful therein, so far at least as to prohibit such from any share in the exercise of judgment, or the application of the order and discipline of the church, where themselves are subjects of just censure therein. And it is written, "The brother that is weak in the faith receive, but not to doubtful disputations." Many other remarks were made also by other Friends on the same account; and the meeting concluded to have former minutes against the payment of tithes transcribed, and a written epistle prepared, recommending faithfulness therein to the quarterly and monthly meetings; which was done accordingly; and in which the meeting seemed generally unanimous.

I staid in London some weeks after this, visiting the meetings there, and at Croydon and Tottenham; and on the 3rd of the fifth month, accompanied by my sure and esteemed friend Andrew Pitt, I went to Hartford; and next day was at a yearly meeting there. In the morning, till about the tenth hour, we had a select meeting of ministers and elders; where we were favoured with the divine presence, in a good degree: and then came on the other meeting, which was large and open; and the Lord seasoned our minds together with the salt of the covenant of life. The next day we went to Hitchin; where the week-day meeting was pretty large and open; and went that evening to Baldock, and the day after were at their yearly meeting: which was large, and indifferent well; and might have been better, if a certain person had not entertained the auditory too long with histories of the Old Testament writings, reduced by her into songs, which she thought melodious;



though others despised them, as having no relation to the gospel of Christ; and canted in that manner.

On the 7th we went to Ware, and the next day, being the first of the week, were at their meeting: which was one of the largest known there; several strangers of account in town came in, and a door of utterance the Lord opened, to general satisfaction, and gave us a comfortable time together. On the 21st I went to Kingston, and the next day, being the first of the week, was at the meeting there; which was large, by Friends from London, Croydon, Wandsworth, Staines, and other places round, especially on occasion of a burial that day; and we had an open and satisfactory meeting together; and the people, many of whom were there, generally sober as Friends, and seemingly satisfied. On the 23rd I went to Guildford, and had a meeting there; which was small, but open and comfortable. After the meeting I went to Alton, to Samuel Waring's; and on the 25th was at their meeting: which was small, the harvest in those parts being very throng about that time; but it was a good meeting.

On the 30th, accompanied by Samuel Waring, I went to Gosport, and lodged at John Hooper's. He was not a Friend in profession, but a Presbyterian, yet all his six children were Friends, and very honest; and he gave them liberty, and entertained Friends freely at his house. The day after we had a large open meeting at Portsmouth; for though there are but few Friends, many others come to meetings, and behave very decently; as they did that evening. On the 1st of the sixth month we went to Southampton, and that evening had a very open meeting; many of the neighbours being at it, and the truths of the gospel clearly opened, and with good authority. On the 2nd we had a small meeting at Rumsey with a few Friends; which was very heavy a long time: but at last we were comforted together, and the meeting ended well. On the 3rd, in the evening, being the sixth of the week, I had a pretty open meeting at Fordingbridge, and on the 5th, being the first of the week, I was there again, where the meetings were large and open, especially in the afternoon; many things were opened in the Truth, and delivered to the people with good authority: for the testimony of Truth, at this day, lies very much towards the people of this nation every where.

[After attending several other meetings he came to Worcester on the 1st of the seventh month, of which he says:]

There being several strangers in town, the Friends appointed their meeting next day in the great meeting-house, and gave notice to

many of the inhabitants. We had a large open meeting in the forenoon, many of them being present; and the time of the afternoon meeting being put off till three o'clock, we had a very great crowd of the more reputable part of the inhabitants, and several of the aldermen and other magistrates; some of our friends telling us afterwards, they had never known so full a meeting there, but once at a yearly meeting. That which fell to my share in this meeting was, to open the nature of that called the Apostles' Creed; upon which I was enlarged and drawn out to expatiate with good authority and perspicuity. Taking exceptions at that part, "He descended into hell;" I observed to them, that Christ said to the thief upon the cross, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise." Upon which I put this question, What was this *thou* in the thief, and this *me* in the Lord Jesus, to be that day in paradise, when the body of the thief was broken on the cross, after the manner of criminals, and the body of Christ laid dead in the sepulchre till the third day? What then remained of Christ to go down into hell, as he is already stated to be dead in the foregoing period, viz: "Was crucified, dead, and buried?" But since the persons composing that creed, long since the days of the apostles, might bring it as near as they could to the tenor of the Scriptures; and finding an expression in the psalms of David to this purpose, "Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, nor suffer thy holy One to see corruption," they seem to have misapplied it to Christ after his crucifixion. Whereas it is properly applicable to him as stated in the time of prayer in the garden; when, having the weight of his approaching sufferings, and of the sins of all mankind upon him, being in an unspeakable agony, grappling with death, hell, and the grave, in human nature, the drops of sweat that came from his holy body, being, as it were, like great drops of blood; and having overcome all these, he, the next day, willingly laid down his life on the cross, in the will of the Father, and from thenceforth triumphed over them all.

On the 3rd I went to Evesham, and on the 4th had a meeting appointed in the afternoon. It consisted for the most part of Friends, few of the people of that place being there; but very quiet and attentive; and the Lord gave us an open and consolatory time of his goodness. On the 5th I went to Tewksbury, and the day following was at their week-day meeting; which was small, but open and edifying. On the 7th I went to Cheltenham, where came people of divers notions, as of the national church, Presbyterians, Baptists, &c., and the Lord giving matter and utterance, as likewise



consolation and ability; we had an edifying meeting, well received by the people, and well spoken of after. John Cadwalader, from Pennsylvania, was likewise there. On the 8th I went to Nailsworth, and on the 9th, being the first of the week, was at their meeting, which was large in the afternoon, but laborious. Many of the people in those parts, and elsewhere, of divers notions, having been often at our meetings, where the truths of the gospel have been clearly and powerfully declared, and they secretly convinced, yet stumbling at the cross, have not obeyed to an open confession of the Truth, and therefore do not grow or come forward therein; but become as seed buried under the clods of the earth, and in danger of perdition. Yet Christ was clearly preached to them this day, with respect as well to his inward as outward manifestation, and especially the former, and with good authority; and they were forewarned of the danger of neglecting the day of the offers of salvation, and strivings of the Spirit of God in them; since his language, by the prophet of old, to a rebellious, gainsaying, and negligent people, is on this wise, "I called, saith the Lord, and ye would not hear; ye shall cry, and I will not answer: I will laugh at your calamities, and mock when your fear comes." Again, "To-day, if you will hear his voice, harden not your hearts," &c.

On the 14th I went to Marshfield, to the widow Wickham's, a good old matron, and entertainer of Friends for many years, and that evening had a meeting there; which was not large, but some of the sober neighbours coming in, we were favoured with an open and good time; and things were well and comfortable.

[After attending meetings at Bath, Bristol, Nailsworth, Calne, Devizes, &c., he says:]

On the 15th I went to visit my worthy and long acquainted friend, Alexander Kirton, at Broughton-Mills; and the day following was at their week-day meeting, about three miles thence; which was very small: but a very comfortable time the Lord gave us together, for our encouragement not to despise a few, but to remember and trust in the Lord, who said, "Wheresoever two or three of you are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of you;" of which we were sensible witnesses in this little meeting. On the 17th I went to Reading, and next day being the first of the week, I was at the meeting there; which was large and open, especially in the afternoon: for the meeting itself continuing large, and the neighbours being informed by those who were at the forenoon meeting what had passed there, many more came in the afternoon, to our mutual satisfaction; when

the gospel was preached, and the poor heard it; and who is rich but he whom the Lord endows. On the 20th, being the third of the week, and one of their meeting days, I was there again; and being more select to Friends, the Lord gave us a memorable season of his good presence, to general satisfaction; for which we were thankful to him, the Giver of every good and perfect gift. On the 21st we had an evening meeting at Henley; which was very large, many Presbyterians, and others of the neighbourhood being there, and generally very sober; and many truths of the gospel were proclaimed in their ears, and some hearts touched with the virtue of it. But the cross is still a stumbling block to many professing the Christian name at this day; mankind desiring heaven, when the report thereof seems beautiful, but would part with nothing for it, and would still be heirs of two kingdoms; which, in this sense, can never be.

On the 22nd I went to visit John Penn, son of William Penn, sen., at Fein, about two miles from Maidenhead, where I met likewise with William Penn, grandson of the said William Penn, which I did not only for the personal respect I bore them, as knowing them from their childhood, but in memory of so good an ancestor; who took up the cross of Christ, and despised the shame, in his early days, in view of high preferment in the world, when the way of Truth was under the greatest contempt and persecution. During my stay with them, we had a meeting on the 23rd in the evening at Maidenhead; which was very small, but open and well. On the 24th I went to Wickham, and on the 25th, being the first of the week, I was at the meetings there, both forenoon and afternoon. The latter was large and very open, many strangers being there; and the goodness of the Lord was sensibly with us, to the comfort and satisfaction of as many as were alive in the Lord; and things opened well, and with power and clearness, to the praise of him who worketh in all according to his good pleasure.

On the 27th had a meeting at Chesham; which was very open and comfortable, the good presence of the Lord being sensibly with us. That evening I went with Joseph Lovelace to his house, near Jordans; and the next day had a very open meeting there; where the greatest part were Friends, and divine love was not wanting to all the living. On the 29th, being the fifth of the week, I went to the monthly meeting at Windsor, which was very small; but some persons came out of the country, who had not been at a meeting before, and others of the town coming in, the Lord owned us, and gave us a



good time together, and many things were opened to edification and comfort. In the evening went on to Battersea, and so to London.

Having visited the meetings in London thoroughly, I set forward for the north on the 23rd day of the first month, 1733-4; was at two meetings next day at Albans, being the first of the week. That in the afternoon being put off till four for the sake of the people, was very large, and consisted of Friends, Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Baptists, and perhaps some Papists; and some truths of the gospel and kingdom of God were plainly opened among them; during which there was a general quietude, and several affected with the invisible word of Truth.

On the 27th we went forward to Dunchurch, and next day to Coventry, and had a meeting there in the evening. The assizes had been held there a day or two before, and several malefactors capitally convicted; and among others, a priest, for stealing a mare. To whom, and to all in the court, the judge preached the doctrine of Truth, and gave very good advice; more particularly to this poor condemned criminal; to whom he said, That the sin was great in itself, but much more aggravated and magnified in him; who, pretending to be a minister of Christ, ought to have been a good example and leader of others in the way of righteousness and Truth; but falling so greatly short himself of moral honesty, he was become a reproach to his profession, and a stumbling block to the weak, to whom he ought to have been a support. That which was more particularly remarked in the judge was this, that he told the criminal, if he had taken due heed to the divine principle of grace and Truth in his own mind, he would not have fallen into that sin, which was now bringing him to so ignominious an end; which had good effect on this and the other criminals, and also on the auditory; some of whom said, the judge had preached a very good Quaker sermon. Thus the Lord beareth witness, by his divine Truth, against that which is evil, by the temporal judges, through his divine light, when false teachers, becoming criminals, are sentenced, as the reward of their evil deeds, according to the laws of their native land; of which, as also of the sin against God, and his neighbour, this poor unhappy priest could not be ignorant.

On the 1st of the second month we went to Stockport. I had a comfortable time in that place in visiting the families of Friends; and a marriage happening about five miles from thence on the fifth-day following, I was there. The meeting was large; and the Lord gave us a comfortable season in his blessed pre-

sence on that occasion. There was justice Wright, with some other persons of distinction; and he signed the marriage certificate as a witness, with many more. On the 7th, being the first of the week, I had two open good meetings at Manchester, to general satisfaction, so far as I could observe; for some essential parts of the Christian faith, practice, hope, love and sufferings, were laid open and made plain, in the light, virtue and power of the Son of God, and many hearts tendered thereby. On the 8th I went to Preston, and on the 9th to Lancaster, to R. Lawson's; and that afternoon began the meeting of ministers and elders; which was well attended, from divers counties and places; and we were favoured with the good presence and counsel of the Lord. The next day we had one meeting for worship in the forenoon, beginning about eight, and another which began about the second hour afternoon; and both very large, especially the latter, and consisted generally of Friends. Many of the people there and thereaway resting satisfied in their own national and dead forms, want nothing, being blind, naked, and dead to religion, or any want or inquiry after it; though a few of them who did come in behaved very soberly, and were attentive to what they heard; and a good meeting the Lord gave us, through the revelation of the Father by the Son, who never fails nor forsakes his own, whom in this age, as in times past, he hath called and chosen, and fitted by his Word, to bear the ensign of his great and awful name before the nations. Things were carried on and ended well in this meeting.

On the 12th, being the sixth of the week, several Friends went hence to Kendal; where they had put off their week-day meeting till two in the afternoon, expecting our company; and Thomas Erskine from Edinburgh being with us, and some others, the Lord gave us a comfortable season of his life-giving presence together, the public concern falling upon him and me; and the meeting was edified in love.

On the 14th, being the first of the week, we went to Sedberg meeting, on the occasion of the burial of Richard Willan, a Friend of good account and service in the country, and his death generally lamented by all sorts and conditions of people who knew him. There was a very great concourse of people; to whom many truths of the gospel were opened, the Lord favouring us with his good presence.

On the 19th I was at the monthly meeting at Carlisle, where I gave Friends some short hints of my late journey; and let them know I intended another soon after, and to be at the approaching yearly meeting at London: which



the monthly meeting was pleased with, since none had given up their names at the quarterly meeting, for the yearly meeting; upon which the quarterly meeting had been adjourned, in hope that some Friends would offer their service on that account. After some further deliberations thereon, seeing so general a backwardness in the quarterly meeting, they told me, they hoped I would be at the adjourned quarterly meeting, and agree to be one to represent them at the yearly meeting: and as I intended to visit some other places after the yearly meeting was over, the monthly meeting gave me another certificate; being a common order then among us, to which all were alike subject, how well soever known in our Society, to prevent disorderly persons and impostors. On the 21st, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Carlisle; which was very open and comfortable, several Friends from other meetings being there: and on the 22nd I went to a farm I had in the country, to set some things in order there, where I staid till the 26th; and then returned to Carlisle, and was at that meeting again on the 28th, being the first-day of the week; which was likewise open and well, both forenoon and afternoon.

On the 2nd of the third month I was at the adjourned quarterly meeting held at Wigton; where such business was finished as was before them; but none offering for the service of the yearly meeting at London, I acquainted the meeting of my intention of being there; and then the meeting persuaded Jonathan Ostal and David Hodgson to undertake the charge also. That evening I returned to Carlisle.

[On his way to London he attended a meeting, of which he remarks:]

On the 16th I went to Macclesfield, to James Hobson's, and had a meeting with them; which, though small, was very comfortable; where I remembered the promise, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them:" and some Presbyterians and Baptists being there, they seemed surprised at the testimony of Truth, which asserted the efficacy and spirituality of Christ's baptism, and the insignificance of water in this day of the gospel of life and power; and the blasphemous falsehood of the Presbyterian predestination, wherein the very being of the Most High is misrepresented, and all his attributes, especially as he is full of love, and of infinite goodness and mercy: and I was made to proclaim, with full authority, that to charge the Lord with such an unmerciful decree as they talk of, is false, and inconsistent with his divine nature and being.

The yearly meeting approaching, I attend-

ed the service incumbent; and a peaceable time the Lord gave us, though Satan was not wanting in his attempts to make division and mischief; but through the wisdom and goodness of the Lord, was frustrated. After the meeting I staid in the city, and near it, visiting the meetings in their several turns, till the 14th of the sixth month: and then, accompanied by my friend, John Fallowfield, we went that evening to Staines, and next morning had a small meeting there, for they were then but few: where the Lord favoured us together with his good presence, making good his ancient promise to his children and people.

[After being at Reading, Salisbury, Fordingbridge, &c., he says:]

On the 22nd we had a pretty large and open meeting at Ringwood, at Thomas Prichard's, several of the Friends from Fordingbridge going with us. Afterward we went to Pool, and the next day were at their week-day meeting. There is at that place a good number of Friends, but for the most part young, and not much experienced in the work of Truth; yet being in innocence, and keeping to meetings, they are hopeful. We laboured among them, according to the ability given for the work of the day; and the meeting was serviceable and comfortable. Here we staid till the 25th: and on the first-day of the week, were at their meeting; which, in the morning, consisted generally of Friends; and the Lord favoured us with a good degree of his goodness together. In the afternoon, the meeting being put off till four, and notice given, we had a very great crowd, the house and all the galleries being filled, and some could not get in. The Lord furnished us with understanding and ability, and the doctrine and virtue of the gospel reached many that day. And though we were much drawn out to the people, in the labour of love and goodwill, and much exhausted in the service, yet our reward was sure in the Lord, and our satisfaction great in his divine presence; and the people were generally solid, and not a light or airy countenance to be observed among them; and for any thing that appeared, generally satisfied.

On the 26th we went to Bridport, where we staid till their week-day meeting. It was small, consisting only of Friends; and we had the favour, in some degree, of the sense of divine goodness among us. Here we staid till the 30th with our friend Samuel Bownas, an old fellow-labourer, and able minister of the gospel, in some desire of his company to the yearly meeting to be at Exeter the week following; but he being taken ill, we were denied that satisfaction, but were well refresh-



ed there in their company and families before we went forward towards Exeter, which was on the 30th; and there, through the mercy of God, we arrived in the evening.

On the 1st of the seventh month began the circular yearly meeting for the west. The Lord favoured us with his good presence, and many of the inhabitants of the city and neighbouring places coming in, and behaving very soberly, the truths of the gospel were declared to them with authority and demonstration by several of the ministry. The meeting was peaceable and comfortable, and people generally satisfied, for any thing that appeared to the contrary. The people throughout this nation, at this time, are generally willing to give us a fair and peaceable hearing, and with good acceptance, as to the truth of our doctrine; but the cross of Christ being yet too heavy for them, as they weakly think, and finding ease and a false rest in death under their priests, who soothe them in their sins, they yet rest short of the kingdom. Nevertheless the spirit and power of persecution is greatly lessened in this nation since the blessed Truth shined forth therein, among our first Friends, in the dispensation thereof under the name of Quakers, so called by the ignorant, dark, and stupid world.

On the 4th, in the morning, when I and my companion were ready to take horse for the west, we had a message from Friends in the city, informing us, that there was to be a marriage of two of our Friends there next day, and that they expected many of the inhabitants would be present on the occasion, and earnestly requested we might be there; which having duly considered, we found freedom to stay, and we had the company of a good number of Friends, and a great company of the inhabitants of the place. The Lord was pleased to favour the occasion with his good presence, and to furnish us with matter and strength suitable; and we had a more satisfactory time than in the yearly meeting, where sometimes we happen to be straitened by too many of the same order, not all alike qualified for such services.

This stay altered our plans in point of time, which we had thought of for the west; and being so near the first of the week, and many of the inhabitants of the city being a little roused by the meetings aforesaid, we tarried till then; when our meeting was more select in the morning: but that in the afternoon being postponed till the third hour, it was nearly as large as sometimes in the yearly meeting; and the Lord furnishing us with understanding and authority, some truths of the gospel and kingdom of God were declared with authority and clearness; the auditory

being very sober and attentive, and generally satisfied, as we ourselves were in our service, having the reward of peace from the Lord; not of debt, but of his mercy, goodness and bounty.

On the 9th we went to Totness, and Friends went to the mayor of the town, and prevailed with him and the rest of the magistrates, to let us have the town-hall for a meeting-place: which accordingly was held there at the fourth hour afternoon next day. A great crowd of the inhabitants came, and most of the more reputable sort, several of the aldermen and their wives, and the like; and a very full and comfortable time the Lord gave us among them, exalting the testimony of his living Truth over all, to our very great satisfaction, and general good liking of the auditory, so far as we could collect from their sobriety and attention, and what we were informed of as the sentiments of some of the more capable among them; and we were favoured with divine peace, as a full recompense for the labour given us to perform by the word of the Lord, in which we ministered.

On the 12th, being the fifth of the week, we went to Plymouth, and had a pretty large open meeting there in the afternoon the day following; and there rested till the first-day of the next week. Contracting a very near acquaintance with several Friends here, with whom I had not before been acquainted, we spent the seventh-day in a very agreeable conversation among them; and on the first-day had two meetings. That in the morning was well furnished with Friends, and no small mixture of others; and a good time the Lord gave us together: but the meeting in the afternoon being put off till three, it was very large; many of the more reputable part of the people of the town, of both sexes, gave us their company to our mutual satisfaction. The Lord favoured his people with his living presence, and opened the truths of his gospel, by us, unto those who were not then come to the true faith of the Son of God, according to the dispensation of it unto us, through the mercy of God, at this day; and the multitude being very sober and attentive, and some of them apparently affected, I hope there was some good wrought in them that day, to the praise of him who worketh all in all. That day I found myself under some indisposition of body; and in the night, having been much exhausted in the meetings, it turned to an intermitting fever, accompanied with a flux, whereby I could have no rest; and the next morning I found myself extremely weakened in body, and my natural spirits very low. But trusting in the Lord, and using some means recommended, I recovered strength, and about



eleven next day set forward for Lowe; where we arrived that evening.

The distemper continuing, and aggravated by the journey, though not long, I was very ill that night, and could not rest; by which I was more weakened than before: yet my illness abating next morning, I went to the meeting; where happened to be a marriage, in which the Lord was pleased to favour us with his divine presence. I was much comforted in silence, nothing being required of me further at that time, the public concern falling on my companion John Fallowfield; which he discharged to satisfaction. I rested well that night, and found myself much stronger and better in the morning. On the 18th we set forward for Foy, where we arrived about the middle of the day; and about the first hour afternoon had a meeting there, where there is no meeting of Friends: but we procured an unfinished large house, which Friends who went with us, and some others who met us there, got seated with planks for that particular service. We had the company of a multitude of young people, especially of the female sex, and some likewise of the other; but not many of the elder sort of either. They were sober beyond expectation; and I found myself concerned to lay before them the insignificance and invalidity of that which they call their baptism, and the efficacy of the baptism of Christ, and absolute necessity of it in order to their salvation; with many other gospel truths then declared by me, my companion, and also by our ancient friend Philip Deeble, who was then also with us from Feley. We had no opposition; but I having told them they had no baptism at all, but were deceived by their priests and teachers, who told them they were already made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, and no Truth in it, it proved an amusement to several of them, and gave occasion to much discourse and some debate among them.

On the 19th we were at the meeting at Austel, which was large and very open; for of late many had been convinced of Truth in those parts, and very hopeful to stand; to whom the doctrine of Truth, in the divine life of it, freely flowed that day; and a comfortable time the Lord gave us together in his blessed presence. On the 22nd, being the first of the week, we were at the meeting at Penryn; which was select of Friends in the forenoon, but more company of the neighbourhood in the afternoon: and these meetings were peaceable, and pretty open.

On the 24th we had an appointed meeting at Come-to-good, about five miles from Falmouth. It was a small meeting; but there

being several newly convinced persons there, the Lord favoured us with some degree of his blessed presence.

On the 25th we had a very open meeting at Falmouth; where, having the company of a good number of the more reputable sort of people, with Friends, the Lord favoured us together with his goodness: and the truths of the glorious gospel were largely, clearly, and with divine authority, published there; to the admiration of several, who were much affected, and the general satisfaction of all; to the glory of God, and the arm of his divine power, then made bare among us. On the 26th we set forward for Marazion, and on the 27th we had a meeting there, consisting of a few Friends and of those of Penzance, about sixteen or eighteen in all; yet, though few, the Lord remembered his gracious promise of old, and comforted us together in his good presence; for which we were thankful.

On the 29th, being the first of the week, we were at Landsend meeting; which was large, many not being able to get in. They are generally a people of low capacity; yet matters suitable to their conditions opened freely: but new wine is not put into old bottles. Most of them had not yet believed in the Truth, and therefore not sanctified through faith in him; so that the efflux of the living water was not so plentiful, nor the wine of the kingdom so strongly mingled therewith, as at some other places; yet sufficient of both to give a clear evidence: and in the main the Lord gave us a comfortable season of his good presence, and magnified his own arm.

Returning next day to Falmouth, I staid till the 2nd of the eighth month, being the fourth of the week; where we were favoured with the company of some of the sober reputable neighbours; and the Lord gave us a memorable time among them, in the wisdom and authority of the divine Truth, to the surprise and admiration of several persons, who had been but little acquainted with our meetings. For this I was fully thankful to him without whom we can do nothing.

On the 4th we had a meeting at Mevagissey; but being a very stormy time of wind and rain, and the place a fisher-town, the people were employed in saving their vessels: by which the meeting was small, yet very satisfactory, through the presence of Him whose promise is ever good to the two or three, in what time and place soever assembled in his holy name; and we were much comforted here.

On the 6th we were at the meeting at Dennis, among an innocent people, many of them (about forty) lately convinced, being very ten-



der, as little children desiring the pure milk of the Word; and the Lord dispensed it largely and freely among them, to our solid and mutual satisfaction. They were greatly tendered, as we had been when we were first convinced; which gave me a grateful remembrance of those days of espousal, and hopes that the renewing of such times in a more general way, is not far off; such being now, in divers parts of the world, as a few first-ripe ears proclaiming the approaching harvest; as it is written, "Seed-time and harvest, summer and winter, day and night, shall not cease." The dispensations of the Almighty unto mankind, though various, shall not cease, from henceforward for ever. On the 8th, being the third of the week, had an appointed meeting at Cullom-major: it was in the town-hall, where came a mixed multitude of people; and being of high-church principles, if they may be called principles of religion, many of them were very rude and foolish; yet, there being some wheat among much straw and chaff, the Lord had regard to us and them, in some degree, and gave us suitable things to minister to them. I had to put them in mind, that what they call their baptism is no ordinance of God, nor was it ever practised in the church of Christ, but of antichrist; nor is there any foundation in holy Writ for god-fathers, the sign of the cross, or such promises and vows as they have made to God, and have not kept them; by which they are really and indeed miserable sinners, and under condemnation. By their behaviour and conduct they seemed only to make a jest of things of the greatest moment, and not at all to understand what they were about, professing the sacred Christian religion, to which their rudeness proclaimed they were yet strangers. I directed them to the Spirit of God, and his divine light, as the only sure teacher in their own minds; and by which they could be enabled to keep and perform those vows they had made before God and man. They grew a little tamer before we had done, and we came away easy.

On the 9th we went to Port-Isaac, on the north-side; and the same evening had a small, but open meeting, with the few Friends there, and two or three sober neighbours.

On the 10th we went to Liskard. On the 11th had a meeting there; where we had the company of our ancient friend Philip Deeble, and some young people with him, from Lowe. The meeting was not large, by reason of the exceeding great rain and storm of wind; but whatever any suffered that way, being right-minded, was made up, I believe, and over-balanced, by the goodness of the Lord, which

he was pleased to afford us together at that time.

On the 12th we returned to Plymouth, and on the first of the week were at their meetings, both forenoon and after; where we had good service, and were kindly entertained in the evening among our friends.

On the 15th we went to Exeter, and had a meeting appointed there; which consisting for the most part of Friends, was open and comfortable.

On the 19th we went to Collumpton, and the next day being the first of the week, were at their meetings both forenoon and after. The first consisted for the most part of Friends, and the Lord comforted us together; but in the afternoon we had a very large meeting of Friends, and a pretty number of sober honest-like people of both town and country for some miles round; and the Lord gave us ability to preach the gospel, in the authority and dominion of it that day: and as a door of utterance was largely given us, so a door of entrance was in a good degree; for the people were as sober and solid as so many Friends, and we were greatly satisfied to behold them, and had comfort in our labour bestowed upon them in the Lord.

Whilst we were at the yearly meeting at Exeter, some proposals had been made by our friend Thomas Finnimore, and some others, of having a meeting at Tiverton, in our return from Cornwall. There is not a meeting of Friends in that town at this time, but the people are generally friendly; and we being willing to give them a meeting, our friend Finnimore, and some others, being acquainted with the mayor, and the chief magistrates of the town, they procured the town-hall for that service. It is an oblong square, something resembling the Royal Exchange in London, with a vacancy in the middle, and the buildings quite round, two stories high: and as notice had been given some days before in the town and country about, we had a very large congregation of people of all ranks in town and country on the 21st; and the mayor and magistrates being present, they appointed the constables to keep the baser sort in awe, if any should offer any insult, or other disturbance. We had a fair hearing; and the people were as quiet as the exceeding great throng would allow, till towards the conclusion of my testimony, which had held a considerable time, a company of scholars under a Jacobite master in the place, came in a company, and crowded into one end of the square, and by that means disturbed the meeting for sometime, but were soon borne down by the crowd; and after



that the meeting was more quiet. But it is observable, that the master of that school, and others in different parts of the nation, being Jacobites, and of the Schism Bill principles, debauch the minds of the youth they pretend to instruct in useful learning, by infusing into them rebellious principles and persecution. We did not meet with any scoffing or affront in town, but from these scholars, who could not forbear to deride us in the open streets; which are the fruits of a depraved example and education, encouraging to such behaviour. But the Lord, who always countenanceth his own appointments, was not wanting, but gave us strength and understanding sufficient for the work of that day; wherein we had no small labour, but a good and comfortable time: and all ended to the honour of God, and promotion of his Truth among the people; who were generally satisfied with what they heard, being many of the truths of the gospel, and the Lord Christ preached truly by his own immediate power, and use of instruments.

After the meeting we made our acknowledgments to the mayor and magistrates for their countenance and kind assistance; and after dinner I went with Thomas Finimore to visit one of the most noted persons in town, a man of learning, and a Presbyterian by profession, who had been at the meeting, and very attentive. He had been well satisfied with what he had heard in the meeting in general, except some things I said upon the subject of baptism; which I endeavoured to make plain to his understanding, that the baptism mentioned by the evangelist Matthew is not water baptism, and that the few and uncertain instances of the practice of water baptism by some of the apostles, after the effusion of the Holy Ghost, were not from that text, for they never used the terms of it, but upon the same foot upon which they practised it in John's time, and that it was no other than his baptism with water. But Christ's baptism in this text and others relating to the same time and subject, is of a more excellent nature and efficacy, being by the Spirit of Christ, the Word of God, the great baptizer of the soul in the laver of regeneration; which being one of the great things of God, all natural men are ignorant of, nor can they at all understand it, till they believe in the Spirit himself, the condemner of the world; of whom it is written, "Every son whom I receive, I rebuke and chasten." "Turn at my reproof, and I will pour out my Spirit upon you." I told him, that I had often observed the great ascendancy education and custom have over mankind in outward things, in which alone the religion of the natural man

consists; and how far remote they commonly are from the things they contended for: and instanced the present case, where he was contending for water baptism, and was not in the practice of any; for sprinkling an infant in the face with water is no baptism nor ordinance of Christ, nor ever practised by any of his ministers; but set up in the dark night of apostacy by antichristian priests of the See of Rome; and as they themselves had no baptism, but only rantism, no washing, or going into water, as the true mode was in its first institution by John, but only sprinkling; they could not, nor did they deliver any baptism to the other sectaries, at the time commonly called the reformation. So that none of you all have any baptism, nor are you under any ordinance of Christ on that account, but only of a vain tradition of ignorant and presumptuous men, an old popish relic, which you cannot defend with any propriety or reason, though you may and do perversely wrangle and contest for it. And we know it is sufficient reason for us to decline all water baptism, in that we can say with the great apostle of the Gentiles, "Christ has not sent us to baptize, but to preach the gospel," according to the measure of the dispensation thereof, in this age committed to us; which differs nothing from the same, but in the degrees of wisdom and power, but the same in the nature and the reason of the thing. This he did not seem very well to relish, but could make no further defence of a thing so plainly wrong: and so we parted in friendship; I ever aiming at the understanding, and as little as possible to raise the passions or blind resentments of men, in treating on matters of religion; by which alone they can be truly subdued and mortified.

On the 22nd we had a meeting at Wellington, at Thomas Ware's; where the Lord favoured us with his good presence, and furnished us with authority to preach the gospel; and the Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God and light of the nations, was set forth with demonstration, by his own power and grace. There were some of the town's people there, and divers of them affected with the testimony of Truth. On the 23rd we had a meeting appointed at Taunton, at the widow Elizabeth Giffords, to which came many of the town's people; who behaved well, were very solid like Friends, and well affected with the testimony of Truth, which was clear and convincing. Next day being the fifth of the week, we were there again; when the meeting was very large and open: and another meeting being appointed in the afternoon, and notice given, it was as full as any they had



known there, with people of all-ranks and notions in town, who were very sober, and things were well.

On the 26th we arrived at Bristol, where we were kindly received by Friends. We visited the meetings there on the usual days, for about two weeks; and then John Fallowfield went to Bath, intending for London upon the death of that able minister of the gospel, and pillar of the house of God, Francis Davis, his brother by marriage, and my sure friend, greatly lamented. But I found it my place to continue longer there; where I had great satisfaction, and where Friends were desirous I should take up my winter quarters: but inclining for London, I departed from Bristol on 16th of the ninth month, and was at Bath next day; which being the first-day of the week, and the meeting more select in the morning, the Lord favoured us with his good presence. In the afternoon, the meeting being much larger, and some strangers there, things opened to satisfaction; and we had a good meeting. Here I staid till the 21st, their usual meeting-day; when we were favoured with another open comfortable meeting. On the 24th, and first of the week, large notice being given, we had two large meetings at Calne, especially in the afternoon; when the Lord favoured us with his comfortable goodness, and a good degree of openings of the general truths of the gospel, with demonstration and authority.

On the 25th I went to Marlborough, and had a meeting there that evening; where many sober neighbours sat down with us, and the Lord favoured us together; and the doctrine of Christ was full, plain, and clear, beyond my expectation: but the times and seasons are in the hand of the Lord, as alone worthy, all-wise, and only good; to whom be the glory of all now and for ever. On the 26th I went to Newbury, where I staid that night, in order for their week-day meeting, which fell of course next day. The Lord gave us great countenance, and opened unto us the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament, of the law and the gospel, written within and without, in tables of stone, in books, and on the table of the heart. The Lord was liberal to us that day. On the 28th I went to visit my sure friend Alexander Kirtton, at Broughton Mills; where I staid that night, and was favoured with his agreeable company to Reading next day, where we remained till the first-day of the week following, and were at both their meetings: which were very open, especially the latter, and to good satisfaction; for many of the sober neighbours being there, and the testimony of Truth going much towards them, as in most places at this

time, many things of the last importance were opened in the wisdom and authority of the divine Truth. But as I had taken cold before, and my exercise was large in these two meetings, I found more of the effects of it next day. At Henley that evening we had a very large meeting; I was drawn out very largely therein to the people, and to good satisfaction, the truths of the gospel being made plain to low capacities. On the 3rd of the tenth month I found my voice almost gone by the cold; but a meeting having been appointed to be that evening, I attended it with some difficulty; for it was some time before I could recover my voice, so as to be able to speak: yet through divine goodness, I got over the difficulty at that time; and the Lord being with us, we had a good and open meeting.

The next day the meeting at Jordans falling of course, I went thither; it was pretty large, and the Lord was near in a time of long silence, and I had good matter before me; but for a long time continued totally unable to speak; yet at length broke through, so as to express the heads of some matters before me, viz: That an ancient prophecy of the Lord is at this day fulfilled in the greatest part of the professors of Christ throughout the world, where it is said, "That it should come to pass, that seven women should lay hold on the skirts of him that is a Jew, and say, We will eat our own meat and wear our own apparel, only let us be called by thy name, to take away our reproach." That though many profess the name of the Lord Jesus, yet they feed themselves with their own inventions, of many and various forms of what they call their religion, and clothe themselves with their own righteousness, neglecting the righteousness of God, even the Lord our righteousness; and feeding the body to excess and luxury, clothe the same with needless and airy, fantastical and costly garments, apparel, and things not becoming the cross of Christ. But the people of God are preserved clear from these things, by waiting upon him day and night in his temple, the second house more glorious than the former, for the consolation of Israel; "the light to enlighten the Gentiles, and the glory of his true Israel;" who is not wanting to any of the faithful at this day, more than to good old Simeon in his, who waited for the consolation of Israel, and was not disappointed; the present attendants of the Lord being rewarded by the same peace, though the whole world, the faithless and stupid world, lieth in wickedness even unto this day. After this I had great peace, and the like testimony as the poor woman, who of old anointed Jesus; of whom it is written, "she did what she could." The Lord



accepteth the good-will for the deed, when we have done all that we can. On the 7th I went to London and staid, visiting the meetings there, till the 29th of the first month, 1735, and then went to Albans; and was at their meeting next day forenoon and after, it being the first-day of the week; and the Lord favoured us with his good presence therein. On the 31st I went to Hampstead, where I had a comfortable meeting with a few Friends, and some others, that afternoon: and lodging at my friend John Owen's, he went with me next day to Ailsbury, where we fell in occasionally with a quarterly meeting, to general satisfaction; for the Lord was with us, to our consolation. At Bistor I had a small but open meeting; and then went to Banbury to my friend Benjamin Kid's, where I was kindly welcomed; and next day was at their meeting: which, though a little hard and heavy in the beginning, was, in the main, a good and serviceable meeting; and that night also I tarried there. On the 6th was at Warwick meeting forenoon and after; where the Lord was with us to general satisfaction, many being much tendered in each meeting; to the praise of the only true God, who worketh all in all his people throughout the whole world.

On the 7th I went to Birmingham, to John Pemberton's, where I had a meeting appointed next day; which was laborious, but in the main a good meeting, many great and necessary truths of the gospel being opened with authority and demonstration; which excited the love of Friends very much. One great point was to press them towards the perfection of Christian morality and the dispensation of the gospel, through the Word of eternal life and love revealed in them.

On the 9th I went to Wolverhampton, where the marriage of a grand-daughter of that very honourable Friend, Charles Osborne, deceased, and a grandson of that faithful and steady servant of the Lord, Thomas Aldam, happening to be the day after, the meeting was much crowded with people, especially of the more reputable sort, and many could not get in. The Lord exalted his own name that day, and honoured his people and their offspring with his blessed presence and goodness, to the surprise of many who had been ignorant of his power; and the Truth was made evident to many, according to the testimony of Holy Writ. While the certificate of the marriage was filling up, I noted to the people, that no clandestine marriages could ever pass among us, since the stated rules of our Society required ample certificates, and proof of the consent of parents or guardians, and the clearness of the parties from all pre-contracts with others, and not too nearly related. But

that the national priests, through covetousness, had not only eluded and made null, in great measure, even their own primitive institutions and practice on that account, but likewise the laws of the nation, provided to prevent so great mischief. For as the law requires the priest not to marry any couple till he hath taken all necessary precautions in the premises, on pain of a fine of one hundred pounds, yet where any wicked person can prevail with a young woman, of ever so good a family or fortune, to marry him, her price, by law, is only one hundred pounds, paid out of her own fortune by her deceiver, who hath not a doit of his own, and a liberal fee and bond of indemnity to the priest; and she is ruined, and her parents and friends grieved and disappointed without remedy. The design of the priests is too often their own gain, honour, and advancement over the people, by their own consent. For, do not you observe the management of your priests, who say, in effect, give me my fee, and I will make you a member of Christ, a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven. Many ages ago, they cursed all who did not believe that the sin of Adam is imputed to little children, and the priest, who himself is an actual sinner, must sprinkle it away. Give me my fee, I will preach for your instruction in the Christian religion. Give me my fee and I will marry you. Give me my fee, and I will make an harrangue at your funeral, and according to the value of it you shall have praise. And though the people were generally of the high party, the Truth being over them, none made any reply; only some turned pale, perhaps with secret resentment, others blushed, and some smiled: yet all continued quiet, and the meeting ended in peace, to the praise of the God of peace and love, who is worthy over all now and for ever. Amen.

On the 11th I went towards the city of West-Chester, in order for the yearly meeting, to be held there this year for four counties, viz: Cheshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland and Cumberland, and the next day to Chester, to my friend Peter Leadbeater's, where I was kindly received. On the 13th, being the first of the week, we had two very open meetings there, some of the inhabitants being with us; and the Lord favoured us with his good presence, and opened to us divers deep mysteries of his kingdom, to general edification and satisfaction, and to his own glory; to whom alone it is due, now and at all times for ever. On the 15th, about two in the afternoon, began the select meeting of ministers and elders, which was not large, but comfortable and edifying; and the next day about nine in the morning, began the yearly meeting. It was



in the old tennis court, which hath been the usual place for many years; where we had the company of many of the citizens, and a large open meeting. In the afternoon there came a very great concourse of people of all ranks in town and country; and the good presence of the Lord was with us, and the divine power was over all; the ministry being conducted in wisdom and strength, the principles of Truth were opened to demonstration and general satisfaction.

On the 17th, in the morning, was held a meeting for conference concerning the affairs of Truth, how they prospered within the precincts of the meeting, and advice given where needful; and then was held the quarterly meeting for that county. At three in the afternoon began the public meeting for worship, which was exceedingly large, consisting of some thousands; for the Quarter Sessions of the peace happening at that same time, all or most of the bench of justices came to the meeting, and many of the women, under the distinction, among them, of ladies, and a very great crowd; and the Lord was pleased to favour his people with his good presence, and his ministers with wisdom and power, and to exalt his own glorious name over all; that great multitude, during the service, being as still as a meeting of Friends.

In the close of this meeting several of the great ones asked if there would be any more, and were answered, no; but that the place and seats would remain as they then were, till after the next first-day, and that several of our ministers would stay the meeting: which was held accordingly, and in the morning was large and open. Joshua Toft, myself, and May Drummond, had the public concern upon us, the rest having gone to other meetings in the country. In the afternoon we had an exceeding great multitude, rather more than at any time before; for being the first of the week, and all free from business, they were at leisure; and beginning at three afternoon, some came to our meeting after their own were over. The Lord granted the desires of his people, affording us his blessed presence, and exalting his own arm over all; so that among all that great multitude, one could hardly see a light look. The meeting ended well, to the honour of the Lord, the satisfaction of his people, and of the auditory generally.

The young woman above named, May Drummond, is of a considerable family in North Britain, convinced about four years ago at Edinburgh, at a yearly meeting, at the time when her brother was lord provost; and she, and about thirty of her acquaintances, being in the meeting, I happened to speak some

things among them which they took notice of, and thought it was a contrived sermon in our way, so cunning, as they called it, that they could find no fault in it; but were ready to conclude I was a Jesuit, and that I had that sermon written in my pocket: whereas I never prepared any thing to say in any meeting in all my life time hitherto, but have ever depended upon the heart-preparing power and Word of the Lord, and immediate work and openings of it in my own mind. From that time this young woman came nearer and nearer to Friends, and came sometimes to our meetings, till she found strength to own the Truth in a public manner; to the great surprise of her acquaintances, who are generally of the greater and more polite sort of both sexes, and to the grief and trouble of her relations, who are all against her, save only a younger brother. But, for Truth's sake, she hath left and withstood them all; and being of a ready wit, and enlightened by the Truth, she is so furnished with understanding and fortitude, that they have not been able to hurt her by all their subtilties and contrivances, or frowns. She being of late called into the ministry, it renewed their pain; but as she is upon the right foundation, and well furnished for the work, for the time, Friends regard her accordingly; and having good utterance and matter, many people are taken with her. Her character and circumstances drawing many to meetings where she comes, I hope and pray to the Lord, she may stand firm in the divine Truth, and be serviceable in his hand, without whom the best of all his servants can do nothing.

On the 23rd I went to Shrewsbury, where next day we had a very open meeting, many of the people of account being there; some of them remembering that great and glorious yearly meeting there about seventeen years ago: and the Lord was now also with us, to the exaltation of his own name and glory. The meeting was solid, and the truths of the gospel were largely and clearly opened, to the praise of the Lord, and comfort of his few people there; who were filled with his good presence together. On the 25th, in the evening, I had a meeting at Colebrookdale, at the house of our friend Richard Ford, who looks after some iron works in that place: it was very open, and some persons of account in those parts were there, and all very sober and attentive. On the 27th I was at the meeting at Bewdly, forenoon and after. The first meeting was not large, but alarmed the people, so that we had a very large and open meeting in the afternoon; wherein many necessary doctrines of the gospel were fully opened to the understandings of many, the goodness of



the Lord being with us, to his own praise, who alone is worthy now and for ever.

On the 28th I went to Worcester, and the day after being their meeting, it was put off till three o'clock in the afternoon, and notice given, which occasioned the meeting to be considerably large. The Lord favoured us with his good presence, and opened to us the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament, with brightness and authority, to general satisfaction, both to Friends and others; for which we were thankful unto Him who hath all wisdom and power, and without whom we can do nothing. Yet this meeting was so hard to me for some time in silence, and the people so very heavy, that it put me in mind of a saying of the apostle, "If the dead arise not, why are we baptized for the dead?" But so soon as a little help from the Lord appeared, all weakness, and all the power of death, vanished as darkness before the day; and then in him I arose and prevailed: and so let it be with all his ministers, in all places, from henceforth throughout all generations. Amen.

On the 30th I went to Evesham, and the day after fell in with their week-day meeting; where the Lord favoured us with his good presence, and gave us a comfortable time together. On the 2nd of the third month I had an appointed meeting at Chipping-Norton; which was very open, the goodness of the Lord accompanying us therein, and the light of his countenance making manifest things of the greatest importance.

On the 3rd I went to Oxford, and lodged with our friend Thomas Nichols; who hath, for many years, borne a faithful testimony, in that old seat of the power of darkness, and subtilty of the sensual and earthly wisdom of this world, against all the envy, scoffs, flouts and jeers, and other immoralities of the scholars; and against all the persecutions of the town; till, by patience in well-doing, he hath so overcome them, that he is now treated with general respect. On the first of the week, I was at their meeting forenoon and after; where now remain only four or five Friends; but in the morning, sitting together in the usual meeting-house, the Lord renewed to us the happy experience of the fulfilling of his promise, while in silence, "That where two or three are gathered together in his name, there he is in the midst of them:" but after some time came in a company of students, most of them full of levity, with vice and folly sitting on their brows. They scoffed and mocked at the great truths of the gospel; especially when some proper texts of holy Scripture were mentioned concerning the divine light and Word of God, as if they meant to repel the force of divine Truth by a flood of laughter.

I had patience under all their foolish opposition and ill manners; and labouring in the virtue of Truth, so overcame them, that they were generally quiet before I had done, and some of them sensibly touched with the invisible power of Truth; which the alteration of their countenances, from all the signs of levity and wildness, to great solidity, did plainly demonstrate: and in the main it was a good meeting, and ended well. I never had any thing but good-will to these mismanaged and misguided young creatures; whose great geniuses might, under a proper direction and conduct, be improved to great services in this world, in useful arts, and be preserved from the great depravity they learn there, which sullies and overbalances all the good proposed by their education. In the afternoon we sat so long silent, that we tired one set of them who came first; but another sort coming, after the first were gone, I had many things to say to them concerning their learning, manners, catechism, vows, promises, creeds, and the martyrs from whom they pretend to derive their religion: and then preached to them on the grace of God; by which, their teachers tell them, in the latter end of their catechism, they may be able to keep all the promises made for them, at the time of what they call their baptism; but that none can make members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, but Christ himself, who is the great baptizer of souls, and by one Spirit baptizeth all into one body, "the church, which is his body, the fulness of him who filleth all in all." But if they were members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, by what their priests had done to them in their infancy, when altogether ignorant of good or evil, they are now in the state of fallen angels, by their own confession; for "they have left undone those things which they ought to have done, and done those things which they ought not to have done," and are become miserable sinners, "full of wounds, bruises, and putrifying sores, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot;" and certainly none, in this state, can ever enter the kingdom of God. I told them, I had heard that the two universities, Oxford and Cambridge, are called the two eyes of the nation; it is therefore no wonder the inhabitants, depending on them, are so ignorant: for the blind have led the blind till they are all in the ditch. Some of them were not easy under this, and much more of this kind, intermixed with some of the most glorious truths of the gospel; yet Truth being over them, they could not oppose otherwise than by laughter, more forced than natural. At these times I



usually stood and looked upon them, and re-proving them when over, went on with what I had to say, till I had finished. Being preserved clear over them, I never had a better time among any of them in that place, or came away with greater satisfaction; and I observed that the sober people in the meeting were displeased with their behaviour; for they were like those of old, who neither would enter the kingdom themselves, nor suffer others. Yet in the conclusion they were for the most part solid, hardly a light countenance among them; so that they are rather carried away with the vanity and airs of youth, than envious, and might make good and useful men, if rightly governed in time of youth, and well exemplified; their behaviour declaring they are destitute of both.

On the 6th, being the third of the week, I fell in with the monthly meeting at North-end; where the Lord favoured us with the consolation of his divine and living presence; on the 7th with the week-day meeting at Henley, and on the 8th I went to a meeting at Amersham; where the goodness of the Lord accompanied us, and the testimony of Truth was glorious and over all.

On the 9th I had a meeting at Chesham, which was not large, but very open and comfortable. After the meeting, in the evening, I had conversation with a considerable man in the world, inclinable to the Camissars, or French prophets; by whom I perceived they expect such a dispensation from God, as that all the gifts in the primitive times shall be restored, viz: working miracles, prophecy, healing, raising the dead, &c., whereby their minds being carried off from the present dispensation, they neglect that—in looking for greater things before they are come to the lesser—as did the Jews; who looking for the coming of the Messiah in another manner than he was promised, that is, with outward and worldly power and pomp, despised him when he did come, and so missed of salvation by him. But I opened many things to him, and the Friends then present, as at that time they were opened to me of the Lord; and we parted in friendship.

On the 11th I had a large open meeting at Jordans, Friends being there from the meetings all round, and the Lord favoured us with his glorious presence, to our satisfaction. On the 13th we had an appointed meeting at Uxbridge, at John Hull's; which was not large of Friends, it being much declined from what it was heretofore; but some of the neighbours and a great many troopers coming in, many of the doctrines of the gospel were clearly, and with good authority opened: so that the power in which they act, the spirit of this world,

was fully under, and they behaved with sobriety and attention. The next day I went to London, to my usual lodging; where I was kindly received and entertained.

On the 23rd of the sixth month, I set out from London, accompanied by John Fallowfield; and being the seventh of the week, we went that evening to Dunstable, and lodged at our ancient friend John Chester's, where we were kindly entertained. Next day we were favoured of the Lord with a comfortable meeting in his good presence, with Friends and some others there gathered, and made by him instrumental to preach the gospel of his kingdom among them, to our mutual and solid satisfaction.

On the 26th we had a large good meeting with Friends and others at Olney; many of whom were much tendered and broken under the testimony of Truth delivered among them that day. On the 28th we fell in with their week-day meeting at Northampton. They having had some notice of our coming, the meeting was pretty large; and the Lord favoured us with his life-giving presence, and opened matters suitable, and with the power of an endless life, to the help and comfort of many; and we were rewarded with divine peace. On the 29th we had an evening meeting at Bugbrook, at Joseph Adams'. But most of the people having been labouring all day in their harvest, and weary, the meeting was heavy at first; but the Lord had compassion on us, and it ended well and living.

On the 30th we went forward to Rugby, where the yearly meeting for worship and propagation of the gospel was to be this year for the counties of Cornwall, Devonshire, Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, and Warwickshire. There were few Friends near that town, and the people in those parts generally ignorant of Truth, and we also unknown to them. The meeting began on the 31st, being the first of the week, and many Friends and ministers appearing from London, Norwich, Bristol, and divers other parts of the nation, and the country all about having large previous notice, we had a meeting so large as rarely to be seen: for the place prepared was so capacious as to hold many hundreds; which was very full in the forepart of the day, but the people came so generally in the afternoon, that scarcely half of them could get in: so that some of the ministers went into a large court behind an inn, near the meeting-place, but not within hearing of those within; and so had two meetings at the same time. We had the company of those called the quality and gentry all about, and several national priests among them; and the Lord honoured his own name



in the midst of them, from meeting to meeting, and owned his ministers and people with his living presence. To him be honour and dominion, as alone worthy, now and for ever.

The meeting held twice a day till the evening of the third of the week, being the 2nd of the seventh month; during which time the glorious truths of the gospel, in the authority and demonstration of it, were set forth by our ministry beyond contradiction; and the lies and calumnies of priests, and their votaries and supporters, detected and turned backward; and the Truth and Friends cleared. The people behaving with much sobriety and serious attention, I hope the understandings of many of them were opened, so as, in some degree, to perceive we had been formerly misrepresented to them, and our principles hid, but now opened and cleared.

We made a collection of money among Friends at the inns, for such poor persons and families, not of us, as might be most necessitous in the town, and in the end of the last meeting gave away among the people near a thousand books, suitable to their condition, for their information and help; all which were kindly received; and as love and unity abounded among Friends, so we left the town and people in mutual love and good-will between them and us, to the praise of the living Lord, who worketh in us the good-will and the deed, to his own glory.

On the 3rd Friends generally dispersed, and I went with Benjamin Kid and his wife to their country house at Plympton; where I staid with satisfaction till the 6th, and then went with them to Banbury. The next day, being the first of the week, I was at their meetings, both forenoon and after; which were both small, by reason of the rain. The beginning of each was heavy; but both ended well, especially the afternoon, which was very open in the latter part of it. On the 8th I went to Charlbury, and that evening had a very open meeting with Friends and others; where the truths of the gospel were opened freely, with good authority; and a solid comfortable time the Lord gave us together.

On the 12th I had a meeting appointed at Cirencester, which was an open good time, some of the sober neighbours being with us therein; and the Lord favoured us together.

On the 13th I went to Nailsworth, and the day after, being the first of the week, was at their meeting. In the forenoon it was not large, but open; and in the afternoon was very full, both of Friends and others, and the Lord favoured us with his good presence, and with many divine truths relating to his holy kingdom in this world, and that which is to come. He glorified his own powerful name to

his lasting praise. I remained there till the 16th, and then went to Bath; where I agreeably met with Samuel Bownas from Bridport, Andrew Pitt and May Drummond from London. She hath been public for about two years, and her testimony relishes with people of all ranks, especially the greater sort; by whom she is more followed and admired at present than any one amongst us, the notion of her being a lady of quality, which is yet a mistake of her degree, raising a curiosity to hear her; which occasions crowds not always to her satisfaction. But the children of this world will still gaze at the servants of God, but neither believe nor practise what they preach, though in the demonstration of the Spirit, and wisdom of the Truth.

We all staid at Bath till the 18th; and then were at their week-day's meeting; which was much crowded by all sorts, and many could not get in. The concern fell first on Samuel Bownas, an able minister indeed, whose ministry silenced and collected the minds of the auditory in good degree; and after him May Drummond was likewise concerned in testimony, and concluded the meeting in prayer: and several national priests being present, all conformed on the occasion; and the meeting was, I believe, to general satisfaction.

Samuel Bownas retiring home to Bridport, Andrew Pitt, May Drummond and I, staid at Bath till the 21st; which being the first of the week, we were again at the same meeting. In the forenoon it was not very large, but open and comfortable; but in the afternoon was much crowded with people of divers ranks and notions; who generally were still, and many of them attentive to what they heard, and some affected: and upon the whole, the Lord exalted his own name and Truth, and gave us the reward of his own good presence.

Andrew Pitt and May Drummond went to Bristol in the beginning of this week; and on the fourth-day I went to Bradford, to their week-day meeting: which was small, no timely notice having been given, but open; and the Lord gave us a comfortable time together, being mostly Friends. On the 25th I was at Bath again, and had another open time among the people; to whom the gospel was preached with clearness, and they behaved with sobriety and attention.

On the 28th I was there again; and being the first of the week, the meetings were large, especially in the afternoon, many persons of note, of both sexes, being present: and the goodness of the Lord was with us; and a solid comfortable time it was to many.

On the 2nd of the eighth month, being the fifth of the week, and Bristol quarterly meet-



ing, particularly for the edification of the youth, I was there again, and May Drummond likewise. The meeting was large, and the things of the kingdom of God, by his divine Truth, and the wisdom and authority of it, clearly declared; and I think, from the behaviour of the audience, to general satisfaction: and the next day I was there again, and with good satisfaction; for though the meeting was not so large as the former, the power of divine Truth was glorious therein.

Here I remained visiting and attending the meetings, first-days, third-days, and sixth-days, as usual, till the 4th of the ninth month, with peace and satisfaction to myself, and Friends in general. But one first day I exposed the pernicious doctrine of transubstantiation, wherein the Papists say, "That upon uttering the words of consecration by the priest, viz: *Hoc est Corpus meum*, the wafer which is so consecrated, is immediately changed into the very body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, which suffered on the cross at Jerusalem; that this wafer, being now the true God and Christ, is to be worshipped as such: and yet, though the priest doth use the words of consecration, if he does not intend to consecrate, which none can tell but himself, there is no consecration or transubstantiation, but the wafer remains what it was; and consequently the poor deceived people are led blindfold into idolatry, and utter uncertainty, and to worship they know not what."

In this meeting there were people of divers notions, who did not at all relish this doctrine; neither did some pretenders among ourselves. For at this day we have among us some traditionists, the children of such faithful Friends of Truth, who did, in the early part of this dispensation of God we are under, not only believe, but suffer for the same. These children have, for a time, taken up, and continued in the doctrines and examples they have heard and seen among us; but when they have come up into the state of men and women, being only in their natural state, and looking out to the world, have been taken by the lust of the eyes, with the vain and sinful fashions, customs and notions of the world, and become, some deists, some free-thinkers, others profane libertines, and others atheists; denying all revealed religion as contained in the holy Scriptures, and asserting there never was, is not, nor shall be, any other guide given unto man by God but his own reason, either in matters of duty towards God or man, religion or worship; denying all sense or knowledge of any divine Spirit. Thus renouncing Christ, they shake off his cross and despise it, with all its discipline; and yet come to our meetings as if they were Friends. But though some such

there be among us, to the great grief of those who know and follow the Truth, yet they are but few in comparison of the numbers among other professors: but wherever they appear, they are enemies to the Christian faith, though peradventure they do not mean it, but may be fallen into a wrong way of thinking, from a reasonable view of the errors and designs of priests and priestcraft; which they think unreasonable, and many of their schemes and injunctions inconsistent with the attributes of the all-wise, almighty, and all-good Creator of the world, to dictate to, or impose upon mankind.

In another meeting in the city of Bristol, on a sixth-day, when there were present several hireling teachers, of divers notions, though I did not know it, and many people of their several sorts, it became my concern, from the Spirit of Truth, to stand up therein, with this prophecy of the apostle, "The days shall come wherein men shall not endure sound doctrine; they shall heap to themselves teachers after their own hearts' lusts, having itching ears; they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and give heed unto fables." Having repeated the text of Scripture to this effect, I proceeded to observe to the auditory, "That this prophecy is clearly fulfilled in this and other nations at this day; all the several sects adopting to themselves certain notions, principles, and systems of religion, or what they call so, make choice of such teachers as will teach and propagate these notions, and no other, and will pay such teachers. These at the same time are rejecting and despising the free, perfect and effectual teachings of the grace of God; which have been publicly and freely preached, in this and some other nations, now nearly a full century, and still are unto this day; contrary to the kind and merciful invitation and exhortation of the Almighty, where he saith, by his evangelical prophet Isaiah, 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat: yea come, buy wine and milk without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? Hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness. Incline your ear, and come unto me; hear and your soul shall live; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David. Behold, I have given him for a witness to the people, a leader and commander to the people.' It is to him, the Lord Jesus Christ alone, that we have ever directed mankind, that they may be taught by his grace and Holy Spirit in their own hearts,



and redeemed from all the hireling teachers in the world, of every notion, form and design; and that freely, without any mercenary or low views to ourselves, but in that love to the souls of all men, in which the Son of God laid down his life for all mankind, tasting death for every man."

Though I did not observe any uneasiness in the people, for they were a mixed multitude, either in the first-day's meeting, or that on the sixth-day, yet some days after, a man rich and high in the world, professing the Truth with us, but a secret supporter of the priests, by paying their demands, contrary to the testimony of Truth in his faithful people, gathered of God, and called and chosen of him, to bear witness for him against the hirelings of the times, and antichristian priestcraft in every shape; this man uttered divers invectives, and false accusations against me, concerning what I had said in those meetings, saying, "We (meaning himself, and such as he) are at peace with our neighbours of all religions: we and they converse freely together, and we do not meddle with matters of religion among us; but thou hast done a great deal of hurt in these meetings, by scolding at them, and inveighing against their religion, with which we have no business. I have heard some of them say, thou deserved to be pelted for meddling with their religion, which did not concern thee;" with other matter of like import.

I replied, "That neither himself, nor such other violent persons as he meant, were proper judges of my concern on that account: for, though he and they had a right to judge, so far as to receive or reject, as to themselves, what I, or another, might utter in public concerning religion; yet they had no judgment from what root, or commandment, I uttered these matters in those meetings; nor did I regard him or them, or any other adversaries to the Truth, in whose wisdom and authority I uttered these things, with demonstration, clearness, and authority, which I cannot now repeat; with which all the living of God in those meetings, were well satisfied, being sensible also from what power and root they came. Therefore the language of these thy honest neighbours, demonstrates their guilt, and the just application of those Scriptures, as well to the hireling mercenary teachers, as to their hearers then present, and to thyself too, as of the same spirit and work with them. And I may tell thee, that it is my work and business, as often as I have the same authority, in the life of the divine eternal Truth, to expose all false teachers and hirelings, as also all hypocrites, and covetous presumptuous worldlings among ourselves, who give their souls up, in a manner

insatiable, to the gains of this world, without any bounds, and then intrude themselves into the affairs of the church of God among us. Though professing the Truth, such have no right, or any calling thereto of God, yet they take upon them to act according to the weight of their worldly gains, and not of the balance of the sanctuary; in which they are lighter than vanity, or the small dust that weighs nothing. And such an one art thou; 'for a man's enemies shall be those of his own household.' And so it is at this day in our Christian Society; for as great enemies and stumbling blocks in the way of Truth, as any are this day in the world, are covered with a profession of Truth, and the Christian faith and religion." With more to the same effect; which was not pleasing, yet being his due, I did not think proper to defraud him of it.

On the 4th of the ninth month I went to Bath, where I had several meetings to satisfaction; and on the 11th to Chippingham, where I fell in with their monthly meeting, and appointed another for worship the next evening; where we had the company of a Presbyterian minister, and some of his hearers. He was a moderate friendly man, and behaved well, as did the people in general; and it was a good meeting. On the 13th I went to Calne, where we had a large open meeting, and the majesty and wisdom of Truth was over all, to general comfort and satisfaction. On the 14th I went to Devizes, and had an evening meeting there; which was small, there being few Friends remaining in that place: yet the Lord owned us, and a few neighbours with his good presence. On the 15th I went to Marlborough, and the day after being the first of the week, was at their meetings both forenoon and after; where the Lord gave us comfortable times together in him, and many truths of the gospel were clearly opened among us by his divine wisdom.

On the 17th I went to Newbury, and having appointed an evening meeting there from Marlborough on the 18th, it happened to be their monthly meeting day; which being held in the forenoon, the evening meeting was held likewise according to appointment; and the next day being their week-day meeting, I attended them all: and the Lord favoured us in all of them with his goodness.

On the 20th I went to Reading, and the next day being the sixth of the week, I was at their meeting; where several of the younger sort were tendered, and generally comforted in the good presence of the Lord. And staying there till the 23rd, I found liberty in my mind to go directly to London the next day, in the Reading coach; where we arrived safely.



At London, and thereabout, I remained several months, visiting the meetings, and making what assistance I could in the solicitations then on foot, before both houses of Parliament, for further ease concerning tithes; many of the national priests continuing cruel, through envy, notwithstanding the good intention of the government, in moderating the laws on that account. For though a more easy way of recovery of what they call their due, had been provided by some former Parliaments; yet the old laws being still in force, many of the priests continued to take the most severe and destructive ways they could against us. The bill passed the House of Commons by a very great majority, but was thrown out, or not committed in the House of Lords, by no great majority, notwithstanding the interest and number of the bishops; and the many warm speeches made in both houses for us, and against the bishops and clergy, discovered that the temper of the nation, at that time, did not favour them.

The meeting for Sufferings, under whose care that affair was conducted by order of the yearly meeting, requesting some of our ministering Friends to solicit some of the bishops in our favour, for some of them were moderate men, it fell to my lot, with my cousin John Bell of Gracechurch street, John Fallowfield, and Zaccheus Routh, to speak with the bishops of Salisbury, Chichester, Rochester, Gloucester, Litchfield and Coventry, Chester, and London, on that and some other subjects; and they behaved themselves decently enough as men, and generally gave up all pretensions to divine right of tithes, and insisted on the laws of the land only; but would not consent to abridge any of the pretences of the clergy that way. Only the bishop of London, with a differing air of height from any of the rest, told us, "That as he looked upon himself as guardian of the rights of the clergy, which he thought were unjustly attacked, he intended to oppose us as much as he could." To which John Fallowfield answered, "Thou speaks like a man; for it is best to be plain in all things." Though this bishop's terms were general, inclusive of all the clergy in England, yet I understood them as restricted to his own diocese; because there are two metropolitans, in their way, before him in this point, Canterbury and York; each of whom had a better title to such a priority, the former especially: but when he appeared so legally positive and vindictive, all I said to him was, "That this case might be considered equitably and mercifully, as well as legally, by any man under the notion of a Christian bishop." Upon which he stepped a little back, and looked seriously upon me,

the rest just passing off, but made no reply; and I also withdrew.

I continued at London till the yearly meeting; which was, in the main, more peaceable than at some other times, there being but two appeals, as I remember; one of which I thought uncommon and remarkable. A certain person in Ireland, having been a preacher among Friends there, and married our way, taking some offence by some ill usage, as he thought, in an arbitration at London; and letting in too deep resentments against some particulars, and not meeting with such satisfaction, upon some complaints, as he thought was due, by degrees he increased in his prejudices till they became general; and then he became an open and embittered enemy to the whole Society. Falling in with the bishops in Ireland, he became a strenuous opposer of our endeavours for an affirmation there, as we had obtained in England; and sued some Friends in chancery for money, where none was due, taking advantage of them, because they could not put in their answers upon oath, and hindering, as much as he could, their obtaining an affirmation instead of an oath, in such courts and cases; and denying his wife, because married among Friends, attempted to take another; with some other evil practices: for which the monthly meeting he belonged to had denied him; and he had appealed to the quarterly meeting, but had never appeared there, nor any one for him, to prosecute his appeal. But after some time he had come over to London, and unknown to any meeting, had prevailed with some ignorant and disorderly persons professing Truth to give him a certificate, but not in any meeting; with which he went into Pennsylvania. But Friends there being apprized of his doings, from Ireland, he was not received among them. After some time he returned to England; and insinuating himself into the opinions of some members of the monthly meeting of Devonshire-house in London, they so far espoused him, and his cause, as to find means to bring it before the yearly meeting there; which grieved many Friends. However, as it came by way of appeal from the quarterly meeting at London, the yearly meeting appointed a committee to hear it; who, after inquiring into the true state of the case, of the Friends from Ireland then in the meeting, made their report, That it was not regularly before the meeting; for that this appellant had appealed, in the same case, to a quarterly meeting in Ireland, where the offences arose about sixteen years ago, as I remember; which was so far regular: but never prosecuting his appeal, as above noted, there it remains.

But notwithstanding this report, certain ar-



bitrary persons of the monthly meeting of Devonshire-house, and of the quarterly meeting of London, who had, out of all order and rule, espoused this offender and his cause, would have eluded it by subtleties and sophistical reasonings; but the wisdom and power of the meeting silenced them, and the report was received and agreed to.

Seeing the ill tendency and consequences of such appeals from other nations and places in the world to the yearly meeting at London, I took this occasion to observe to the meeting, That this being a matter of immoral conduct only, in the appellant, and not of faith, doctrine or principle, it was sufficiently cognizable and determinable in and by the monthly meeting in Ireland, where the matters of complaint arose, or by appeal to the quarterly meeting there, or finally in their yearly, or half-yearly meeting, usually held at Dublin. And that no appeal at all ought, in such cases, to be admitted from that meeting at Dublin, or from any yearly meeting of business in any other country or island, to London; nor ought that meeting at London to receive any such, or enter into judgment thereon: for, if they should, the consequences thereof might be very pernicious and oppressive. Such appeals from Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Barbadoes, or other remote places, or even from Ireland or Scotland, would be attended with great charges and trouble many ways, and loss of time, to persons necessary to attend appeals from such places, and likewise to the members of the yearly meeting at London; which would be thereby rendered as a stage of contention by every unruly spirit who could make a party and wrong interest in and among such as himself; and would render London as a kind of head of the churches. But the proceedings of Rome remain in too glaring characters for any men of knowledge and of truth, and friends to the rights and privileges of mankind, to submit to or promote any such thing in this Society, now, or in the succession of ages. So this appeal was rejected as irregular, and not lying there.

At London I remained, attending the meetings there, and some in neighbouring places, till the 12th of the sixth month, 1736; and then went with my friend Thomas Jackson, to his country house at Bush-hill; and the next day to Albans, and that evening had a pretty full and open meeting there. On the 13th we were at the meeting at Sherington; which was large and open, partly occasioned by the company of some Friends from Northampton: and the Lord favoured us together with his good presence; and divers doctrines were opened by the Truth among us, to satisfaction, on several subjects. That afternoon

we returned to Newport; and on the 16th we had a meeting at Wellingborough, considerably large and open, which consisted, for the most part, of the younger sort of Friends; and things opened well to their state, and were comfortable.

On the 17th we went forward to Leicester, and fell in with their week-day meeting next day. It was small and low, things being much declined there; yet a few honest Friends still remaining, the Lord favoured us with a degree of his divine goodness together. On the 19th we were at the week-day meeting at Nottingham, which was large, by the coming in of some strangers; and the Lord favoured us and them with his goodness, and the openings of some important truths of the gospel with authority and demonstration: it was a good meeting. On the 20th we went to Chesterfield, where we were kindly received and entertained by our steady friends, Joseph Storr and his wife. They have been both able ministers of the gospel many years, and have many children, young men and women, and all preserved from the immoralities of the world, and hopeful. We had no inclination for a meeting there; but next day went forward to Sheffield, and on the 22nd were at their meetings both forenoon and after. That meeting is much enlarged in some years, and was very full, by the addition of many of the inhabitants of other professions; and the Lord favoured us together with his divine, melting, solacing goodness, and suitable matters of doctrine, to conviction and edification.

On the 23rd we went to Bewdley, where we called to see our ancient friend William Francis, then above eighty years of age. In his latter time he had been much in the highlands of Scotland, about some business in which he had been entrusted, and which he had discharged honourably; and on that occasion had preached the Truth in word and doctrine, as also in life and conversation among them, and had obtained near acquaintance and friendship with some of the nobility as well as the lower rank. And though he was so weak with age and labour of divers kinds, that he could scarcely get on horseback, yet he went with us several miles towards Leeds. On the 25th the week-day meeting at Leeds was large, and consists, for the greatest part, of young people; sober, but few of them, yet baptized of the Lord; by his sanctifying baptism: which is much the case and state of our young people at this day throughout the world; being in danger, as others have done, of sitting down under the profession of Truth, in a traditional way, as to the doctrine and form of the discipline of it, and yet short and ignorant of the life, light,



virtue and power of Truth essentially in themselves; by which an apostacy from the very form may enter and proceed gradually till the whole be lost, as to them, and some other thing take place under the same name: which the Lord prevent, by his kind and merciful visitation, in his own time and way; for nothing else can do it, or carry on that great and glorious work, which his own arm hath begun in the earth in and by his people.

On the 29th we went to the meeting at Bradford, which was large, and more so, by pretty many of the neighbourhood who came there. The Lord was with us, and gave me a full and open time among them, to our mutual and general satisfaction; to the praise of the Lord alone, who only is worthy now and for ever. On the 31st I went to Skipton, to David Hall's; and next day had a meeting there, consisting for the greatest part of strangers. It was large and peaceable, and the saving truths of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ were freely and plainly opened; with which several were affected, some tendered, and generally solid, through the weight of Truth then over the auditory.

That night also I lodged there, and the next day went to Settle, to William Birbeck's; and though it was near four in the afternoon before I arrived, yet by the diligence of that family, we had a large meeting beginning at six; where the Lord's good presence accompanied us, and in his love and light, the Truth was preached with authority and demonstration; and though many of the auditory were of the priest's people, mixed with dissenters, yet the wisdom and virtue of Truth came over them, reduced them to quietness and solidity during the meeting, and they generally retired after the meeting in a sober and grave manner, a sign that they were weighed down by the invisible power of Truth. After this meeting I found my strength much exhausted; and having taken some cold before, the weather being wet, its effects appeared more fully then, so that I could not rest as usual that night: yet, by the good providence of the Almighty, and care of the family, I was able to go on the next morning, and in the evening reached Kendal. I staid there till the first-day, and was at their meetings both forenoon and after. It was pretty large in the morning, consisting for the most part of Friends; but being put off in the afternoon till the fourth hour, and notice given to the inhabitants, we had a large and peaceable meeting. The hand of the Lord is open to mankind in general, but meets not with due acceptance and gratitude in many to whom his goodness is extended in this generation; yet his arm is stretched out still.

I staid there till the 9th of the seventh month; and there happening to be a burial that day, we were favoured with the divine presence in our meeting on that occasion; and many of the town's people being there, the Lord opened the mysteries of his kingdom freely and plainly to them, in which Friends were satisfied and comforted.

On the 20th I went to my farm called Justice-town, where I had a large nursery of forest-tree plants, both British and American; from which having been absent some years, they were in that time grown much out of order, and many of them lost, being overgrown and suppressed by others. Here I staid, preparing for a further progress in that concern; but the quarterly meeting for the county happening to fall at Pardsay, below Cockermouth, I went thither on the 23rd; and attending the service of the meeting, which was to the satisfaction both of myself and Friends, for the Lord was with us. I returned to Wigton, and it being the seventh of the week, I was at their meeting next day; where the divine Truth shone over all in majesty and glory, to the praise of the Father through him for ever.

On the 27th I went to Justice-town, where, with many hands, I began to plant out several sorts of young trees, as oaks, elms, ashes, acermajors, poplars of several kinds, firs, English walnuts, black walnuts, tulip trees, locust trees, cedars of America, occidental planes, lindens, chesnuts, horse-chesnuts, divers sorts of willows, beeches, hornbeams, scarlet oaks, &c., which I had raised from seeds and cuttings, at that farm to furnish that part of the country, in time, with timber, which is now scarce; and that I might be an example to others in that useful kind of improvement; which several since have begun to follow. In the mean time I visited some meetings in those parts; as, Kirk-linton, Solport, Carlisle, Scotsby, and Moorhouse, and the monthly meeting, consisting of these five.

Here I staid till the 17th of the ninth month, and that day set forward from Carlisle, and on the 18th, being the fifth of the week, I went to Kendal, to Thomas Ellwood's, and was at their week-day's meeting the day following; where we were mercifully favoured with the good presence of the Lord. On the 21st I was at that meeting again; which, in the forenoon consisted for the most part of Friends; and the Lord was with us, to our mutual consolation. And as I was known to many of the inhabitants, who had been often at our meetings, and some times when I had been there, Friends thought proper to put off the afternoon meeting till between four and five in the evening; when we had a great



number of the inhabitants with us, by computation about one thousand in all; and being very quiet and orderly, some necessary and important truths of the gospel were clearly opened among us with divine authority. On the 22nd I went to Gale, on the 23rd to Settle, on the 24th to Skipton, to David Hall's, and on the 25th to Bradford, where I was kindly received by my friend Benjamin Bartlet. Here I staid till the 28th, being the first of the week, and was at their meeting; which consisted generally of Friends, and for the most part of young persons of both sexes: and the Lord was pleased to open their states to them in a good degree, and many were much tendered and broken in a sense of his fresh visitation and goodness that day, to the comfort likewise of the elders in general, and to the praise of his own arm, who alone is worthy now and forever.

On the 30th I went to William Hird's, where I staid two nights, his company and conversation being very agreeable; and on 2nd of the tenth month we went together to Leeds; where I was kindly received by my long acquainted friend Benjamin Horner, to our mutual satisfaction; and next day was at their week-day meeting. On the 5th, being the first of the week, I was at their meeting again; which being postponed till three in the afternoon, pretty many of the neighbours came in, and were sober and attentive to the things that were opened, so far as I could observe; and the meeting was well in general.

On the 6th the corpse of an ancient Friend was buried there, and we had another meeting on that occasion: and many neighbours being there, some truths of the gospel were opened to them with clearness; and it was a comfortable meeting. But what use they make of the kind visitations of the Lord, time must show; but it seems, that delaying to own their convictions, and join with Truth and Friends, they return and sit down under the gloomy shadow of their dark priests, spending their money for that which is not bread, and their labour for that which profiteth not; buying of them who sell, till buyers and sellers are shut out together. On the 7th I went to Pontefract, and next day had a meeting there; which was open and comfortable, some of the neighbours being there of various notions of religion, and all quiet.

On the 10th I went to Sheffield, where I staid till the first-day following, and was at their meeting; which consists, for most part, of young people: and the Lord favoured us with his good presence, and a fresh visitation of kindness to them; which I believe many of both sexes were sensible of. That evening I went to Woodhouse, and next day went to

Blythe, to attend the burial of an ancient and honourable Friend: on which occasion many Friends and people were at the meeting; and the Lord gave us a comfortable time together, opening many important truths of the gospel unto us, and things were well.

The first of the week I was at the meeting at Albans; which was small in the forenoon, but open and comfortable, and not large in the afternoon, little, if any notice having been given to the neighbours; yet a few sober people being there, we were favoured with a good meeting; and the Lord's good presence was among us.

On the 21st I went to London; where I was kindly received by my friend Joseph Green.

In this journey I had suffered very much by the badness of the weather and roads; which affected my constitution so, that I remained at London, visiting the meetings there, and in the country near, till the 13th of the fourth month, 1738, and then went to Hartford; where the next day we were favoured with a comfortable meeting; for which I was thankful to the Lord, who is the fountain of all our mercies.

On the 15th I was at another meeting in the afternoon at Hitchin; and on the first of the week, was at the meetings at Northampton, forenoon and afternoon; which were large, especially that in the afternoon, and very open and comfortable: and the truths of the gospel opened clearly and plentifully, with demonstration and authority, to the sole praise of the great and gracious Giver of every good and perfect gift. On the 19th, accompanied by Thomas Binyon, jun., I went forward to Leicester, where I rested that night. A meeting being appointed at Nottingham on the 21st, the Lord favoured us with a degree of his good presence; and though we were in silence a considerable time, the things of God opened well, and were delivered with good authority, there being some of the town's people there; and all was very quiet and well.

On the 23rd I was at the week-day meeting at Blythe; which was small, few Friends remaining there, but very open and comfortable. On the 25th, being the first of the week, I was at a general meeting for worship, falling of course at Warnsworth yearly about that time. It was large and comfortable, the goodness of the Lord being sensibly with us.

On the 27th, accompanied by several Friends, we set forward for York, by way of Tadcaster; where, falling in with other Friends from Leeds and places adjacent, we all dined together at an inn; and before we arose from the table, the divine Truth tendered me very much, and reached the Friends in



general, with a merciful visitation of his kindness, as in our early times; and we were at that time as little children before him, and satiated with the breast of living consolation in his presence, not to be forgotten, but sealed on every heart, to the ever-living praises of the God of mercy, and of our salvation. We were reduced to silence. From Tadcaster we went that evening to York, to an evening meeting there; and the next day began the quarterly meeting for the county; that meeting, at that time of the year, being commonly called their yearly meeting. It held the 28th and 29th, was very large, especially in times of worship, when many of other communions came in, and generally behaved well. The Lord was with us; and things, both as to worship and discipline, were conducted in the meekness of his wisdom, to his own glory, and consolation of his people, without schism or jar.

And I, desiring once more to see as many of the inhabitants of the city at our meeting as could be, upon full notice given them, staid till the 2nd of the fifth month; where, in the forenoon, the meeting was more select: but in the afternoon, being put off till five in the evening, it was very large, the greater meeting-house being well filled; and I had, through the infinite mercy of God, the everlasting gospel, and universal salvation of God through Christ our Lord, to preach to them in some good measure and authority; and observed many sober and attentive persons of both sexes among them, but others too airy and unconcerned, yet generally of decent behaviour.

On the 4th of the fifth month I went to a meeting appointed at Huby, about seven miles from York; which was small, but open and comfortable, the goodness of the Lord being sensibly with us.

On the 5th I was at an appointed meeting at Thornton; which, in the beginning, was hard and exercising, but through the mercy of God, was very open afterwards, and ended well, to the praise of his own holy name, who alone is worthy. On the 6th I was at Malton, where the Lord was with us, and opened the mysteries of the gospel clearly; and a good time the Lord gave us together, there being few besides Friends there. On the 7th I had a meeting appointed at Pickering; where Friends came from divers places round. In this meeting we had a considerable time in silence, and something in it very hard to be wrought through, a spirit of heaviness, carelessness, and darkness; yet the arm of the Lord arose, and the brightness of his living presence prevailed over death and darkness, and the righteous rejoiced before him, in a

sense of his never-failing goodness. It was a comfortable time indeed to Friends in general, raising praises to the Almighty author of all good, and he himself is that good. That evening I went with Robert Milner and his wife to their house, about seven miles; where I was kindly entertained.

On the 8th I went to Scarborough, and the next day being the first of the week, we were favoured with two good meetings, the good presence of the Lord being with us to our great refreshment, and the truths of the gospel were opened clearly, and with good authority. We had two very comfortable meetings more that week; one on the fourth-day, and the other on the sixth, as usual. And staying till the 16th, the Lord favoured us with his good presence, and gave us two comfortable meetings; wherein divers important truths of the gospel were amply set forth in the authority and wisdom of it, to its own praise and glory. On the 18th I went to Whitby; and the next day, being their usual meeting day, we were favoured with a very open comfortable meeting, the Lord being with us to our general satisfaction. I lodged there at Thomas Birkit's; where I was kindly received and entertained. I staid till the 21st, and was at their sixth-day meeting, for they have two in the week, which was very open and comfortable, Friends being generally tendered by the influence of divine love, the sweetness whereof seasoned our conversation afterwards.

On the 22nd I returned to Scarborough; and on first-day the forenoon meeting was very heavy for some time, many being very drowsy and unconcerned; but the Lord favouring us with a glimpse of his enlivening countenance, we were thereby refreshed, and the meeting ended well. In the afternoon many strangers being in town, came to the meeting; and the Lord favoured us with his good presence, and opened the important truths of the gospel with authority and demonstration; as, the fall of man in the first Adam, his restoration by the second Adam to the knowledge of divine life lost in the first; the necessity of regeneration by faith in Christ, and through the work of his power in us, as he is the quickening Spirit; by which we are born of the elect Seed, which never fell, and made partakers of the divine nature in him, to our everlasting establishment, as that great and truly wonderful work is completed by Christ, out of the reach of all temptation and possibility of any future fall, resting in the unspeakable joy of the salvation of God for ever and ever. The meeting was very solid in general, some of the quality, as they are distinguished among men, being there; and yet some of the baser sort, though



in gay clothing, could not hide their levity and extreme ignorance, in some part of the time of the delivery of truths so needful to be known and received of all mankind: but they being only some private sneerers, there was no open disturbance, and the meeting concluded in great solidity and decency, as usual in these days, to the honour of the divine Truth, who alone is worthy. On the 26th, being the fourth of the week, I was again at their week-day meeting, and also on the 28th; where we had our meetings more select with Friends, and we were comforted together in the Truth. On the 30th, being the first of the week, in the afternoon especially, came many strangers to the meeting: the truth of the gospel was, in the divine power of it, preached among them; under which they were generally sober and attentive, several of the quality being present. On the 2nd of the sixth month the meeting was again more select, though some strangers of both sexes were there, where the one true and saving baptism of the Holy Spirit was clearly preached; when several of the auditory seemed surprised to hear the absolute necessity of it set forth so plainly, according to the holy Scriptures, and with an authority which carried the matter home, in some good measure, to the hearts and understandings of several of the auditors. It was a glorious and satisfactory meeting, through divine goodness, though not numerous.

My concern for that place continuing, I was at all their meetings, both on first-days and week-days, until the 26th, and then went to Anthony Langley's, a Friend's house, two miles beyond Bridlington, where I lodged that night; and the next day had two open and satisfactory meetings with Friends and others. That night I lodged at John Atweek's, where I was kindly entertained; and at the same place had another meeting on the 29th in the evening, which was very solid, and the doctrines of the Truth were set forth with clearness, by the grace of God, and the virtue and authority of it, to the praise of the only true and living God, who is worthy and blessed for ever. On the 31st we had another meeting there, which was very comfortable, the goodness of the Lord being much over us, and the kingdom of God was declared in the authority of it, and the kingdom and power of antichrist thereby laid open; being founded inwardly in the darkness of this world, in the imaginations and corruptions of men, supported by that wisdom which is from beneath, and the power of it, under the conduct of false and degenerate priests, who run for rewards in this world where God never sent them; who have profited themselves by the spoils of the blind people, but have not profited the people at all.

On the 1st of the seventh month I went back to Scarborough; and on the 3rd, being the first of the week, I was again at the meeting there; where, in the forenoon, the Lord gave us a plentiful season of his goodness, and the meeting being for the most part of Friends, the testimony of Truth was, in the openings of life, more adapted to them, for their confirmation and encouragement; and a glorious, comfortable, and confirming time it was to many. In the afternoon the strangers who attended the Spa coming in pretty fully, many truths of the gospel and kingdom of God were opened to them, in the love and goodness of God; under a sense whereof the meeting was held throughout the time, to general satisfaction, so far as I could gather from the attentive, serious and solid behaviour of the people. So that it seemed as if they were all reconciled in one, even in the divine Truth, under the powerful baptizing virtue and influence of it; and that evening the Lord gave me great consolation therein.

On the 5th the monthly meeting with Friends of Whitby falling of course, I was there to my satisfaction; for the good presence of the Lord was with us, and the discipline of the meeting was managed in the peaceable wisdom of Truth, and in brotherly condescension and love, to the praise of the great Author of every good and wholesome establishment, and every good word and work brought forth thereby and therein; being as the Tree of Life, bearing its fruit ripe, comfortable, delicious, and strengthening. On the 6th I took leave of the place, having first acquainted Friends therewith in the last meeting, and left them in love and peace. That evening I went to Newton, and lodged at Robert Milner's; and the next day in the evening had a meeting in his house with his family, and a few poor, simple people of the national way, to whom the Lord opened many helpful instructing things by my ministry; but to the praise of himself only.

On the 8th I went to a monthly meeting at Malton; where the Lord gave us a comfortable time, and opened several things relating to the discipline of the church, and moral virtue and conduct, in the wisdom and authority of the gospel. A case of a reproachful nature being presented, and having been debated in some former meetings, several of the meeting appeared to defend the transgressor, though the facts had been proved, and also confessed by him. But the power of Truth being over the meeting, and finding myself engaged therein against the spirit of contention, I reprov'd its members, convicted them of the errors of their evil work, and silenced them for that time; which greatly encouraged



the righteous servants of the Lord there, who were concerned for the honour of the Lord and our Society; and then the testimony of Truth went out against the transgressor with unanimity, and the meeting ended in peace, to the satisfaction of the just. On the 9th I went to York, to Roger Shackleton's, and on the 10th was at their meetings both forenoon and afternoon. It was the first-day of the week, and being very rainy, the meetings were more select to Friends, though there were some strangers; and a very comfortable day the Lord gave us in his ever-blessed presence, and many good things were opened in his divine light and power, to edification and confirmation.

On the 11th I went to Leeds, to my old and dear friend Benjamin Horner's, and was at their meeting on the fourth of the week. The fore part of this meeting was heavy, dark, and uncomfortable; but, by degrees, light shined out of darkness, and dispelled its power in good measure, to the comforting of the sincere-hearted, and the reproof of the idle, lukewarm, and unconcerned among us. On the 15th I was at another meeting there, in a small meeting-house in town erected for more select meetings of Friends, especially the aged and infirm; where the Lord was with us to our general comfort and edification: for our hearts were made glad by the wine of his kingdom plentifully dispensed among us. On the 16th I went to Bradford, to my friend Benjamin Bartlet's; where I was received, as usual, with kindness and respect, which hath ever been mutual since first acquainted. The day after, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting there; which was very large, many of the more reputable sort of people of various professions of religion being present; and the Lord opened many of the doctrines of the gospel among us, during which there was general quietude and attention; and the meeting seemed satisfied, departing in a solid condition.

On the 19th I went to my friend William Hird's, where I staid that night; and the next day was at a meeting about a mile from thence; where the Lord favoured us plentifully with his good presence. It was a glorious meeting, to his own praise, of whom alone is the power. On the 21st, in the evening, I returned to Bradford; where the monthly meeting happening next day, I had some service both in discipline and ministry.

On the 23rd I departed in peace for Leeds; and next day being the first of the week, I was at the meetings there, which were very large, especially in the afternoon, the meeting being put off till the third hour, and many of the chief of the people of the town attended, and a very great crowd. The Lord had regard

unto us, and was pleased to furnish me with understanding and strength, both of body and mind, to deliver many things to them touching the knowledge of God, and eternal life in and by Christ the Lord: the Truth was over the multitude, and reigned; so that there was not a light countenance to be seen among them. These are the works of God, by Jesus Christ the Lord, through whom be the acknowledgment to the Father, now and for ever.

On the 26th I returned to York with Friends from Leeds, and those parts, in order for the quarterly meeting of the county, which began the next day; the business whereof, as well as worship, was conducted in the peaceable wisdom of the Son of God, whose divine goodness and presence presided there. Many great and important truths were delivered in the meetings by several brethren, in the demonstration and authority of the Holy Spirit. Here a person took down something I said in short-hand, as he had done at some other times, as also of some others in other places; which is seldom truly done: for though the form of speech may be, by that means, and help of the memory of the writer and others, nearly recovered; yet the missing or altering of a word in some sentences may greatly alter and wrong the sense. And it is certain that no letters, words, or speech, can represent the divine virtue, power, and energy, in which the doctrines of Truth are delivered by those who are sent of God: for they speak with wisdom and authority in and from him, and not as the artists and hirelings of this world and of antichrist, whose speeches are often cunning and deceivable; whereby they ensnare the people, rule over them, and make a trade and gain of them to themselves, and live in the pomp and grandeur of this world; though they promise and vow before God and man, to renounce these, and make the people do so likewise, and yet break those vows also as often as they make them; not once only, but to the end of their days, if their daily confessions be really true. Nevertheless, where testimonies are truly set down in writing, so far as they are sound, with respect to faith in God and Christ the Lord, or any other point of doctrine in religion, they may be of use to help forward the work of the Lord, in the redemption and salvation of mankind. The meetings ended in the peaceable spirit and love of the Holy One, in which they began and were held. Divers departed the city that evening with satisfaction and consolation, towards their several habitations; and yet, as pillars in the house of God, depart no more therefrom, but remain therein for ever. But having no certain dwelling



place on earth, though something therein I call mine, and have just power over while in this body; and not being in haste for any other place, I staid to attend the service of the Lord in the next first-day's meetings in that city, where we were favoured with the divine presence, and many important truths of the gospel were delivered in the authority of Truth.

On the 2nd of the eighth month I went to Pontefract, and had a satisfactory meeting there on the 3rd. On the 4th I went to Warnsworth, to Thomas Aldam's, and the next day was at their monthly meeting, where a case happened which admitted of some different ways of thinking; yet Friends condescending one to another, and the testimony of Truth going out against all partiality of judgment in the things of God, and against all sides and parties on any account whatever, there being no side or party, save truth or error only, things were carried on and finished in the peaceable wisdom of Truth, to satisfaction and comfort. On the 6th, in the evening, I was at an appointed meeting at Woodhouse; whither came a good number of the neighbourhood, who were very sober and attentive to the testimony of Truth; which was largely and demonstratively delivered among them: and the Lord gave us a good meeting.

On the 7th I went to Sheffield, and the day after was at their meeting, both forenoon and after; where the Lord was sensibly and powerfully with us, to the glory of his own eternal name. It was a day of satisfaction indeed to be lastingly remembered. On the 9th I returned to Woodhouse, and the next day to Balber-Hall; where I was kindly received by my long acquainted friend sir John Rhodes, bart., a man of truth and understanding, who neglecting all the honour of the world, had lived rather too reclusely; by which the brightness of his talents had not been made so conspicuous as otherwise they might. Here I staid till the 13th, and then went to Mansfield, to Richard Mariot's; where I was kindly received by him and his family. There I abode till the 15th with satisfaction, and it being the first of the week, was at their meeting both forenoon and after; where we were favoured with the good and comfortable presence of the Lord, and many things were opened in his wisdom and power, to the establishment of some, and edification of the generality.

On the 16th I went to Nottingham, and the next day had a meeting there; where the eternal Truth triumphed gloriously, and the truths of the gospel were delivered with majesty, bringing a holy dread over the assembly, mixed with consolation: and many were ten-

dered and comforted. On the 20th had a meeting appointed at Leicester; which consisted of Friends for the greatest part, and we were favoured with a fresh experience of the merciful truth of that saying of the Lord, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." The comfort of his Holy Spirit was our enjoyment at that time.

The weather being very rainy, I staid there till the 22nd, and was at their meeting both forenoon and after. The former was more select, consisting for the most part of Friends; and the goodness of the Lord was sensibly with us, and things opened to satisfaction. In the afternoon we had the company of many of the people of divers notions in religion, and the Lord opened a door of utterance of many truths of the gospel in the authority of it; where divers false doctrines of the mercenary, deceitful letter-mongers were exposed: under which the people were very still and serious, not a light countenance among them; for the dread of the Lord was over them, and Friends were comforted in the Truth, and in the preaching of it in its own life and virtue.

On the 24th I had a meeting at Northampton, where the goodness of the Lord was with us, and gave us a comfortable season together in him, to the glory of his own name. On the 25th I went to Newport-Pagnal, to Thomas Cooper's; where I staid that night, and the day after went to Ampel, to the widow Barber's; where we had an evening meeting with a few Friends and some of the sober neighbourhood, to good satisfaction: for the countenance of the Lord was towards us, and many things were opened in the Truth to the understandings of the people, and helping forward of the work of God, through the word of his grace, without which no minister can do any thing to conviction or edification.

On the sixth of the week I fell in with the week-day meeting at Baldock; which was small, but comfortable, through divine goodness. On the 28th I went from thence to Hartford, to John Prior's; and the day after, being the first of the week, was at their meeting forenoon and after. The former was small, but very tender and comfortable, through the influence of the divine presence; by which divers, even the greatest part were tendered and melted as wax before the sun, and had the holy image of the Son of God, in some good measure, impressed upon them; to his own glory, and magnifying of his own holy name, to whom it is due now and for ever more. The meeting in the afternoon was much larger, many being there from Ware, and of the town's people, who had heard of the first meeting; and the goodness of the Lord was



with us. But my exercise in public was more laborious, by reason of the various states of the auditory; many things being delivered of general and particular importance: and all were very still, attentive, and by all appearance comforted and satisfied. To the latter meeting came my landlord Joseph Green, and Dr. William Clark, from London, to meet me; and we staid that night at Hartford, and had an easy journey next day to London.

At London I remained until the 17th of the fourth month, 1739; and on the 22nd got to the meeting at Leeds, where I was much refreshed and restored in the good presence of the Lord, after the most fatiguing and painful journey I had known in the time. On the first of the week I was at the meeting there, which was very large and comfortable; the people being solid and attentive to the testimony of Truth, and well satisfied with it. On the 25th their monthly meeting was a good time; the Lord mercifully favouring us with his good presence. The next day, accompanied by Benjamin Horner and his wife, and others of his family, &c., I went to York to the quarterly meeting; which was large, and very peaceable and comfortable both in worship and discipline: and the business of the meeting being fully over, to general satisfaction, I returned to Leeds.

On the 1st of the fifth month, I went to a yearly meeting for worship at Bingley; which was very large, consisting of many hundreds of people: and the truths of the gospel being largely opened to them, and no public minister there besides myself, I was very much spent as to my natural strength, and now of great age; but the Lord being pleased to restore the strength of my mind, and being kindly entertained, in company with many Friends, by our friend William Lister, at his house there, my strength, through the goodness of God, was soon recovered; for the Lord sanctifies every blessing to the ends proposed in it. On the 2nd I went to Carleton, and made a visit to William Slater, and Mary his wife, both ministers; where I was kindly received, and plentifully entertained: for though they were not rich in the world, they were rich in love and right friendship; which is abundantly better, and more acceptable than a great deal of fine dainties without it.

On the 3rd, accompanied by William Slater, I went forward to Settle; and next day, being their monthly meeting, the Lord gave us a very comfortable time of his good presence: for our hearts were freely opened by him and unto him, who openeth and no man shutteth, and when he shutteth, none can open. After the meeting I went forward to

Gale; and the next day to Kendal, to a meeting of ministers, which was beginning when I alighted; where the divine presence was likewise with us. The next day I staid there, to attend the service of their quarterly meeting; which was large and edifying, both in worship and discipline, and conducted in the peaceable wisdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; through whom, to the Father of all our mercies, be dominion and glory, now and for ever. On the first of the week, I was at their meeting, forenoon and after, being both large, especially the latter, which was put off until the fourth hour. The Lord was with us, and brought many good things of his kingdom to remembrance, with authority and clearness, to general satisfaction.

On the 11th I went to a general meeting at Preston; which was large, and for the most part composed of young people. The Lord blessed us together in his presence; and many of the young ones were baptized of him by the purifying flame of divine love, to their great consolation; entering thereby into a covenant of light and life with him, according to his sure promise of old. The meeting ended in the gravity of Truth. I returned that evening to Kendal.

On the 13th there was a general meeting at Carlisle which was small, but fully as open as I expected: for some in that place are far from the Truth, though they have professed it long; and strangers commonly find little consolation there, though some are very worthy. On the 15th I was at the meeting at Carlisle; which, being the first of the week, was pretty large, but hard, by reason of some evil and hardened spirits among them: yet Truth was in some degree over the meeting. On the 20th I was at the monthly meeting, which was pretty large, the country Friends coming well in; and very open, the Lord favouring us with his divine presence, and exalted his own name over all, to the satisfaction of all the living among us. On the 22nd I was at the meeting at Kirklington, which was very large and open, consisting for the greatest part of young people; who, having heard of my intention for that place at that time, came for some miles round; and being desirous in the Lord to do them good through his grace, I spared not myself, but was much spent that day among them, leaving the effects to the Lord; to whom be praise, for of him is the power and understanding. Amen.

On the 29th I was at the meeting at Scotby; and though it was the first of the week, it was not large, but very open and comfortable; for the Lord was with us, to our solid and mutual satisfaction in him. On the 5th of the sixth month I was at the meeting at



Moorhouse, which was large and very open; many truths being delivered with divine authority, and thereby sent home on the consciences of several; who, professing the gospel, were yet ignorant of the law of moral righteousness: great tenderness came over the hearts of many, especially of the younger sort, most of the meeting being of such. For this day's refreshment in the Lord the living were thankful unto him who alone is worthy.

On the 12th I went to Wigton; where the Lord favoured us with his life-giving presence, and opened the truths of his gospel, and the mysteries of it, with demonstration and power, to the comforting of the living, and satisfaction of all, for any thing that appeared: and the hearts of Friends were open and free one toward another in the Truth, especially in the afternoon meeting; and in divers visits to particular Friends which I made in company with others that evening; and then I returned to Carlisle.

Having finished what was incumbent upon me in the country at this time, I set forwards for London on the 15th of the sixth month, in company with John Wilson of Kendal, a true friend of mine in the Truth, and of great service in and to the Society of Friends in general, both in the country and in the yearly meetings at London. That night we lodged at Penrith; and next morning called at Lowther-hall, to pay our regard to lord Lonsdale; who, as usual, received us in a friendly and familiar manner; and as he is a person of good understanding and temper, we had agreeable conversation on divers subjects; and a people of late appearing in this nation, to whom the name of Methodists is given, and now the common subject of conversation, we had some discourse concerning them, and the points of religion and doctrine which they hold and profess.

Their teachers are ministers of the national church of England, for the most part regularly ordained according to that constitution; but profess to have received the Holy Ghost, not in notion only, but in reality and in deed; and by whose qualifications and immediate assistance they profess to preach. They insist much upon the doctrine and necessity of regeneration; but deny that this work can be effected by the ministration of water in any form, or by whomsoever administered; but by the Spirit of Christ only, as inwardly made manifest in the heart. They preach freely, as is commonly reported; and the national priests, fearing some ill consequences may arise from this people to themselves and their power and maintenance, some of them have taken the hint early; and as their manner is, have begun to hate and persecute them,

both as to their profession of the Spirit, and characters as men; calling, both in their pulpits and print, upon the powers of church and state to suppress them, as a sect, which may, in time, be dangerous to both: though I hear nothing of any kind of immorality countenanced among them, but on the contrary much brokenness of heart, and reformation of manners in many of them. "The tree is known by its fruits; and they that are born only after the flesh, always persecute them that are born after the Spirit:" but the Lord of life, in his own time, will determine all points, and declare who is in the right. But this is certain, that no persecutor, on any pretence, can be a Christian, while in that state and practice, nor any national persecuting church a church of Christ, the Lamb of God and Prince of peace; for all such are synagogues of Satan, and not congregations of the Highest, as all are who are gathered of the Father of spirits into the life, name, nature, and power of his ever blessed Son, the Lord Jesus Christ.

Being invited to dinner, we staid and were entertained in a plentiful and friendly manner; after which we took leave, and that evening got well to Kendal, and on the 17th attended a week-day meeting there, where the goodness of the Lord was with us; and that afternoon was a meeting for Sufferings, and other business of discipline, and concerns of our Society, managed in a prudent manner—the peace of God ruling all. Here I rested till the 19th, and then was at the meeting, which was large, and very open and comfortable; the divine Truth appearing gloriously, shined over all. The afternoon meeting being put off till four o'clock, was neither so full nor open as expected, being deferred for the sake of the people, who did not come as at some other times, yet the Lord was with us, though my exercise was harder and more laborious than before.

On the 20th I went to Lancaster, and the next day, being the third of the week, I had an open and comfortable meeting with Friends; and that afternoon visited a Friend in prison, and the criminals there. On the 22nd I went to Preston, and on the 23rd had a good meeting with the few Friends there; where we were favoured with a renewed sense of the truth of that gracious promise of God, that "where two or three (of you) are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of you."

On the 24th I went to Manchester, and on the first of the week I was at the meetings both forenoon and after: but some unskilful travellers being there at the same time, and but novices in the work, they took up all the



time in both meetings—for some can preach, such as it is, when they will, and what they will, so that I was exceedingly laden, and sensible Friends grieved, and others were disappointed. Another meeting being appointed on the 28th, it was full and very open, many of the town's people being there, and very solid; for the Lord was near and with his own. The next day I was at their week-day meeting; which being more select to Friends, the Lord was with us, and we were much comforted together in him.

On the 30th I went to Stockport, and that evening had a large open meeting there, many of the inhabitants being present; and many important truths of the gospel, through the divine eternal Truth, in the openings thereof, were declared unto them; and they were generally solid, attentive, and behaved well, the invisible power of the Word of life being over them in general. On the 31st I had a meeting appointed at Macclesfield; where there are but few Friends, and but a small number of people came to the meeting, that place being much bigotted to the national worship, and very high; yet they were sober under the many things I declared among them.

On the 1st of the seventh month I went to Leek, and next day was at their meeting, which is large, and some strangers of other professions were there; and the Lord favoured us with his good presence; to our consolation together in him. The next day I staid there, being wet weather, and the day after dined at Bargate, at John and Joshua Toft's, they being brothers and living together, and able ministers of the gospel. On the 5th, accompanied by Joshua and another Friend, I went to Stafford; where we lodged that night at an inn, few Friends being then remaining in that place: and next morning I went forward to Wolverhampton; where I was kindly received and entertained by my long acquainted friend John Fowler. On the 7th we had a meeting there, though there are only four or five Friends remaining; but some of the neighbours and strangers happening to be in town, and coming in, we had an open lively meeting; and some important truths were delivered among them in the life and power of the gospel: and all of them were very solid, and some well affected in the time.

On the 8th I went to Birmingham, to the widow Pemberton's; where I was well accommodated after a fatiguing journey: and the next day, being the first of the week, was at their meeting forenoon and after. The first was considerably large, many Friends belonging to it at that time, and others came in also; but the latter was much crowded with all sorts, so that many could not get in.

The important truths of the gospel and kingdom of Christ were clearly opened to them in the wisdom and authority of it; and they were generally still and attentive. Truth was over all, and Friends and others seemed at that time all united in one power; so that I hope some good was done among them.

On the 11th I went, through a furious storm of wind and rain, to Coventry, and next day was at their week-day meeting; which consisted, for the most part, of Friends, and generally very young. I said many things to them, pertinent, as I thought, to their conditions; but many being as the old bottles, and some others not then capable to understand the doctrines of Truth, the flowings of the divine life were not so plentiful as at some other times and places; yet the good presence of the Lord was sensibly with us; and that is the substance of all, and ever sufficient for all who love and fear him. On the 13th I had an appointed meeting at Warwick, at Joseph Allan's, where came in some few strangers, and sat with us in a sober manner a considerable time; and divers were under a sense of divine goodness; in which I had many things to say to them, which seemed to take good place, and we were comforted and edified together in the Lord.

On the 14th I went to Banbury, to my particular friend Benjamin Kid's, an able minister of the gospel, and growing and increasing therein. I was made kindly welcome by him and his wife. There I rested the next day; and the 16th, being the first of the week, was at their meeting forenoon and after; where the Lord gave us a comfortable day together in him, and the testimony of Truth was over all; to the praise of him alone, who worketh every good work in his servants, and furnisheth them with every good word in season, for the furthering and carrying on of his own work in the earth. On the 19th I was at a meeting at Adderbury, which was small, and heavy in the beginning of it; but the Sun of Righteousness arising, the darkness with its powers were driven away; and we rejoiced together as in the day-time, and had an open and comfortable meeting. On the 20th I fell in with the week-day meeting at Bistor, which was very small; yet the Lord favoured us so far as to gather us into his own holy name, where we were greatly comforted together in him: so that we know, it is not a multitude, but the real sense of the divine goodness in our minds, which renders it a good meeting.

On the 21st I went about twenty miles to High-Wickham, to Thomas Olive's, and on the 23rd, being the first of the week, was at their meeting in the forenoon; which consisted, for the most part, of such as profess the



Truth. It was much shut up in the beginning, many of them being such as have come into the profession by education, and know little of the work of Truth in their hearts; yet the Lord mercifully favoured us with his goodness, and the testimony of Truth came over all. The afternoon meeting being put off till the third hour, and notice being given, it was very large; and he that opens and no man shuts, and when he shuts, no man nor angel can open the mystery of life, opened freely and largely the things of his kingdom, with authority and clearness, as in the brightness of the day of his power, to general satisfaction and consolation, to the solid praise and glory of his own eternal name, who is worthy for ever.

On the 24th I went to Chesham, and the day after, in the evening, had a meeting there, to which came many of the town's people, who were generally very sober and attentive to the testimony of Truth, which was plentifully opened unto them; and the Lord's presence made it a good meeting. On the 26th I fell in with the week-day meeting at Jordans; and notice having been given beforehand, it was larger than usual: and though heavy in the beginning, through the drowsiness of some, the soul-reviving presence and goodness of the Lord gave us new life, and we fared well in the end. On the 27th I went to John Gurnel's, at Ealing; where I was kindly received. I lodged there that night, and the next day went to London, to my usual quarters, at my dear friend Joseph Green's; where I was received with kindness and respect, as in all former times. And having been preserved in health, and still in a good degree of strength of body and mind, through so long a journey and much bad weather, I was thankful to the Lord, who leadeth out, preserveth through every event, and returneth in safety; and yet in the course of divine Providence, though I have sufficient in the world, and some possessions therein, I have no certain dwelling in the earth unto this day.

At London I remained, attending the meetings, until the 26th of the second month, 1740, and that day went to Alban's, accompanied by my friends Joseph Green and Thomas Whitehead; and staying there that night, we were at the meeting next day in the forenoon; where the Lord favoured us with his blessed presence in a good degree. That afternoon they went back towards London, and I proceeded to Dunstable, and lodged with John Chester, an ancient and honourable Friend; who, and his ancestors, had freely entertained Friends from the most early times of our Society.

On the 29th I went to Northampton, and appointed a meeting for the next day; which was favoured with divine goodness, and we were comforted together therein: and the testimony of Truth was clear, and the authority of it was over all, to the praise of Him who alone is worthy for evermore.

On the 2nd of third month I went to Nottingham, and there lodged at Francis Hart's; where I met with hearty entertainment in the love of Truth, in which they do it freely to Friends, many being entertained by them, though they are not very rich in the world. There I rested one day, and the next being the first of the week, was at their meetings both forenoon and after; where the testimony of Truth was over all, and things opening clearly in the divine light, were, through the aid of divine grace, delivered with authority and demonstration. Several strangers being there, all were quiet and solid, and generally satisfied.

On the 5th I went to Blythe, about twenty miles; and from thence, the day after, to Warnsworth, to Thomas Aldam's, where I staid that night; and went the next day to Leeds, to my old and long acquainted friend Benjamin Horner's; where I staid two nights, being at their meeting on the sixth-day.

On the 10th I went to Bradford, and next day I was at their meeting; where the Lord gave me an open door, and it was a comfortable time in his divine presence and goodness; and the testimony of Truth was over all in the wisdom and authority of it, to general satisfaction.

On the 12th I went to William Slater's, who with his wife kindly received me. They are not rich in the world, having a large family of children, a little house, with many small rooms for entertainment, two cows and a horse, and a little close of land to support them; and all labouring with their hands, they live plentifully in a decent way, and entertain Friends freely with the best they have: which must needs be very acceptable to every honest mind, and much more so than from the high and lofty rich of this world among us, who entertain here and there one for their own name and honour, and not for the Truth, or love of it; which is ever burdened among them, in the minds of all who dwell therein, and travel not for entertainment in the things of the world, but for the honour and exaltation, the publishing and declaring of the divine Truth, in the power and love of it, for the salvation of the children of men.

On the 16th I was at Kendal week-day's meeting; which was very comfortable, both in time of silence and testimony; in which the divine Truth triumphed gloriously.



On the first of the week I was there again, and the Lord also favoured us with his divine presence and goodness, to the satisfaction of all the living, and to the praise of his own name; and Friends were generally very loving and cheerful after these meetings.

On the 19th I went to Carlisle, accompanied by my friend Thomas Ellwood, and lodged with our honourable friend the widow Mary Jackson. Soon after my arrival there, came on a monthly meeting; where Truth was glorious in the power and virtue of it, to the stirring up of the drowsy, idle, and careless among us, and the just reproof and rebuke of busy-bodies in other mens' matters, neglecting what is properly their own; and inventors of false accusations and evils against others—by surmises of the evil one in their own depraved minds—of whom they know no evil, or ever saw any thing like it in those they accuse in the dark among themselves, in their evil communications. Thus they defile and deprave each other, to the hurt of many, breach of charity, and hinderance of the progress of Truth in the love of it among brethren, to their own utter ruin and overthrow in the end; persisting in that great sin manifested, judged and condemned of God, and his true servants from the beginning. Some of the principal things insisted upon were as follows: "Report, and we will report," that old corruption is too much rampant and in fashion among you this day. Know ye not the state of those, and what and who they are on the left hand of the judgment seat of Christ, to whom it is said, 'Go ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels?' Do you really know who this devil and his angels are, against whom this dreadful sentence is denounced by the Judge, the all-wise and all-knowing Judge of the world, of the living and the dead? If you do not, I will endeavour to inform you, that your conversation may not be with them; but in innocence and holiness to communicate with the just, to edification and comfort, and escape the destructive effects of the vile and evil communication of drunkards, liars, and the unrighteous of every denomination. Too many of such being crept into the profession of Truth at this day, have brought reproach upon the Lord, his Truth and people, to the stumbling of many souls who have been seeking the Lord in secret, and pointed in themselves towards his people; of whom having had good sentiments, and yet seeing such things too visibly prevail, by the transformation of Satan, and false pretences of those his children, they have stumbled, gone backward, and fallen from the beginning of that work of salvation they once knew; and so may be utterly lost, save for

the application of infinite goodness and mercy. Now, as to these terms which I was but now about to explain unto you, the word *satan*, in the language in which that part of the Scripture was written, signifieth an adversary; being properly applicable to that evil thing in mankind, which worketh in their imaginations every evil thought, and brings them forth, as man closeth with them, into evil words and actions; and as the destruction of souls is thereby effected, he is an adversary unto them, even the greatest they have, though under the false pretences of our friend, to gratify all those evil desires himself is the father of in our deceived hearts.

"And as to that word which is translated devil into our language, it properly signifies a calumniator and false accuser. He is the inventor of evil and evil things: he is the liar, and the father thereof; and when he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of himself. He hath no foundation for what he saith, and all liars are his children: for though, by nature, they are the children of the first Adam in the flesh, yet, as to their minds, they are so depraved and debauched, by hearkening to, and obeying this evil one, and so united and incorporated with him, that they are one with him, and the propagators of his works and kingdom in and among the rest of mortals; not always by human design, but under the delusions and deceptions of him who subtilly worketh in them, even often out of their own view.

"And as to the angels of this devil, the calumniator of God and man from the beginning of the world, this word angel signifies a messenger sent by another; then he who inventeth calumnies and false reports against others, and they who receive them, spread and carry them about, to the dishonour of God and hurt of mankind, as they are become one with that evil one, and one with him in his work of evil, he and they have one and the same sentence, 'Go ye cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels:' as much as to say, Go ye workers of iniquity into that exquisite and everlasting punishment due unto you, as the necessary effect of your own apostacy from all good, and of living in evil.

"And I further observe to you, that the word fire in the text imports the most tormenting and painful property to flesh and blood, and the most dreadful too, known to mankind. And also what the apostle James hath written to this effect, 'Let not him who is tempted say, he is tempted of God, for God tempteth no man, neither is he himself tempted of evil; but he who is tempted is led aside of his own lusts, and enticed.' And as this apostle maketh no mention of any other devil in this text,



but our own lusts, let us all be so aware of them, every one in himself, as not to think, or speak, or act according to them, and that evil one, who worketh in them and by them; but through the divine eternal Truth, the Holy Spirit of Truth, revealed in us through Christ our Lord, in whom we have believed, mortify the deeds of the body; and then shall we conquer all evil, and subdue every temptation towards it in due time, and live in and unto him who died for us; and in the end of all, see evil no more, nor any devil: to which I fervently exhort this day.

"Now as to some of the evil fruits and consequences of evil surmising, and the bad and pernicious effects of it to Christian consolation, society and love, this being an evil work, and child of the darkness of this world, it is conceived in darkness; in darkness it is brought forth; in darkness it wandereth about from house to house, corner to corner, place to place, till many are corrupted thereby, so as to entertain evil thoughts and form false sentiments of others, by means of those lying surmises, of whom they never saw or heard evil in all the time of their acquaintance and frequent conversation with them. You may easily conceive, that if any entertain thoughts of another, as if guilty of any particular evil, such can never have real unity with such a one as he at the same time judges, or censures as if guilty. For though false, it hath the same consequence, in that respect, as if true; and the evil surmiser, by that means, becoming distant, shy, and averse to the person censured, it hath the like effect upon him likewise: so that there is no unity in the ground between them, but a bare outward show, and no truth or sincerity among them, but they become hypocrites one to another. I do verily think this secret evil hath done more hurt to Christian society in general, and to us as a people in a more particular manner, than all the open and flagrant sins which any among us have ever fallen into unto this day; for open evil is seen of all, and judged and condemned of all persons and all denominations, and therefore the failings of particulars are no way justly imputable to generals; but secret evils reign and rage in the dark, as with toleration and authority. Yet such is the common consent and joint sentiment of all mankind, that to be convicted of a lie, or called a liar, false accuser, or calumniator, is highly offensive to mankind, even to be supposed to be guilty of it; and of which all are ashamed when duly convicted by proper evidence; such as have heard with their own ears, seen with their own eyes, and thereby known and understood the Truth, and not

with the eyes and ears of others, who say and report things which they have not seen or heard, and consequently have never understood, or can; there never having been such things at all." Friends were exhorted to beware of all those great evils, and to do or say nothing inconsistent with true and Christian love, which is the law of divine and endless life in all the faithful and obedient, and of all their conversation and dealings one with another, and with all men: take the counsel of the apostle on that subject, "Let love be without dissimulation; love not in word, nor in tongue only, but in deed and in truth:" with much more on the same subjects.

I was some time after likewise at a quarterly meeting at the same place, (Carlisle); where the subject matter brought to remembrance in the sense of Truth, was concerning judging one another, and judgment; in which I observed to the auditory the great error of mankind in advancing themselves into the seat of judgment over another, and most commonly in things wherein they have no evidence or power, contrary to the doctrine of Christ, and his practice and example; whereby in consequence and the nature of things, they detrude him from his office, and usurp his throne, who said, "Judge not, that ye be not judged; for with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured unto you again." Even where there may be some seeming appearance of evil upon others, we are cautioned against judging without knowledge or moral certainty. "Judge not according to the appearance, but judge righteous judgment." We ought therefore to be very tender and cautious in this point, lest whilst we rashly censure others without adequate evidence, we bring upon ourselves the heavy stroke of the righteous judgment of God for our false judgment and censure of the innocent, whom the Lord hath made and preserved of his own good will and pleasure. For, as all have been sinners, though not in the same manner, as such they have no right or authority to judge one another. God only, who knows all men, and our various motives to every thought, word and deed, can judge rightly among us, and of those things between the Lord and the soul, and award wages unto all, adequate to every state. Nevertheless, where any are so unhappy as to commit evil of any kind, and are justly accused of it in a regular manner before proper judges, then they ought not to deny their faults, but freely to confess them to others, that the offences thereby given to particulars and the general, may be passed by, and the penitent kindly restored: for conviction is by



judgment, that repentance and amendment may engage the healing application of forgiveness and mercy.

I also observed the conduct of Christ in the case of the poor woman taken in the act of sin. Her accusers were all sinners, though perhaps not in the like thing, and therefore had no power or right to censure her; and besides they had an evil design in it against the Lord himself with respect to the law of Moses, by which, though in a tumultuous manner, they pretended to judge: but the Lord who knew them well, and their evil design, put them all to silence by bringing their own sins into remembrance to themselves, and over them; and then they slunk away, ashamed in themselves as guilty sinners, though so lately before they had triumphed over her whose sin was open, and while their own was secret unto other men, but known unto him by whom God created the worlds, and judgeth the thoughts, words, and actions of men. This great and notable example was not to encourage evil; for though he did not condemn her, not being judge according to the constitution of their law, yet as the Messiah of God unto that people, he gave her a merciful deliverance and exhortation, saying, "Go thy way, sin no more."

And these are not the only instances whereby [we are taught that] we ought to be very cautious how we censure one another without one another, and that in a gospel way; for Christ saith of himself as man, "I judge no man; but the word which I have spoken, the same shall judge him at the last day." Again, saith the apostle, "I judge no man, no not even my own self." Seeing therefore that Christ himself, as man, though the Son of God too, as such, judgeth not without the Father; and that apostle who referred himself also to the judgment of God, as only righteous and good, did not assume judgment, and the seat of it, over mankind, till given of the Father in his own proper time; who then art thou, O bold, arrogant, hardened and presumptuous sinner, who exaltest thyself into that dignity and office, which none hath right to, but whomsoever the Lord himself will call, qualify and advance? These are not Pharisees, self-promoters, the proud, high-minded and unrighteous; but such as being redeemed, through grace, from all iniquity, he hath appointed them judges in truth over such as sin against the righteous rules of Society, and moral truth, and are justly convicted by moral evidence: but secret things belong unto God only, who knows the secrets of all hearts to perfection, and none else ever had, or can have, and therefore the Lord alone hath that prerogative and right. Many other matters

and things were then delivered, not to be recounted at this time.

I was also at another monthly meeting there, and at some other meetings, especially on first-days, at Scotby, Carlisle, the Moorhouse, the Border, and Wigton; in all which the Truth triumphed gloriously, and especially at the last place; where that day, and the testimony of Truth, will not be soon forgotten among them; and many strangers of the town were also there, whom Friends had invited, who behaved in a very decent manner.

I was likewise in the country occasionally: for as that estate, which had been my father's inheritance, was providentially fallen into my hands, and the small buildings much decayed, especially by the severity of the extraordinary frost during the last winter, by which many of the walls were rent, and nearly overthrown, I thought it not equal to receive rents for the premises without proper habitations for the tenants, and therefore was willing to repair them, and erect others where necessary; and in order to make some preparation for such a work, I staid in the country till the 15th of the sixth month; and that day accompanied by my friend Thomas Ellwood, whom I met with at Carlisle, we went that evening together to his house at Kendal.

On the 16th I rested there; and the day after, being the first of the week, was at the meeting fore and afternoon. The first was very open and comfortable, and the Lord blessed us with a good degree of his confirming presence: but that we might sensibly experience, that in the Lord alone are all our fresh springs, as from an endless ocean of all fulness, and that it is not that which hath been, but that which is present, on which we must depend, in humble submission to his will and time, the meeting was heavy and lifeless a long time in the afternoon; yet the Lord showed mercy toward the end, and brought that wholesome request and exhortation of the apostle into my remembrance, and I believe in some degree of the same life in which it was written, "I beseech you brethren, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." The body being of the earth, is of itself dead and inactive; but as it is in vital union with the mind—which is of a very different nature, being more subtle and moving—it moveth the body and acteth thereby as it pleaseth, in things within the reach of its power, in its present state and mode of being; and yet can act nothing acceptable unto God, but as quickened, strengthened and moved by the influence of the Holy Spirit of Christ, the mediator in all acts of worship. Therefore we must wait



for him at all times, in passive silence of mind, to be rightly fitted under an exercise of faith and hope toward God; and the Lord appeareth in his own time, when the creature seeth its own want, and that there is no help but in the Lord alone; then he ariseth as the brightness of the morning, and thereby disperseth all the fogs of the night. And since "the last enemy that is to be destroyed is death," how can that enemy be overcome by such, who, in times of worship, continue to be overcome, by his image? "I speak as unto wise men, judge ye what I say;" and be sincere and vigilant, that the Lord may bless you in all your meetings with his living presence, and preserve you all alive unto himself to his own glory. And the Lord gave us the victory in the end.

On the 18th I went forward to Settle, to William Birkbeck's junior, where I staid that night; and next day to Bradford, to my friend Benjamin Bartlet's; rested there that night, and next day being the fourth of the week, and their meeting-day of course, I was at the meeting, where the Lord comforted us together; and most of the young people were tendered and broken, under the influence of the testimony and ministry of Truth delivered among them.

On the 21st I went forward to Newel Grange, and on the 24th, being the first of the week, I was at the meeting at Nottingham, where the Lord comforted many in a sense of his goodness; and there being many of the town's people, the Lord opened divers important truths of the gospel instrumentally among us, with authority and demonstration, to the praise of his own divine wisdom and power; who is worthy for ever. The people were sober; and I believe many of them departed in a sense of divine peace.

On the 25th I went forward to Leicester, the day after to Northampton, and the next day, being earnest for London, I went to Joshua Wheeler's at Cranfield, and from thence to my old friend John Turner's at Hitchin, where, being wearied, I rested till the 30th; and then, accompanied by him, to Hartford, to John Pryor's, where I lodged that night; and next day was at the meeting in that town, where the Lord favoured many with the sense of the divine presence; and divers truths of the gospel were published in the authority and dominion of it.

That night I remained there; and on the 1st of the seventh month, accompanied by several Friends from Hartford, and others also from London, who met us half way, I went thither in the evening to my usual lodgings; where I was as well received as ever, though at that time it was truly a house of

mourning; for my kind and good landlord, Joseph Green, a man of sincerity and truth, and his eldest son, a hopeful youth of about nineteen years of age, had been lately buried, dying within a few hours one of another, and left one of the most mournful widows and mothers I have ever observed. They loved each other most tenderly, after having been married about twenty years; and having three other younger children, the whole care of them fell upon her, with the weight of all their affairs and business in the world, which was very considerable; and the concern which fell upon me, in Cumberland, when I heard of this stroke of Providence, for the widow and children, if peradventure I might be helpful or serviceable to them in any kind, had hastened me thither much sooner than otherwise I intended.

The author's account breaks off here, which seems somewhat abrupt; and as the editors have not been able to discover any further prosecution of the work amongst his papers, they apprehend it may not be amiss to add, that he continued in London, sympathizing with, and assisting this afflicted family, part of the ensuing winter; where he was seized with a paralytic disorder, which affected him to such a degree, as deprived him very much of his speech, and confined him within doors till the return of the spring. He then regained a little strength, and got out to meetings; but was still not so far recovered as to be able to hold a discourse long, his memory being greatly impaired by the disorder. Nevertheless he continued sweet in spirit, and pleasant and cheerful among his friends, whom he was always glad to see, and to be in company with. He diligently attended the yearly meeting at London this season, A. D. 1741, though he spoke not much in it. Before the end of summer he grew so much better, that he travelled to Carlisle, to look after his affairs in the north, which required his attendance. Having a design to build a house at Justice-town, he provided materials, and frequently overlooked the workmen; and indeed his health and faculties were so well restored, that he many times appeared in public in the meetings, greatly to the satisfaction of Friends. Thus he continued without much alteration, till the 23rd of the fourth month, 1742, being the first of the week; when, in the evening, he had a new attack of his distemper, which seized him with great violence; and the next morning, between two and three o'clock, he departed this life, in perfect peace, we have great reason to believe, with God and mankind. Two days afterwards, on the 26th of the said month, his corpse was interred in the



burying ground at Carlisle, being attended by a great number of Friends from several parts of the country, and also by divers people in the neighbourhood; who seemed deeply affected with the loss of a man so valuable and useful to his country in several stations of life.

*An Appendix, containing several conferences, which Thomas Story and others had with the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Carlisle and Sunderland, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of Carlisle, in relation to soliciting a bill in Parliament, to remove the inconveniences which many of the people called Quakers did then lie under, by reason of difficulties relating to the forms of the solemn affirmation, as prescribed by former Acts of Parliament.*

1. With the Earls of Carlisle and Sunderland.

Some Friends in London, of whom I was one, being in a particular manner concerned in mind, that the king and Parliament might be addressed for an affirmation Act more generally satisfactory, according to the agreement of our yearly meeting on that behalf; I wrote a letter to the Earl of Carlisle, ever a sure friend to our Society on all occasions, entreating his advice to which of the ministry we had best make our first application on that account. He was pleased to send me an answer by one of his servants, wherein he invited me to his house in Dover street, London, to confer on the subject; and when there, being together in a parlour, his eldest son, the lord Morpeth came in, to whom he said, "They (meaning Friends) are an honest good people, serviceable and helpful in the nation, and true friends to the government, on the principles on which it now stands; but because of some opinions they hold in matters of religion, the laws are against them in divers respects, and particularly in cases of oaths, which they think not lawful for them, as apprehending they are forbidden by Christ under the gospel. Be that as it will, I think they deserve relief, and I have ever contributed as much towards it in all cases as I could; and I know, from the many applications made to me on that account, that they have suffered for not taking the oaths, and do suffer very much in their families and business, by refusing to take an affirmation, which was intended for their ease, but does not prove generally consistent with their sentiments on that point: and as they may have occasion, ere long, to solicit the favour of the house of commons for further redress, (of which the lord Morpeth was

then a member) I expect you will favour them, and use your interest on their account;" which the young lord promised he would. By which I observed that this great man was willing to transmit his own good-will toward us as a people, to his son and heir-apparent, and render it, in a manner, hereditary in his family; for his grandfather had ever been our friend from the beginning, and kept off the stroke of persecution in the worst of times, wherever he had any power, especially in the north of England; where, in those days, he was much conversant.

Upon this occasion the earl informed me, that the Earl of Sunderland, being secretary of state, in great favour with the king and sway at court, as well as friendly to us, was the most proper person to make our first application to in that point, to know the mind of the king, of which we were not altogether ignorant before, and on what we might depend from the rest of the ministry. "But," said he, "the Earl of Sunderland, considering the duty of his office, the great business of it, and assiduous application necessary therein, cannot be spoken with but at some uncertain times. But, to make it the easier, as he comes some times occasionally to my house, I will give you notice of the first opportunity that happens, where you may speak with him more freely than you can among a throng of people constantly attending him at home." He then advised me to have in readiness a copy of the affirmation as it then stood, and also of the form of words agreed to in our yearly meeting. Some days after this he sent me a letter by a servant, wherein he gave me notice, that the Earl of Sunderland was then at his house, and might be spoken with before he went thence. I went immediately to him; but when I came there, the low rooms were crowded with people, some with applications to one of these great men, and some to the other; but notifying the Earl of Carlisle, by one of his servants, that I was come, he came down himself among the crowd; and taking me by the hand, invited me to an upper room, next to where the Earl of Sunderland was with some persons of distinction, and bid me stay there till he came to me, which he did in a short time, and then introduced me to the Earl of Sunderland; who received me in a very friendly manner. I then made known to him my business, and said, "That though the king, his ministry, and the Parliament, had lately intended us a great favour, in perpetuating the affirmation Act as it then stood, yet it did not answer the end proposed; for a great part of our people could not comply with it, the terms, in their apprehension, importing a difference from the



doctrine of Christ." Then I produced the form in the Act, and that also which our meeting had agreed to; which, when he had read, he said, "You might have had the latter as soon as the former, if you had applied for it; for what we did in it was with intent to serve you in your own way: and you yourselves soliciting for it, we thought we had fully gratified you; and were informed, that but a few of you were dissatisfied with that form, and those a sect among you, misled by Mr. Penn, in disloyalty to the government, and in favour of the Pretender, and who did not desire that favour from the present government, hoping for it by another in time; and those who were satisfied with that form were Mr. Mead's friends, and principled for the revolution, and present government in the house of Hanover; and the one sort called Pennites, and the other Meadites." I replied, "This is only a calumny, artfully invented to defame our Society, and render the more distressed part of us odious to the king and government, that we might have no relief; and it is a great cruelty and hardship. And I have heard that

— Aislaby, then chancellor of the exchequer, and a member of the house of commons, was so far imposed upon by that suggestion, as to report it in the house, when the matter was in debate there, whether the Act should be perpetuated or not. I added, That I did not know, or ever heard of any such sect, party, or parties among us, so attached to William Penn or William Mead, or to any other person; for we are not a people subject to be led by sect-masters, if any such should appear among us, but to follow God and Christ only in matters of religion; and as such, denying of all oaths we believe to be a part of our duty. I was long and intimately acquainted with William Penn, and knew his sentiments with respect to the government and Pretender; and though he ever retained a great respect for all that family, I believe he did it in point of gratitude for the protection he had from the Duke of York, afterwards king James, in a time of great persecution, and not from any principle of disloyalty to the present king or his government: but as to those among us, who cannot comply with the present form of the affirmation, I know they are generally as loyal to king George, and true to his government, as any of his subjects in all his dominions; for I have lately been among them in a general way. And the Earl of Carlisle himself likewise knows, that many of our friends, whom he hath relieved by his interest, who had suffered much for noncompliance with the affirmation, were as loyal as any others." The Earl of Sunderland, being himself a very good friend of William Penn,

spoke respectfully of him, and said, "That gentleman (meaning Aislaby) was not your friend at that time, but you will find him otherwise now:" and then added with a smile, "He *shall* be your friend." To which I returned, "It is enough!" Then he said, "It is not so easy a matter as you may think, to bring a thing of this nature through both houses; yet we can do it, and you need not go to the king about it; for you are in his favour, and therefore he will not oppose what we (meaning the ministry) may think proper to advise him. And I can tell you more, the greatest part of the bishops will be for you: we have seventeen of them secure already, and there may be more by the time that it may be proper to go upon it. But then," said he, "will this please you if done? Will you make no further scruple about it?" To which I replied, "If you will be pleased to enact this form, or something of like import of no higher nature, I dare venture to say our Society will not give you any further trouble about it." And I told him, "I do not come at this time by any direction of our Society, but only with the privacy of a few, who are of the dissatisfied, to learn the mind of the ministry, and to be instructed what measures to take in this affair; since we are determined not to move, but by their privacy and assistance; though both the satisfied and dissatisfied are one in this solicitation. For as the one side hath been willing the other should have their liberty to use it, when they could freely do it, for relief of their families, without any breach of union among us; so the other are willing to join with them in one interest, to solicit for such a form as may be easier to all."

All this being ended, I made him acknowledgments for his favour, and returned with satisfaction and peace, not doubting from thence forward but that we should succeed; though my confidence was not from what this great minister had said, but from the evidence I had from the divine Truth, that it was my business and duty in his service, and for the help and preservation of his people, to go about it at that time, according to what our Society had agreed to among ourselves in the yearly meeting: and that saying is worthy of everlasting remembrance, "That whatsoever ye shall agree to ask in my name, it shall be granted." And in this name alone do we confide, and did so in that affair.

This passage I related to some Friends concerned for a new affirmation, which gave them considerable satisfaction, and then made it known to some of the other side; who, though they had used the affirmation as it then stood, yet were heartily concerned for the other Friends, and for universal liberty; and



particularly Andrew Pitt and Joseph Wyeth, with whom I was very intimate, and knew them to be true friends to mankind and just liberty. I moved the matter first to Andrew, and told him what I had done, and the encouragement we had from the Earl of Sunderland. He answered, "The stations such great men are in, oblige them to give soft and obliging answers in a general way, but the alteration of circumstances often altered their measures; so that they cannot always do as they intend." I told him I did not doubt his veracity, but had a better foundation yet to trust to, and did believe, that if he and Joseph Wyeth, and some others of the Friends on that side, who were rightly concerned for general liberty, would set freely about it with the other Friends, we should obtain what we all desired. Then he said, "If I was to be governed by just resentments I was once ready to yield to, by some ill usage I met with from persons amongst us, against the present affirmation, who misrepresented me as untrue in the former solicitations, and even a counter solicitor, I would not set one foot forward in their assistance; but I give thanks to the Almighty, by whose grace I am furnished with a better mind, and by whose providence we are furnished with an opportunity, to evince to mankind how ready we are to give that liberty, and to procure it one for another, which we have desired of our superiors." And then kindly added, "I will go with thee to any man in England thou wilt desire, and thou shalt be witness thyself of the sincerity of my endeavours and solicitations that way, and will assist to the utmost of my power with all my heart."

I replied, "I am glad to hear it; and since thou hast said it, no doubt can remain with me of thy sincerity, and thou mayst do it in thy own way and time; for such an inspection does not become the friendship I owe thee, nor the just confidence I place in thee." So we parted at that time.

I mentioned likewise the same matter to my very sure friend Joseph Wyeth; who instantly declared his readiness to fall in with any proper measures for the effecting so good an end as an affirmation which would make our whole community easy: and he had before had it so much at heart, that he had written to the king about it, of which I was not then apprized.

Joseph Wyeth being in a particular manner in favour with the king, no doubt but his letter had good influence; for the good king George very much favoured our applications, and passed the Act for our relief in that case with all readiness, from a real favour to our Society, and a settled design and purpose to do us

good. And yet the whole is to be attributed to the goodness and mercy of God to his people, to preserve us as one in him, who turneth the hearts of kings as the streams of water, and doth in the kingdoms of men whatsoever he pleaseth. And it was very obvious that the divine Truth was over the legislature in a general way at that time, though some of the lords, who were anti-courtiers, and opposers of all the king's measures, did not assent; yet not in dislike to our liberty, &c.

## 2. With the Duke of Somerset.

The day whereon the Act passed, in the morning, along with some others, I waited on the Duke of Somerset, at Northumberland House, by Charing-Cross, to solicit his favour. I acquainted him, that I had heard, as I came, that both universities intended to petition against us, as the clergy in and about London had already done, which might give us much trouble and delay, if not bring our bill in danger; and therefore I entreated that he would please to use his interest for the passing it into a law that day. Upon this he said, "Perhaps Oxford may attempt something that way, being influenced by the bishops of York, Chester, Rochester, and the rest of that sort; but if they should, they are obnoxious, and will not be heard: and as to Cambridge, they have done nothing, and I\* being their head, they can do nothing without me; and to make you easy, they shall not do any thing against you in this concern." And then he said, "There are a company of fellows, calling themselves the clergy, in and about the city of London, who have sent in a petition, wherein they pretend to blame both houses of Parliament for encouraging a sect, which they rank with Jews, Turks, and other infidels; as if we were to be imposed upon by them, and receive their dictates, or knew not what we had to do without their directions. And besides, we do not know who they are; for there are above five hundred of the clergy in and about London, and we find only forty-one names to their petition, and these very obscure. Where is their Sherlock, their Waterland, or any of note amongst them? Do these fellows see any corn growing in the streets of London, that they should meddle in this case!"

Then I informed the duke, that I had also heard that morning, that many of the petitioners were three-penny curates, and unbefitted.

The duke asked, "What are they?" I replied, That I had been informed they were poor clergymen, without benefices, and had but few friends, and perhaps some of them

\* He was Chancellor to the University.



nonjurors, who hang on about the town, looking for preferment; and being very indigent, say prayers for the richer sort for three pence a time, which is paid, two pence in farthings, and a dish of coffee.

This first occasioned the duke to smile, and afterward drew from him some warm expressions of resentment, that the poorer sort should live so abjectly, whilst the rich were so high; but most of all, that the rich should set so low a price upon the services of their poor brethren, who did the work: and then he added, "We (meaning the legislature) know how to apply a remedy, and relieve them; it is but to take off the pluralities, and make more equal distribution, and then these poor fellows may be better provided for, and live."

Finding the duke in a temper to bear it at that time, for he was a great man, and naturally of a very high spirit, but good sense, I replied, That the pluralities had, for many ages, been complained of as a very unreasonable thing in the church of Rome, where it first began, long before the time of the reformation of the national church of England; and I have read a sermon of a good old reformer on that subject, one Bernard Gilpin, who composed it in Edward VI.'s time, with design to have preached it before that prince; but his opponents contrived some means to procure the king's absence at the time; yet the sermon was preached, inveighing heavily against pluralities as a great abuse. Where then can the obstruction lie, that it is not reformed at this day?

To this he made no reply, but said, "I am ready to go to the House, where I would not have gone this day, but only to serve you."

That day, before noon, the Act was passed as now it is; for which we were thankful, first to the Lord for his great goodness, in inclining the heart of the king, and those of both Houses, so much to favour us; and next to them likewise, as instruments in his hand of so good a work, and so great an ease and help to us.

3. With the bishops of Canterbury, York, and Carlisle, separately.

John Fallowfield, myself, and one more, going to Lambeth, to solicit the concurrence of William Wake, then archbishop of Canterbury, with us, in our endeavours with the king and Parliament to procure an affirmation instead of an oath, in terms less exceptionable than that then in force, the bishop gave us a courteous and friendly reception; and when we had told him our business, and exhibited our request, he, in a solemn manner, expressed himself thus: "Because of oaths the land mourns; and it is shocking to observe with

what levity and insensibility oaths are administered and taken in this nation! I am for liberty of conscience, where that is truly the case, and could wish there were not any form of words of any higher nature than you now solicit for, to be used in this land in any case whatever; but if we should grant it to you only, I fear the people would resent it, and blame us." To this I answered, "That if he and the clergy would heartily concur in soliciting for the establishment of such a form as we now desired, I did believe our people would readily exert their utmost endeavours that way."

Then said the bishop, "Put the case, that any controversy should arise between any of the clergy and any of your people, concerning what we call our dues, do not you think it were reasonable, that we and our evidences should be admitted in the controversy to the same form of words as you?"

John Fallowfield answered, "That he thought that could not be reasonable, unless they had the same way of thinking as we, and did believe themselves under the same obligation to speak truth in evidence without an oath, as with one, as we do; for lying and false witness are breaches of the commands of God, and mortal sins as well as perjury. And if your people, or such of them as might be called to witness, should happen to think otherwise, or that they were not so strictly tied up by such a form of words as by an oath, they might equivocate, or venture to falsify; so that we could not have equal security." The bishop very moderately took this answer, and made no reply.

Then I took the occasion to say to the bishop, "That notwithstanding the lenity of the government, and the provision the legislature had made, for the more easy and less destructive way of recovery of what the clergy called their dues, yet many of the inferior sort still continue to take the most chargeable and ruinous methods, in the courts of exchequer and chancery; whereby many families were greatly distressed and reduced, if not ruined: which did not only greatly oppress our friends, but fixed an ill character and odium upon the clergy themselves in general. For there is not a man so poor, if he is honest and a good man, but that he is loved and respected by his neighbours; and when such are oppressed by any of the clergy, though by a law, mankind, who observe it, are not always so just as to place the odium upon the single and immediate oppressor, but rather to apply it to the whole body, and say, See the clergy, who pretend to teach religion, how uncharitable, how covetous, how cruel they are: here is a poor honest man and his family



ruined for a trifle. Now, considering the station and authority thou bears in the national church, if thou would be pleased to advise them to greater moderation, it might be helpful to many, and prevent the odium which really militates against themselves, as well as oppresses us."

The bishop being a mild tempered man, did not at all take this freedom amiss, but replied, "That he had not that authority over the inferior clergy that we might think; for, said he, they have the law on their side, and they know it, and their highest regard is to their own interest; and you have more authority among your people, by your excommunications in your monthly and quarterly meetings, &c., than I have in the church by all the laws of the nation, ecclesiastical and civil. I call it excommunication, you will not take that word amiss, that is our way of expressing it."

I answered, "That we did not take any exceptions at the word; it was very significant, and expressive of the thing; only we think excommunication ought not to reach so far as they extended it; it should not extend to men's liberty, property, or persons. What we mean by excommunication is this: when any one among us goes into any immoral practices or acts, and after due admonition persists in any thing contrary to the Christian faith and religion, as we understand it, we deny such an one Christian communion, or to be a member of our Society, until he repent, and by better conduct, give ample proof of his reformation and sincerity. And when such a delinquent is become a true penitent, and desires to be reconciled to the body, we apprehend it is as much the duty of the Society to receive him when so stated, as before to bear witness against him, and deny, or excommunicate him." The bishop made no reply to this; but only said, "It is immoral in any one, of any society, to break or reject the rules and orders of the society he belongs to, or makes profession with; I say, such persons are immoral, and are not fit for any communion."

Speaking of the maintenance of the clergy, and their insisting on the law only for it, he said, "As to the right of our maintenance as ministers, whether of divine right, or by the laws only, we are divided in our sentiments on that point. There are about fourteen thousand of the clergy in this nation, (as I remember he said) and I do not know on which side of the question the majority may be. But for my own part, for me to think I have this house, (lifting up his hand towards the ceiling) or my bishoprick, by divine right, there is nothing in it; only, as these are advantages annexed to an office by the laws of the land,

which office I enjoy by the favour of the prince, so I receive and hold it, and no otherwise." This I deemed a frank and honest confession, and could not but respect him for it.

Again, upon my mentioning the severity and envy of some of the inferior clergy against us, he granted, "That these things brought an odium upon themselves, and wrought against them; and added, that he was against persecution in any degree or form; and that if he was incumbent in any parish, he would never sue any of our friends for his dues." And then related to us the following passage: "That a clergyman of his acquaintance, having a presentation offered him to a church in London, a friend of his would have dissuaded him from accepting it, because, said he, there are many Quakers in the parish, and you must either loose a great part of your dues, or be perpetually at law and trouble about them, which is not agreeable to your temper and quietude. But, said the bishop, the gentleman replied, that notwithstanding the number of Quakers in the parish, I will accept it, and accordingly did; and being gentle and neighbourly among them, and never suing any of them, they took it so well, that they generally made up his dues some other way, and they lived very peaceably together."

To this I replied, "That it being matter of conscience in all of us that are true to our principles, we could not justify any of our friends in taking any bye-ways or equivocal methods to elude our profession in that case; for whatsoever any man professeth as any part or incident of the Christian religion, he ought to be sincere therein; and it were more manly and Christian to act openly as one is inwardly persuaded, than to profess one thing openly, and act another contrary in secret; for that is hypocrisy, and we would not have one such among us."

Then I related to the bishop how far we think any society of Christians may and ought to contribute to the necessary charge of a gospel ministry, and how that matter stands among us at this day. "That we believe the true gospel ministry and Christian religion comes not by tradition, imitation, or succession, as from the apostles and primitives, but immediately from Christ himself; who, according to his promise, hath ever been with his church, and ever will be, to the end of the world, as a fountain of life and salvation unto her. That he only hath right and power to call, sanctify, and qualify, whomsoever he pleaseth as ministers and officers in his congregation, or amongst his people; which is of his own seeking, congregating, baptizing, and saving, by the revelation, operation, and agen-



cy of his Holy Spirit. And we observe that now, as in times past, he taketh the weak things of this world whereby to overpower the strong, and foolish whereby to confound the wisdom of the wise, that no flesh may boast before him. And when at any time we are sitting together in silence, as we usually do, waiting upon the Almighty for the influence of his Holy Spirit, that we may be comforted, refreshed, and edified thereby, if any one hath his understanding enlightened thereby into any edifying matter, and moved and enabled to speak, the rest have proper qualifications, by the same Spirit, to discern and judge, both of the soundness of his speech and matter, and also of the spirit and fountain from which his ministry doth arise; and if from the Holy Spirit of Christ, who is Truth, it hath acceptance with the congregation, and though but in a few words, it is comfortable and edifying; for as the palate tasteth meats, so the ear, or discerning faculties, of an illuminated, sanctified mind, distinguisheth words, and the fountain from which they spring. And such a person thus appearing, may so appear at another time, and be enlarged in word and in power, and so on gradually, till he hath given proof of his ministry to his friends and brethren, among whom, in the neighbourhood, he hath been exercised therein, until he becomes a workman in the gospel, in some good degree fitted for the service; and then it may so happen, as often it doth, that this person is moved or called by the Word of God, to travel in this service in some other places remote from his habitation, which will take him off from his business whereby he maintains himself, his wife and family; suppose him to be a cobbler of old shoes, a patcher of old clothes, or the meanest mechanic that can be named, poor, and not able to fit himself with common necessities for his journey, he wanteth a horse, though some only walk, clothing and the like; in such a case the Friends of the meeting to which he belongs provide all such things, and furnish him. And if in that service he is so long from home, as that his horse fails, and his clothes wear out, and necessities are wanting unto him, then the Friends where he travels, where his service is acceptable, take care to furnish him till he returns to his family and business. And in the time of his absence from them, some Friend or Friends of the neighbourhood visit his family, advise in his business, and charitably promote it till he return. But as to any other temporal advantages, or selfish motive of reward for such service, there is no such thing among us. For if our ministers should have the least view that way, and insisted upon it, or our people were willing to

gratify that desire, we should then conclude we were gone off from the true foundation of Christ and his apostles, and become apostates. But though our principles allow such assistance to our ministers as I have related; yet I have not known any instance, save one, of any such help: for, by the good providence of God, our ministers have generally sufficient of their own to support the charge of their travels in that service, and are unwilling that the gospel should be chargeable to any; only as their ministry makes way where they come, their company is acceptable to their friends, who afford them to eat and drink and lodge with them for a night or two, more or less, as there may be occasion; which being freely given, and freely received, we think is like unto the primitives, under the immediate conduct of the same Lord, our Saviour and director."

The bishop heard all these things with patience and candour, not showing the least dislike to any part of what passed among us; and being ended, he said, a little pleasantly, "Then you are like Paul and Barnabas, and we are like Silas and Timothy; you travel abroad to propagate the faith of Christ, and we remain at home, taking care of things there." And though it was on the second-day, when usually visited by his clergy, he staid with us alone till about the middle of the day, and at our departure said, "Gentlemen, let us, in our several stations, endeavour to promote universal love, good-will and charity amongst mankind; and I pray God bless you and prosper you in your undertakings; for we ought to pray for one another, and desire the best things one for another." And so we departed in peace and satisfaction.

4. With the Bishop of York, sir William Dawes, Bart.

Going to the Bishop of York to solicit his favour and concurrence in the House of Lords, for altering the terms of our solemn affirmation, as they then stood in the Acts of Parliament relating thereto, being such as the body of our friends disliked, and could not comply with, the bishop upon that occasion said, "I am for liberty of conscience where that is truly the case. But there is a sort of people in this nation, who dissent from the church on the pretence of conscience, and yet can occasionally seek for offices and places of profit in the government; (meaning the Presbyterians and their other sectaries) I cannot call this conscience, but humour." I replied, "I am of the same mind: but that is not our case; for we want no places or offices in the government, but an exemption from such laws as tend to obstruct us in our duty and service to the Almighty, in such manner as we are in truth



and sincerity persuaded in our consciences we ought to worship, fear, serve, and obey him, without any view to any other interest."

Then said the bishop, "The words of the affirmation as it now is, are a solemn oath, and so we (meaning the clergy) always, from the beginning, have understood them." I replied, "I know you have: for Dr. Tillotson, when dean of Paul's, being required to preach a sermon before the judges of the assize at Kingston upon Thames, took his text in these words, 'Men verily swear by the greater, and an oath is, to them, an end of all strife;' from which he raised a discourse, intending therein to prove, that oaths in judicature were not only lawful, but necessary under the gospel, as well as under the law. In which discourse he defines an oath in these words, or to this effect: 'An oath is a solemn appeal to God, as a witness of the truth of what we say.' Which sermon being printed before we applied to the legislature for relief against oaths, and the reasoning therein supposed to be strong in support of judicial swearing, that Parliament would not grant us any relief in any other terms but in the words of the doctor's definition of an oath, a little improved. For whereas he saith in his sermon, An oath is a solemn appeal to God as a witness of the truth, &c., the Parliament added the word Almighty to the word God, setting forth the Supreme Being in his highest attribute as a witness in the most trivial cases occurring among the children of men, whilst a mortal sitteth as judge in the cause. And whereas, the particle *a* might denote the most High as a witness only on the level with other witnesses, the Parliament wisely and more reverently changed the particle *a* to the more proper words *the witness*, by way of super-eminence, as justly due. For where the God of Truth is witness, there needeth no other; and to suppose there doth, is derogatory to his divine majesty, and blasphemous: of which many of our people were aware, and therefore shunned it, and could not comply; though some others not so well apprized of the nature of an oath, did use it: but we as a body of people, never agreed to it; for our yearly meeting, which represents us and our principles in the most collective and general manner, hath always agreed to solicit the government for a more proper form, when it might please God to incline their hearts to so much goodness; and we hoping this is the time, have proposed the form now before the House." The bishop replied, "That he was not our enemy, but could not stay at that time to see or hear any more on that subject, being under an appointment about some business;" and so we parted.

Some days after this I went to him again,

accompanied only by John Irwin. The bishop was alone, and received us very courteously, and we renewed our applications to him on the same account; and then the bishop was more plain with us, and said, "That he could not be for us on that account: for though he did believe that the words of the affirmation, as they then stood, were as solemn an oath as could be invented by the wit of man, he understood our friends had generally complied with them on every pinching or needful occasion, as he had been informed by persons of unquestionable credit, who had been exercised in the court of chancery. He added, That if there were any considerable number of us who conscientiously scrupled the words, it ought to be duly considered by the House, and relief granted; but to alter the laws for a very few, could hardly comport with prudence, since the Parliament would greatly incur the censure of the people of the nation if they should do it: and added, that he could not see any reason why such of us as took the affirmation should be exempted from the common oaths of the nation." By which I perceived he and they would have divided us if they could.

To this I replied, "That since the bishop himself understood the words in the present Act to be a solemn oath, I hoped he could not blame us, since it was a matter of conscience, to which he was a professed friend, if sincere to our principles, though but a few, that we made application for a form of a milder nature, in which nothing like an oath was contained. But as to the numbers on either side of the question among us the petitioners, the proceedings against us in chancery, or any other courts, could not determine; for few, in comparison of the body of our people, are prosecuted there: and as there may be some who comply, as not believing the words in the law to amount to an oath, there are others also who have been prosecuted therein, who have so far scrupled them, as rather to suffer the hard measures of the law than comply with that form."

Then said John Irwin, "The bishop is misinformed in this point; for I live in the north of England, and know that there are very few of our friends in all these parts who comply with the terms of the present affirmation on any account, but generally suffer the force of the laws rather than yield to a thing contrary to conscience. And I have likewise, not long ago, travelled through most parts of the west and south of this nation; and upon a general observation, find, that the greatest part of our friends every where are averse to the present affirmation, and decline to use it as much as they can."



This I confirmed by adding, "That I also had, for some years past, travelled through most parts of the world where our people are, and observed, that they are generally principled against the form of the present affirmation; and this endeavour for further ease and liberty of conscience in the case, is by consent and direction of our whole body, represented in our yearly meeting here in London, and not by any particular party or side only: so that I hope thy objection, as to a few, is fully answered. And if there were but a few in a nation under that circumstance, charity ought not to be withheld for that reason, since the 'eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open to their cry.'"

And as the bishop had asserted, "That the words of the former affirmation were a solemn oath, and wished that all the judicial oaths of the nation were in that form," and that party seemed to intend it, and thereby elude our testimony against swearing, it gradually drew the question into our discourse, Whether Christ, in his doctrine, had prohibited all swearing; they commonly alleging he only forbade profane swearing in conversation, but not swearing in evidence? I assumed the affirmative, "That the Lord Christ hath abolished all oaths out of his church; and alleged for proof the fifth chapter of Matthew, where he saith, 'Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees, you shall in no case enter the kingdom of heaven.' And then, in several points, he sets forth what their righteousness did amount to, viz: 'You have heard it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.' Here, by taking away the cause, which is an unlawful desire in the heart, he prevents the act, and makes it impossible, where there is no conception of desire; for there begins the sin. Again, 'You have heard it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, (or friend) and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, love your enemies,' &c. Now where the heart is filled with the love of God, in which Christ laid down his life for mankind, whilst yet enemies, in which we can have love and compassion even for enemies, the cause of fighting, and destroying one another as enemies, is taken away; men are reconciled unto God through Christ, and one unto another in him; and so abiding, cannot fight or destroy any more; as it is written, 'They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord.' Thus far in parables to introduce and illustrate the point in question; and now home to that, 'You have

heard it hath been said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but perform unto the Lord thine oaths; but I say unto you, swear not at all.' Here the Lord begins with oaths of the highest nature, used under the law on the most solemn occasions; which, whosoever falsified, were perjured: and where there is swearing there may be perjury; but where there is no swearing, there can be no perjury; where the cause is taken away, the effect will cease. And as he all along advanceth the morality of the gospel above that of the law, in all other instances, so in this also: for if he had only forbid profane swearing, he had done no more than Moses had done in the point; where it is said, 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain;' which command every one breaks in a most impious sense, who swears in conversation. The Lord having thus prohibited the once lawful oaths, he proceeds to explain the tendency of their invented oaths, which they used in conversation, and on small occasions, the breach whereof they did not seem to think was perjury, 'Neither shalt thou swear by heaven; for it is God's throne, and he who sweareth by the throne of God, sweareth by him that sitteth thereon: neither shalt thou swear by the earth; for it is his footstool;' and by parity of consequence, he that sweareth by the footstool of God, sweareth by him whose footstool it is. 'Neither shalt thou swear by Jerusalem; for it is the city of the great King: nor by thy head; because thou canst not make one hair white or black;' both which result and terminate the same way; such swear by the Lord, the King of kings, whose name and temple were placed in Jerusalem in the time of the law; and the head, as all the parts of man, being formed of the Lord, to swear thereby, is to swear by his Maker. Thus swearing by heaven, earth, Jerusalem, the altar, the gold thereon, the head, or any creature, every oath, is forbidden in conversation, as well as judicial swearing; 'but let your conversation (and communication) be yea, yea, nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil;' of the evil one, which is the devil. Leave off lying, 'and every man speak truth to his neighbour; and use no higher asseveration in your speech, than redoubling your yea on solemn occasions; as by example of your Lord, 'verily, verily.'"

The bishop heard me with patience; and which gave me some surprise, he made no other reply than this, "Your interpretation of that Scripture is just." Then he said, "I read your books: I have read Barclay: he is no contemptible author; yet I think he might be answered in some points."

I replied, "That any ingenious person read-



ing the works of another, with design to find fault, may find something, especially in a large performance, that he may think amiss, or wrest to such an appearance as he would have it. But every work should be examined with an impartial view, by a mind not prejudiced or prepossessed, comparing one part with another, till the true mind, intent, and meaning of the writer be discovered; and then, if any real error appear, to confute it by obvious truth; which needeth no gloss, or colour of sophistry: but when an opponent subtilly and wilfully wrests the words of his antagonist, and imposeth a meaning thereon which the author did not intend, this opponent is a forger, combating his own invention, militates against himself, and is *felo de se* in argument." Upon this the bishop generously acknowledged, "That no man ought to oppose the works of another, till he was fully master of the author's real sense, and did at least believe it to be wrong or heterodox."

Then I said, "That we had met with very hard usage in the House of Lords, and particularly by the Bishop of Rochester (the same that afterwards was banished for treasonable practices); that at the same time when we, as a Christian people, were addressing the legislature of our native country for liberty of conscience, to serve God and our Lord Jesus Christ in the way we judge the most acceptable to him, to be branded and accused in such a place and time, and on such an occasion, as not being Christians, but compared, by him, with Jews, pagans, and Mahometans! is very uncharitable, to say the least."

The bishop replied, "I do not approve that usage of you; but he explained himself to mean no more, than that you are not perfect Christians; that is, in the way we initiate people into religion."

I answered, "Then it remains for you to prove, that none can be perfect Christians, unless initiated, at least, by you, or after your manner." It being then near twelve o'clock, the bishop did not think proper to enter upon that subject. And, as he had said in the sequel of this discourse, he had read our books, I asked him "if he had seen one styled, *A Treatise of Oaths*, written by William Penn?" he said "he had not." Then I said, "We had abundance of votes collected there, out of the writings of those you call fathers, on our side, against swearing in any case or way." To which he replied, "That we ought not to depend upon numbers only, but consider the weight also." "Granted," said I; "but you have neither weight nor number, that ever I have heard of, on your side; for all who wrote on that subject in the primitive church, wrote against swearing, and not one in support of it

under the gospel; but that crept in gradually, with other errors, as the church more and more degenerated into Jewish and antichristian practices in many instances."

Then this good tempered and affable bishop requested, "That if we had any books we valued more than others, I would oblige him with a sight of them, which I gave him some expectation of;" and at parting, he took me by the hand, as we passed out of the room in which we were, into another towards the door, and said, "I desire your prayers for me, as I also pray for you; we ought all to pray one for another." And so we parted in peace and good-will, not the least word of warmth or a scornful look having appeared in all this conference. I made inquiry after such of our books as I thought proper for him; but he going soon after into his diocese of York, and I into Suffolk, and across the country into the west in the service of Truth, which took about seven months time, I had no opportunity to see him till I returned to London, and then went to his house in the Strand for that purpose; but he not happening to be within, and my concerns not allowing me another opportunity for some weeks, in the mean time he was taken ill of the distemper whereof he died, so that I did not see him any more: though his death, through the respect I had conceived for his good qualities, affected me with a friendly concern; for he had as much of the gentleman as bishop in him, and the former seemed rather predominant.

##### 5. With Dr. Bradford, Bishop of Carlisle.

Peter Fearon, an ancient minister, and John Irwin aforesaid, being Cumberland men, went to solicit Dr. Bradford, then Bishop of Carlisle, in our favour, concerning the affirmation aforesaid, and altering the terms; on occasion whereof he entered into an argument with them on the point of oaths under the gospel, asserting as usual, That Christ did only forbid swearing in communication; but how they managed the point I know not, because not present, and do not remember they related to me the particulars: but as they intended to make him another visit on the same account, they desired my company on that occasion, and provided the *Treatise of Oaths* aforesaid as a present to him. And we went to him together, finding none with him but — Sykes, a moderate clergyman, the same that printed a sermon on these words of Christ, 'My kingdom is not of this world,' before Benjamin Hoadley, then Bishop of Bangor, preached his on the same text, which made so much noise among themselves and the nation. The bishop received us mildly and courteously, ordering seats to be set for us near himself; and having heard our appli-



cation for his favour concerning further ease by a new affirmation, and returned us a moderate and favourable answer, he began again upon the subject of oaths, endeavouring to persuade us to think, that Christ only prohibited oaths in common conversation or communication: in which — Sykes likewise concurred. But they grounding their opinion only upon the word communication in our English translation, and the other two Friends leaving the matter to me, I answered, "That if Christ did not prohibit all oaths in that doctrine, he did not advance the morality and righteousness of the gospel above that of the law in that point, as in every other particular there mentioned, he certainly did; and added, 'That there is not a word in that text, which by any tolerable construction, or by any propriety, can be rendered communication from the Greek original. For the word is *λογος*, the same used in the first of John, signifying word or speech; which word is truth, signifying that the righteousness of the gospel, abolishing oaths of all kinds, requires mankind to speak the truth one to another in honesty and sincerity, in all cases, as surely and certainly as they could upon oath.'" And then desired the bishop to inspect his Greek Testament on that occasion, which he readily did; and returning from his library, confessed that the word there translated communication, was *λογος* in the Greek, and did not offer any further argument upon the subject. Then I gave him the book, which the Friends had put into my hands, telling him it was written on that subject, and desired him to peruse it at his leisure; and so we left him in friendship and peace.

Some time after this, being at London, Walter Newbury and I went to the bishop again, to request his favour in the House of Lords concerning the affirmation; and he was come down to his hall, ready to take the air in his coach in the park, but stopped when he saw us come in, and received us kindly, and presently said, "I have read your book, and will fetch it you." I answered, "It was given him as a present, and desired it might be acceptable." He thanked me, and immediately said, "That he believed that Christ and his apostles had forbid all oaths and swearing, and that the time would come when there would not be any such thing in the Christian world; but added, That the present state and circumstances of mankind could not bear such an exemption; and said, you will own that some even among yourselves, in whom some immoralities appear, are not fit for the liberty and exemption you request for your people."

I answered, "That as mankind come into

this world only in a natural state, our children are as others in that respect; and where not subject to the example and instructions given them, may, and some of them do, degenerate into immoral practices of some sorts: though our Society takes all practicable care to prevent it, according to the stated rules among us, and by all Christian ways and means. We pray for them, we example them, admonish, advise, exhort, reprove, and rebuke them as need may require; and after all, if any one among us persist in evil, we proceed against such according to the rules of our Society, finally to deny them as not of our communion; and that is all we do, or think we ought to do, in such cases. And though some particular persons among us may not, in their younger times, come fully up in all things into the perfection of our profession; yet we hope in the main, as a Christian Society, we do. And though some among us do fall into things disagreeable to our profession; yet bearing false witness being so great an evil, and so easily discovered, we hope none among us would be guilty of it; but if any should, let the penalty of perjury be fully inflicted upon him: and therefore we are encouraged to make this application. And since thou art pleased to acknowledge thy sentiments, that Christ and his apostles by their doctrine have prohibited all oaths and swearing of every kind, there must be a time wherein it must be begun to be put in practice by some certain person, persons, or community. A nation is not born in a day; nor did the Lord Jesus himself call and convert all his disciples at once; it was a gradual work, though in the hand of him by whom the worlds were made. And as the Christian world, so called, hath suffered an exceeding great lapse and degeneracy from the doctrines, morality, sanctity, and practice of Christ and his apostles, and the other early primitives; so in the main they are more anti-christians than Christians. The Almighty, who makes choice of the foolish things of this world, whereby to confound the wisdom of the wise, the weak whereby to overcome the mighty, and even things that are not, to bring to naught the things that are, 'that no flesh may glory before him,' hath raised up and chosen us as a people, in and by whom to begin this reformation in religion, in doctrine and practice; not by human power, for that is against us, nor by the wisdom of this world, of which we have little, or the learning or acquisitions thereof, which we do not pursue; but by the same grace through which our Lord Jesus Christ laid down his life upon the cross for the redemption of mankind; wherewith being mercifully favoured of God, and having believed through the operation



thereof in our hearts, we have hitherto suffered all things for his name's sake, which hath been permitted to be inflicted upon us by this and other nations, where we have been raised up, or have come. And we hope we have given Christian proof of our sincerity, to the minds of all sober and thinking people, that our religion is not some select notions of certain gospel truths, but a real and practical thing; wherein we are supported by the wisdom and power of God alone, as witnesses for him on earth, and to the redemption and salvation brought to pass for us and in us through Jesus Christ our Lord. And since ye profess yourselves to be Christian bishops, (for we applied to them all) and we apply to you for relief where our consciences are yet oppressed by laws, and where you, by your offices in the national church, have a share for the time being, in the legislature, who, under the Almighty alone, can relieve us; if

you will not, in your stations, contribute what you may towards that relief, at whose door will the oppression lie?"

The bishop heard me with Christian patience, and said, "We (meaning the bishops and former Parliament) did not grant the affirmation that now is, under any other view, on our part, than as a solemn oath; for so we always understood it, and we thought your people had acquiesced under it: but seeing it does not suit you, I am for liberty for tender consciences, where that is the case. I am your friend herein." Then we returned him our hearty acknowledgments; upon which he took us by the hands, and gave us his good wishes, and we departed in peace and satisfaction. He was, after the banishment of Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, before mentioned in my conference with the Bishop of York, translated, as their term is, into the See of Rochester.

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THE ORIGINAL  
AND  
PRESENT STATE OF MAN,  
BRIEFLY CONSIDERED;

WHEREIN ARE SHOWN,

THE NATURE OF HIS FALL, AND THE NECESSITY, MEANS, AND MANNER OF HIS RESTORATION, THROUGH THE SACRIFICE OF CHRIST, AND THE SENSIBLE OPERATION OF THAT DIVINE SPIRIT OF GRACE AND TRUTH, HELD FORTH TO THE WORLD

BY THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED, SOME REMARKS ON THE ARGUMENTS OF SAMUEL NEWTON, OF NORWICH.

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BY JOSEPH PHIPPS.

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We both labour, and suffer reproach, because we trust in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, especially of those that believe.—1 Tim. iv. 10.

PREFACE.

My chief inducement to publish a few observations upon S. Newton's\* letter in the year 1767, was the defence of that Divine Spirit vouchsafed by a gracious Creator, through a beneficent Redeemer to all man-

kind, in order to their instruction, help and salvation. Its operation and extent appeared to me to be misunderstood, and mistakenly represented in that discourse, and finding it equally so, in a late\* reply of the same author, I think myself in some degree obliged to appear a second time, still further to show, ac-

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\* Letter to the author of a letter to Dr. Formey, &c., signed, *No matter who*.

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\* The leading sentiments of the people called Quakers examined, &c., by S. Newton of Norwich.



cording to my understanding, the necessity, universality and real sensibility of the work of God's Holy Spirit upon the immortal soul of man, as the vital source, and support of true religion in him; and therefore the primary guide of his life and conduct.

My intention is not mere controversy, but explanation and doctrine. I have therefore taken the liberty to use divers expressions from the Apocrypha, and other writings, where their pertinence and clearness entitled them to a place.

I take little notice of the numerous declamatory parts of my opposer's performance. It concerns not the ingenuous reader, who can be most keen or most petulant, but on which side of the question the truth lies, and by which doctrine his mind is most likely to be best and most profitably informed. This he may better judge for himself, than others for

him; for be they ever so ingenious, or otherwise learned, they cannot be competent judges in things they have not experienced, and which are not to be known but by experience.

I have no animosity towards my antagonist; but his work appears to me founded in mistakes, both concerning the sense of Scripture, and the intention of our writings. To proceed minutely to unravel and clear, what he has been at so much pains to perplex and confuse, would be more tedious than difficult, and could by no means compensate either for the reader's time, or my own. My first endeavour therefore shall be, to show the verity of our true leading principles, from the original, and present state of mankind, with the assistance requisite thereunto, and afterwards to add some remarks upon divers parts of the treatise before me.

## THE

# ORIGINAL AND PRESENT STATE OF MAN, &c.

## CHAPTER I.

1. *Man was originally created in purity, and in a state of due order and rectitude.* 2. *He was inspired with a sense of his duty; and* 3 *and 4, empowered to perform it.* 5. *Being tempted, he lapsed from his proper guard, the preserving power of God, into sin.* 6. *He fell from the image of the heavenly, into the image of the earthly. How unlawful self rose in him.* 7. *That he really suffered death in spirit, in the day of his transgression. What the life and death of the soul are.*

1. IN the beginning God created all things good. Inherently and immutably good himself, every production of his must necessarily be so, according to the several kinds wherein he created them. As man was wholly made by him, he must have been made wholly good; his nature clear of all impurity, and free from all defect and disorder. His faculties were not imperfect, but limited to their proper sphere, and every part of his composition constituted in its due rectitude; the body placed in subservience to his rational spirit or soul, as to the more noble and excellent, and therefore the superior part, made for immortality, and in subjection only to the guidance of its Creator.

2. The human faculties or powers of capacity, must then be clear, unprejudiced, and

fit to receive impressions, yet void of any but those of immediate sense. Man, merely as man, could not originally bring any real knowledge into the world with him. That must either be immediately communicated to him by his Maker, or afterwards acquired by himself, through observation and experience. The latter required time to effect; and as it was requisite to his situation, that he should be immediately endued with such an understanding of himself and his Creator, as related to his present duty, and affected his felicity, he certainly was, by divine wisdom and goodness, timely furnished with it.

3. Man must not only then be supplied with a due degree of light and understanding, but he must also be empowered to act up to it, else his knowledge would have been afforded to him in vain. Yet though, he certainly was thus empowered, the sequel manifested he was placed in a state of probation, otherwise he could never have been guilty of the least failure; for his Maker being essentially and unchangeably good, must have fixed him in a state of immutable virtue and goodness, had he determined to fix him at all.

4. As the omniscient Creator most certainly foresaw what a subtle adversary man would have to encounter, he as surely furnished him with means sufficient to discover his snares, and resist his assaults. If satan was suffered to use his subtlety and influence to deceive



him, doubtless he was not only warned, but also endued with a sufficiency of divine light and influence to withstand his attempts, as he kept duly upon his watch.

Nothing but the divine nature can enable any intelligent creature to resist temptation, and act up to the divine will. If therefore any created being is required to keep up thereunto, it must be assisted by divine power so to do. God created man for a purpose of his own glory. To glorify God, and to partake of his glory, man must walk in obedience to his will. Man could neither infallibly know his will, nor constantly perform it, merely by the strength of his own faculties; he must therefore, necessarily, have been assisted by the Spirit of God, to enable him to perform his will, and so to obey him as to glorify him, and enjoy a blessed inheritance in him; otherwise, the end of man's creation could not be answered. Hence it is concluded, the first man Adam was made a living soul by the inspiration of the second Adam, Christ, who is a quickening spirit; for "That was not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual."<sup>a</sup> That is, Adam was first created a natural man, and then rendered a spiritual one by the quickening power of the Spirit of Christ, which is the true life, and proper element for immortal spirits to live and move in.

Thus the parents of mankind, in their original uncorrupted state, being fit temples for the Holy Ghost to dwell in, were, as well as the sanctified in Christ afterwards, partakers of the divine nature,<sup>b</sup> by the internal quickening of divine life. The author of the book of Wisdom observes, that wisdom in all ages, and certainly in the first and purest, entereth holy souls; which wisdom he describes to be the breath of the power of God, a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty, the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of his goodness.<sup>c</sup> This clearly denotes the Spirit of the eternal Son of God himself, and evidently concurs with those parts of the New Testament which declare him to be the power of God, and the wisdom of God, the true light, and life of men, the brightness of the Father's glory, and the image of the invisible God.<sup>d</sup>

It was undoubtedly in the light of this pure influence that Adam had such an intuitive discerning of the creation, as enabled him to give names to them according to their several natures. For we read, "The Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of

the air, and brought them unto Adam, to see what he would call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof."<sup>a</sup>

Under this celestial enduement, the sacred impression of the divine image conspicuously appeared in the first of mankind. "In the image of God created he them."<sup>b</sup>

5. Had man kept in faithful obedience to his heavenly guide, and rejected the efforts of the tempter, he might undoubtedly, in due time, have been advanced to a degree of establishment beyond all possibility of falling; but not continuing strictly upon his watch, and contrary to the warning before given him, turning his attention towards the temptation, when alluringly presented, he slipped from his proper guard; leaving hold of that spirit wherein his life and strength lay, he fell from it, and all its advantages, out of the liberty of the sons of God, into the bondage of corruption: a sure introduction to misery. For as holiness and happiness are inseparably united, so sin and misery are indivisibly connected.

To suppose that the Almighty author of all good originally subjected man under a moral necessity to transgress upon the appearance of temptation, is an imagination too injurious to the divine character to be admitted. Our first parents were unquestionably enabled by their Maker to abide in due watchfulness, which would have entitled them to preservation; their defection from which, was certainly not of him, but of themselves. Had their lapse been through his will, or intentional disposition of circumstances, so that it must inevitably follow, he could not consistently have sentenced them to punishment for it; because, in so doing, they performed his will, which could not be a sin against him.

A dangerous fondness to become knowing in things hurtful and no way necessary, seems to have had an early entrance into the human mind. "In the day ye eat, your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil."<sup>c</sup> By the suggestion of this flattering falsehood, Eve was deceived. Knowing nothing but good, she might have remained happy: but experiencing evil, she became otherwise. This knowledge is as opposite to that of the divine wisdom, as darkness is to light. It is certain the Omniscient knows both good and evil, but he knows the first by immutable possession and perfect enjoyment, and the last he beholds with abhorrence, in eternal opposition to, and infinite distance from, the purity of his nature. With sinful man the case is the reverse; evil having

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 45, 46. <sup>b</sup> 1 Pet. i. 4. <sup>c</sup> Wisd. vii. <sup>d</sup> 1 Cor. i. 24. Col. i. 15. John i. 4, 9. 2 Cor. iv. 4.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. ii. 19. <sup>b</sup> Gen. i. 27. <sup>c</sup> Gen. iii. 5.



immediate possession of him, and good being out of his reach, without divine mercy, he must be completely wretched. This is the necessary consequence of that boasted knowledge of the world, which men acquire by tasting the pernicious and poisonous sweets of temptation.

6. The consequences of this primary lapse were immediately affecting to the actual transgressors, and remotely to all their posterity. 1. They lost the bright impression of the divine image, and the felicity attending it. Forfeiting the immediate in-dwelling and pure influence of God's holy Spirit, they lost that divine similitude, wherein they had enjoyed internal light, life, love, goodness, righteousness, holiness, and happiness. That omnipresent spirit of power, truth and virtue, which in their original state had been their comforter, disunited from them through transgression, now became their accuser and convict. 2. Lapsing from under due and constant subjection to the mind and spirit of his Creator, the will of man separated from the will of God, and became self-will. Self-love in man was originally and properly placed in subservience to the love of his Maker, who being in all respects justly supreme, had, whilst man stood in cheerful obedience, the supremacy in his affection; but by his undutiful self-gratification, and letting in the suggestion of the tempter, his chief love turned from his Maker to himself. Thus probably inordinate self-love and self-will originated in man, and they always stand in a will separate from the will of God, and a spirit contrary to his holy Spirit. This mental separation opened an easy road of access for the evil spirit to influence the human mind towards exterior objects, and rendered them the subjects of temptation. By giving way to carnal inclinations, man became carnally-minded; and "to be carnally minded is death."<sup>a</sup>

7. When the Sovereign Legislator first added a positive law to Adam, he pronounced immediate death upon him in case of his transgression; "in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die."<sup>b</sup> This seems to imply a much deeper and more important meaning than what relates to the body; a meaning more immediately affecting to the rational soul: the privation of a life which before transgression it happily enjoyed, and which, by disobedience, it must certainly lose. What then is the proper life of the soul, and what is the death of that which must for ever exist? Merely to be, cannot be the life intended. It must be, to live in that life which immutably exists only in the divine nature,

and which is not to be enjoyed but by partaking of the divine nature, the spirit of him who is the life, and our life; that life the Evangelist declares to be the true light of men.<sup>a</sup>

This supernatural, spiritual, heavenly power and virtue of the great Illuminator and Quickener, is the true life of the immortal spirit of man; and the total want or deprivation thereof, is its death. Turning from this to embrace temptation, our first parents did surely, in the day of transgression, deviate from, and die in spirit to that divine life by which they had been quickened. For, it is the spirit that quickeneth or giveth life;<sup>b</sup> and when life departs, death ensues of course. As the body dies when deprived of its animal life, so the soul is left in a state of spiritual death, when that which is its proper life departs from it; saving this difference, that the deceased body remains wholly insensible; but the soul in the full state of its death, still exists under the unavoidable sense of its guilt and misery. Thus, according to Wisdom, man found death in the error of his life.<sup>c</sup>—"For God made not death, neither hath he pleasure in the destruction of the living"—but, "through envy of the devil came death into the world."<sup>d</sup>

## CHAPTER II.

1. *The fall of Adam and Eve affected all their progeny, not with guilt, but with infirmity.* 2. *How this accrues.* 3. *The state of infants.* 4. *The common ascendance of the sensitive powers over the rational.* 5. *How the creature is said, Rom. viii. to be subjected to vanity by its Creator.* 6. *When arrived to years of understanding, we add sin to infirmity.*

1. It appears from holy Writ, that previous to our own actual offences, we are all naturally affected by the transgression of our primogenitors. "By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned."<sup>e</sup> This is not to be understood of the death of the body only; for all come into the world in the image of the earthly, or, void of the quickening and sensible influence of divine life. But this disadvantage, through the Supreme goodness, is amply provided for, and there appears no necessity to conclude, that we all come into the world justly obnoxious to divine vengeance, for an offence committed by our primogenitors, before we came into the world. With what propriety can an infant, incapable of committing any crime, be treated as an offender? The

<sup>a</sup> Rom. viii. 6.    <sup>b</sup> Gen. ii. 17.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Pet. i. 4. John xiv. 6. Col. iii. 4. John i. 4.    <sup>b</sup> John vi. 63.    <sup>c</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 6.    <sup>d</sup> Wisdom i. 12, 13.    <sup>e</sup> Ibid. ii. 24.    <sup>f</sup> Rom. v. 12.



Scripture positively assures us, God's ways are equal<sup>a</sup>—that the soul that sinneth *it* shall die, and not the son for the fault of the father—that whatever Adam's posterity lost through him, that and more they gain in Christ;<sup>b</sup> and undoubtedly, his mercy and goodness, and the extent of his propitiation, are as applicable to infants, who have not personally offended, as to adults who have.

2. The immortal reasonable soul of man, in every individual, appears to be the immediate production of its Creator; for the prophet Zechariah, speaking of the great acts of God in creation, asserts, that “he formeth the spirit of man within him.”<sup>c</sup> And in Eccles. xii. 7, we read upon the death of the body, “Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it.” The soul therefore, receiving its existence immediately from the perfection of unchangeable purity, can have no original impurity or intemperature in its nature; but being immediately and intimately connected with a sensitive body, and of itself, unable constantly to withstand the eagerness of the animal passions after gratifications of a carnal nature, is liable to be so influenced by them, as to partake with them in their sensual indulgences. In this state the descendants of Adam come into the world, unendued with that divine life which Adam fell from. And who can say, this might not be admitted in mercy to all the future generations of mankind? 1st. That each succeeding individual might be prevented from incurring the guilt of repeating the sin of our prime ancestors, and falling from the same degree of innocence, purity and divine enjoyment. 2nd. That, by feeling the infirmity of our own nature, and the want of divine assistance, we might become the more sensible of our danger, and necessary dependence on our Creator, and thence to be continually excited to seek after, and cleave to him, in watchfulness, circumspection and prayer, in order to obtain a state of restoration. 3rd. That having in part attained such a state, our prudence might be useful towards our preservation and growth therein: since we should certainly be more assiduously concerned, to secure to ourselves a good condition obtained through pains and difficulty, than one we might have been originally placed in without any care or trouble to ourselves.

3. Whatever were the peculiarities attending the fall of the first man and woman, or those consequent upon it, this is certain, that their progeny do not come into the world in that same state of brightness themselves were

constituted in after their creation. It cannot escape the notice of those who have had the care of infants, that the earliest exertions observable in them, evidently arise from the powers of animal desire, and animal passion; how prone these are to increase in them, and to predominate as they grow up, and the solicitude it requires to keep children out of unruliness and intemperature, as they advance to youth's estate, how much too potent their inordinate propensities are for the government of the rational faculty; what pains are necessary to regulate, and often but to palliate them, by a virtuous education and improving converse; and the impossibility they should ever be radically subdued and ruled, without the application of a superior principle.

4. In the present state of our nature, the sensitive powers take the lead of the rational in the first stage of life, as the soul brings only a capacity, without any real knowledge, or potency, into the world with it. It acquires its knowledge by degrees, enlarging also in capacity to receive it gradually. Every one knows, it is not capable at five or ten years of age, to comprehend the same ideas in the same extent, as in riper and more advanced years. It first becomes impressed with the images of external things, presented through the corporeal organs, and afterwards with those mental ideas inculcated by its primary instructors, whether true or false. Hence the bias of education becomes strong, either to right or wrong, according as the instructions received are agreeable to either; and the passions being enlisted in their service, occasionally exercise their warmth in favour of the prevalent idea or impression, however wrong it may be; unless the mind, through divine illumination, discover its error, and submit to its rectification.

5. Previous to the reception of knowledge, the soul is joined to the body, by the power of its Creator; who, in consequence of the fall, saw fit it should be so. “For,” saith the apostle, “the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope; because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God.”<sup>a</sup>

The rational soul is here intended by the creature, and properly denominates the man. Herein the true distinction lies, betwixt the human species and creatures of inferior kinds. This descends not with the body from parents to children; the soul being an indivisible immaterial substance, cannot be generated. The soul of the child never was in the parent, and therefore could never sin in him, nor derive

<sup>a</sup> Ezek. xviii.    <sup>b</sup> Rom. v. 15 to 20.    <sup>c</sup> Ezek. xii. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Rom. viii. 20, 21.



guilt from his transgression. Neither can guilt accrue to it, merely from its being joined to a body descended from him, because that junction is the act of the Creator.

To account a child guilty, or obnoxious to punishment, merely for an offence committed by its parents, before it could have any consciousness of being, is inconsistent both with justice and mercy; therefore no infant can be born with guilt upon its head.

6. Besides our natural alienation from, and ignorance of the internal life of God,<sup>a</sup> in our fallen state, it must be acknowledged, that all who have arrived to such a degree of maturity as to be capable of receiving a right understanding, and of distinguishing the inward monitions of Truth in their conscience, have also increased and strengthened the bonds of corruption upon themselves, in different degrees, by a repeated, and frequently an habitual indulgence of the carnal part, against the sense of duty received; and are more deeply entered into the dark region of the shadow of death, through their own trespasses and sins.<sup>b</sup> Thus, "all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God."<sup>c</sup>

### CHAPTER III.

1. *The state of man in the fallen nature, and the necessity of his renovation.* 2. *His inability to accomplish it for himself, and the necessity of divine assistance thereunto.* 3. *What moral evil is—that it both may, and must be removed from man, in order to his felicity.* 4. *Without this, man is not fully acquitted by the one offering of our Saviour at Jerusalem.* 5. *The Spirit of God is absolutely necessary to effect this great work.* 6. *What perfect redemption from sin consists in—the term world, John iii. 16, is not to be confined to the elect—Christ tasted death for all men without exception.*

1. **WHATEVER** we may have derived from our parents, we certainly accumulate to ourselves additional corruption. "All flesh hath corrupted his way upon the earth."<sup>d</sup> Every adult person, in his common natural state, must, upon serious introversion, find in himself a proneness to the gratification of self, and the sensual part; an eager inclination at times to forbidden pleasure, an aversion to piety and holy walking, a consciousness of guilt, and a fearful apprehension of the approach of death. Men generally confess they have erred and strayed, like lost sheep, from the salutary paths of virtue and duty; and that, such is

their frailty, it is an easy thing for them to fall in with temptation; but hard, if not impossible, effectually to resist it. Nay, even the high reward promised to virtue and a good life, and the sore punishments annexed to vice and folly, are altogether insufficient to retain them in the practice of the former, or to enable them to conquer the force of their inclination to the latter. This demonstrates the corruption of their nature; and, as "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh;"<sup>a</sup> so from what lodges or presides within, the exterior practice arises. The corruption in the heart corrupts the actions, manners and language. Hence all the irregularities in conduct, all the profane and untrue speeches, all the common complimentary falsehoods, to gratify the pride and folly of vain minds.

As the origin of evil in man, came by transferring his attention and desire from his Creator to the creature, dividing his will from the will of God, and his spirit from the Spirit of God; so the continuance of evil in man is by the continuance of this separation, and must abide so long as that remains. In this situation, commonly called the state of nature, we are both unfit for, and unable to enter, the heavenly kingdom, which admits of nothing sinful or unclean.<sup>b</sup> It is therefore absolutely requisite that man should be made holy, in order to be happy. Holiness cannot unite with unholiness; nor can ability arise from infirmity. If pollution can cleanse itself, if evil can produce good, if death can bring forth life; man thus corrupted, debilitated, and deadened, may disengage, reform, quicken, and restore himself. But it is not in the power of man, as such, to extricate himself from the bonds of sin and death. Yet, as impurity is the bar, it must be removed. As sin separates man from his Maker,<sup>c</sup> man must be separated from sin, or he cannot be reconciled and united to him. Without restoration to a state of holiness, he cannot enjoy the felicity pertaining to that state; for, "without holiness no man shall see the Lord."<sup>d</sup>

2. How then shall corrupt man become holy? how shall he, in a state of utter incapacity, enter into and maintain a warfare against his many and mighty adversaries, which beset him within and without? What ability has he to fight his enemy who is already enchained by him? A power too strong for man, has got possession; it must be a superior power to dispossess him, to rescue and restore man; and who is sufficient for these things? None but his omnipotent Creator is able to unbind and extricate him. But his

<sup>a</sup> Eph. iv. 18. <sup>b</sup> Eph. ii. 1. <sup>c</sup> Rom. iii. 23. <sup>d</sup> Gen. vi. 12.

<sup>a</sup> Mat. xii. 34. <sup>b</sup> Eph. v. 5. <sup>c</sup> Isa. lix. 2. <sup>d</sup> Heb. xii. 14.



will Adam had separated from, his law he had transgressed, his command he had disobeyed, and against him alone he had committed this high offence. Yet, behold the astonishing compassion and kindness of infinite Goodness! an all-sufficient means was straightway provided, for the redemption both of the actual offenders and all their progeny. The eternal Word, the Son, the Lamb of God Almighty, gave instant demonstration of the greatness of divine love and mercy, in then concurring with the Father, to yield himself up in due time to take the nature of man upon him,<sup>a</sup> and, by resigning it to suffering and death, to make it a propitiation for the whole species; and also, in immediately, and all along, affording a manifestation of his Holy Spirit to every man to profit withal,<sup>b</sup> in order to their present deliverance from the power of sin, and their everlasting salvation from the certain effect of abiding therein to the last, namely, the second death.

That man should, of himself, empower himself to live in the constant practice of crossing his natural inclinations and propensities, is a wild presumption; but that a Spirit infinitely good, and more powerful than all his enemies, should so influence, incline, and enable him, is highly reasonable to believe, because absolutely necessary. By the help of God's Spirit, man may, like the apostle, be assisted to keep his body under, and bring it into subjection,<sup>c</sup> before the strength of its passions and affections lessens by decay of nature; which the rational faculty can never effectually accomplish, even under that decay, without superior assistance.

3. Neither the possibility, nor probability, of man's purification and sanctification by the Holy Spirit, can reasonably be doubted; for, *first*, as physical evil, or bodily pain, has no substantial existence of its own, but is purely incidental to corporeal nature; so moral evil is to the soul, a disorder which it has improperly lapsed into. It is no part of God's creation, nor has any real existence by itself; but is the fallen, defective, distempered condition of beings, once created without intemperance or defect. Evil, therefore, though it be in man, is no constituent part of man, but an imperfection adventitious to his nature, which by an all-powerful principle, he may be recovered from, and his nature restored to a state of fitness for union with his Maker. *Secondly*, uncreated Omnipotence is certainly more able to cleanse, than the creaturely, corrupt, and fallen powers of darkness are to defile; and infinite Goodness must be as willing and ready to effect the first, as limited envy the last. Did

not the sovereign Lord intend man should be made holy, he would not require it; nor would he require it without affording him the assistance requisite to accomplish it, for he enjoins no impossibilities. That he doth require it, the sacred writings sufficiently witness. "God," saith an apostolic writer, "hath not called us to uncleanness, but unto holiness."<sup>a</sup> And, "Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word,"<sup>b</sup> or the purifying efficacy of the Holy Word, or Spirit, which cleanseth the soul as water doth the body, "that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish." In another place, he gives this exhortation, "Abstain from all appearance of evil,"<sup>c</sup>—then proceeds—"And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God, that your whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." And to encourage them to seek it and hope for it, he immediately assures them, "faithful is he that calleth you, who also will do it."

4. Vain is that imaginary pretence, that Christ has paid the whole price for us, by which we stand fully acquitted in the sight of God; that we have complete redemption in him without sanctification in ourselves; and that by the external offering up of his body, he hath perfected the work for us, and we are already reconciled thereby. For, was this the real truth, Christ only paid the price of man's redemption, that he might continue in a state of pollution, and practice evil with security; or be justified in breaking the known commands of God, and serving Satan during the whole term of this life. Contrary to this, the apostolic doctrine is, "His own self bore our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness."<sup>d</sup> "He died for all, that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him who died for them,"<sup>e</sup>—"How shall we that are dead to sin live any longer therein?"<sup>f</sup> "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof." "What fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed? For the end of those things is death. But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life."

It is true, the apostle saith, "By one offering he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified."<sup>g</sup> But this doth not imply, that

<sup>a</sup> Heb. ii. 16. <sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 7. <sup>c</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 27.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Thes. iv. 7. <sup>b</sup> Eph. v. 25, &c. <sup>c</sup> 1 Thes. v. 22, 24. <sup>d</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 24. <sup>e</sup> 2 Cor. v. 15. <sup>f</sup> Rom. vi. 2, 12, 21, 22. <sup>g</sup> Heb. x. 14.



his sacrifice perfected those who never came to be sanctified. Applying it to this case, it can mean no more than that such who have so experienced the effectual operation of divine grace, as to become sanctified, have remission by that one offering for sins committed before their sanctification, which perfects their redemption; and also for transgressions after, upon repentance. For sin once committed cannot be undone; present and future obedience is no more than duty; and past offences must still remain against us without forgiveness. Our Saviour therefore, by his sacrifice, manifested the mercy, love, and kindness of God; "by whom," saith the apostle, "he was set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness, for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God."<sup>a</sup> Herein he showed, that a door of reconciliation is opened to all men; but those who through unbelief of, and disobedience to divine grace, never experience the work of sanctification, deprive themselves of that unspeakable advantage; for it is through sanctification that any come effectually to enjoy the benefit of the sacrifice of Christ. That outward offering for all, showed the love of God towards all; and that he stands ready to pardon past transgression, in all who sincerely accept his terms of true repentance and reformation; but our salvation is not completed by that single act only, and the work of redemption finished for us without us. Though Christ died for us, that we might be brought unto glory, yet we are not actually purified, fitted for, and introduced into the kingdom, merely by that one offering. The way to reconciliation was opened by the death of Christ; but we are not saved by his life till we livingly experience the work of salvation in our own particulars.

5. It is always requisite that the means be adequate to the end, the cause sufficient to the effect; therefore as all men throughout all nations, and every generation, originally stand in equal relation to their Creator, have been, and must naturally be in absolute need of his help, in order to purification and salvation, the means afforded for this purpose must be universal to reach all. It must be a principle of real and powerful holiness and goodness, to change the condition of man from evil to good. It must be omnipotent, to enable him to overcome his adversaries, the world, the flesh, and the devil. Nothing but a spirit superior to all these can effectually cleanse the soul, and operate to the expulsion and exclusion of those subtle and powerful enemies which continually seek to hold men in the

bondage of corruption; therefore nothing but God's holy, universal, almighty Spirit can effect this necessary alteration in man, rectify the disorder sin has introduced into his nature, and raise him up from a state of spiritual death, by producing a new and heavenly birth of divine life in him, by which he may be created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works, and restored to the image of God in righteousness and true holiness.

6. Perfect redemption consists, first, in paying the price of ransom; and second, in bringing out of bondage, and setting the prisoner at liberty. Our Saviour paid the first by his suffering and sacrifice; and he performs the last by the effectual operation of his Spirit, in the hearts of those who receive him, and resign wholly to him.

None have cause to murmur at, or complain against the dispensations of their benevolent Creator; for in Christ he hath rendered to every child of Adam a full equivalent for the loss sustained through his unhappy fall. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."<sup>a</sup> I know some allege, that the *world* here intends not all men, but the elect only. But we find the term *world*, when confined to men, in the New Testament, is used either for all mankind in general, for the majority of mankind, or for the unbelieving part of it; and where it intends a part of the species, it is often used to signify unbelievers, and to distinguish them from believers, but is never spoken of believers only. Besides, such an acceptance would turn the text into nonsense, for then it must be thus understood; "God so loved the elect, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever of the elect believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life." This would imply, that some of the elect would not believe in him, and all the consequent absurdities of that position. But read the text as it stands, and the particle *whosoever*, properly distinguishes the world into believers and unbelievers, or faithful and unfaithful; and shows that God so loved the whole of his rational creation, that he gave all an opportunity of being saved through believing; and if any did not so embrace it, their refusal was the cause of their condemnation, and not the want of God's love, nor of an opportunity of closing in with, and receiving the benefit of it. This the four succeeding verses plainly declare. "For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved. He that believeth on him is

<sup>a</sup> Rom. iii. 25.

<sup>a</sup> John iii. 16.



not condemned; but he that believeth not is condemned already, because he hath not believed in the name of the only begotten Son of God. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved."<sup>a</sup> It is not reasonable to conclude, the *whole world* can mean less than the whole human species.

The apostle Peter saith, "The prophecy came not in old time, or rather at any time, by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction."<sup>b</sup> This indicates that Christ died not only for those who come to be saved, but also for those who bring destruction upon themselves; otherwise it cannot be understood that, by his sacrifice, he bought, or paid the price of redemption, conditionally for them as well as others. But if he thus bought those who denied him, who yet occasioned their own destruction, it is truly asserted in the full extent of the words, that "He by the grace of God should taste death for every man;"<sup>c</sup> and that "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world."<sup>d</sup>

#### CHAPTER IV.

1. *The progeny of Adam not condemnable for his transgression, but their own.* 2. *The vital part of religion is internal, and may be experienced by people under every religious denomination, and in every part of the world—Pagans not necessarily excluded from all share in Christ and Christianity; which,* 3. *Consists not essentially in exteriors, or an imagery of religion, but in being endued with a new nature.* 4 and 5. *This is certainly and sensibly to be known, through the operation of divine grace.* 6. *Christ waits to be gracious at the door of every man's heart, causes the dead to hear his voice, quickens the observant, and renders them partakers of his heavenly communion.*

1. HOWEVER public a person Adam may be accounted, and however his posterity might, without a Redeemer, have been by any thought chargeable with his sin, though I am unable to conceive how any man should deserve con-

demnation for what he could not help; yet our Saviour having paid the price of our redemption, by tasting death for every man,<sup>a</sup> there cannot be any thing chargeable to Adam's descendants, merely on account of his transgression, exclusive of their own. Original sin, therefore, in that sense which implies guilt in them for his offence, I apprehend, has no foundation in truth. Nor, was it really so, could any ceremonious performance of men, or even all the water of Jordan wash it away. All exterior forms, however mistakenly exalted or celebrated amongst mankind, are but outward and visible signs, and altogether ineffectual towards any real change or reformation of the subject. And respecting little children who are taken away before they have personally offended, they cannot in equity be chargeable, but may with just confidence be resigned, as perfectly safe in the arms of their Saviour, who declared, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven;"<sup>b</sup> and also told his followers, "except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."<sup>c</sup>

2. The vital part of man's religion and duty stands, principally, in a right attention to, and a faithful obedience of the manifestation of the Spirit of Christ in the heart and conscience. He who pays due and constant regard to this, is in his measure a follower of Christ, and has, in some degree, the reality of Christianity in him; live under what mode of profession, or in what part of the world soever he may. For who is a servant of Christ but he that willingly obeys him? Is he who willingly acts according to his verbal precepts, a follower of Christ; and is not he who, without the knowledge of these, with equal willingness follows the leadings of his Spirit, also his servant? Of this spirit the truly virtuous and religious amongst the Gentiles were, in degree, partakers; "for," saith holy Writ, "when the Gentiles which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves; which show the work of the law written in their hearts; their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another."<sup>d</sup>

The words *by nature* here, I apprehend, are not to be understood as if the apostle intended the Gentiles became virtuous by any goodness in their fallen nature, which must be the same as all other men's. The context shows, he was here distinguishing between those who enjoyed the ministration of the

<sup>a</sup> John iii. 17, &c. <sup>b</sup> 2 Pet. i. 21, and ii. 1. <sup>c</sup> Heb. ii. 9. <sup>d</sup> 1 John ii. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Heb. ii. 9. <sup>b</sup> Mat. xix. 14. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. xviii. 3. <sup>d</sup> Rom. ii. 14, 15.



Mosaic law, and those who had it not; and he useth the expression, by nature, in the same sense as if he had said, without an education under the law; and proceeds to show, that though they had it not, yet they practised the substance intended by the law. This showed not, that their own hearts were their law, but as the apostle explains it, that the work of the law was written in their hearts, and that they had a part in the new covenant; in reference to which it is said, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts."<sup>a</sup> Though they were without the law of Moses, they were not without law to God. For, by receiving and retaining the divine impressions in their consciences, they were under the law to Christ, or subject to the manifestation of his Spirit in their hearts; and in proportion to their obedience, partakers of the nature of the Holy Spirit within them. By the internal operation of this nature, it was that they became reformed in heart, and rectified in life and practice, so far as they were so; or as the text has it, enabled "to do the things contained in the law." Originally disordered, and actually depraved, their own nature as men could never have led and empowered them to this; for, since the primary lapse, it is prone to evil,<sup>b</sup> and true reformation and religion arise not from that disordered and corrupt ground. They come not by nature, but by grace. They are the fruit of that good seed universally sown in every heart, by the great and good Husbandman for that end. Were it not for the notices and powers communicated by this internal Holy Spirit, man must have continued to proceed in the increase of corruption, irreligion and misery; as appears too evidently by the conduct of such as disregard it. Not by following their own nature therefore, but by obedience to the inward law of the divine nature written in the heart, the conscientiously virtuous amongst the Gentiles, as well as others, were enabled to perform the things, or just morals, contained in the Mosaic law; and thereby to evidence in their measures, the effectual operation and authority of the divine Lawgiver within them.

The Gentiles therefore partaking of the law written in the heart, cannot properly be said to be excluded from all share in the new covenant, or dispensation of the gospel. The gospel, taken in its full extent, is the revelation of the love and mercy, and the offer and operation of the grace of God, through Christ, to fallen man, in his natural and corruptible state, in order to his restoration and salvation. It is not wholly contracted into the mere tidings; but including these, goes deeper, and

essentially consists in the thing declared by them; the power of God administered to the salvation of the soul.<sup>a</sup> By this the outward coming of Christ is rendered truly and fully effectual to each individual. Those who believe in, and obey him in his inward and spiritual manifestations, by which the gospel is preached in every rational creature under heaven, may come to be partakers of his life, and be saved by him from the second death of eternal misery, though providentially incapacitated to know the exterior history of his incarnation, &c.

That virtuous and devout Gentiles were approved of God, appears in the case of Cornelius;<sup>b</sup> for we find that before his reception of historical and verbal Christianity, his sincere devotion, and reverence towards his Creator, and charitable acts to the needy, "came up for a memorial before God;" who also now taught Peter, verse 15, the Gentiles he had thus cleansed were no more to be esteemed common or unclean than the believing Jews, and gave him of a truth, to perceive, "that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him."<sup>c</sup>

Hence it appears, that those who conscientiously obey the spiritual manifestations of Christ in them, are internally, though not by outward profession, his disciples and followers, and truly believe in him so far as he is revealed to them; for obedience is the certain proof of a right faith. And I make no question, but those in any part of the globe, who, from invincible obstacles, have not the opportunity of historical Christianity, in their obedience to the spiritual appearance of Christ in their hearts, are accepted, and partake of the benefits of his death. Why should they not be as capable of receiving advantage by the sacrifice of Christ, as disadvantage by the fall of Adam, whilst they are equally strangers to the history of both? But certainly, those to whom the sacred writings are providentially communicated, are under double obligation, since they are favoured with that additional instrumental advantage; and it will tend to their greater condemnation, if they believe not unto obedience. For, however high the profession of such may be, they are but imperfect, superficial, ineffectual believers, who hold with the external part, and experience not the internal: Christians in name, but not in deed and in truth. It is essential to us who have the Scriptures, to believe both in the outward coming, and inward ministration of our Saviour; resigning to him, and trusting in him, with that faith of the operation of

<sup>a</sup> Jer. xxxi. 33.    <sup>b</sup> Rom. vii. 18.

<sup>a</sup> Rom. i. 16.    <sup>b</sup> Acts x. 2, 3, 4.    <sup>c</sup> Acts x. 34, 35.



God, which works by love to the purification of the heart, and is the saving faith of the gospel.

Complete Christianity has both an inside and an outside; a profession or bodily appearance, and a life and virtue, which is as a soul to that body. Those who are in possession of both, are complete Christians. Those who have the inward part without the outward, though incomplete in that respect, will in the sight of perfect equity, certainly be preferred to such as have the latter without the former; and it would be well for all who have the history, and profess the Christian religion, yet walk contrary to its requireing, could they change conditions at last with such conscientious Gentiles. Let those who are so deeply affected with absurdity, as to believe or imagine, that infinite wisdom, goodness and equity, has confined salvation to such of his creatures as happen, without any choice of their own, to inhabit particular spots of the globe, are formalized after a peculiar manner, or entertain one particular set of articles and opinions, let such duly consider the following texts. "Verily I say unto you, I have not found so great faith, no not in Israel; and I say unto you, that many shall come from the east and west, and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven; but the children of the kingdom," by education merely, "shall be cast out into outer darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."<sup>a</sup> "After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God, who sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb!"<sup>b</sup>

3. Real Christianity consists not in the profession of any framed articles of belief, nor in the practice of signs and ceremonies, however displayed with exterior pomp, or whatever insignificance may be fancifully attributed to them by their supporters. Form and profession make not a real Christian, but the putting on of a new nature. "They that are Christ's, have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts."<sup>c</sup> "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; old things are passed away; behold all things are become new, and all things are of God."<sup>d</sup> The necessity of regeneration, the power by which it is effected, and the co-operation of God and man therein, are all included in that text; "If

ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God."<sup>a</sup>

4. The new birth is not brought forth in particulars imperceptibly. The new man is renewed in knowledge;<sup>b</sup> in a certain and sensible experience. The soul in whom it is going forward, has an internal sense of it through its whole progress, and must keep a steady eye thereunto, that it may go forward. "We all," saith the apostle, "with open face beholding as in a glass, the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the spirit of the Lord."<sup>c</sup> By looking at the deceitful beauty of temptation men fall into sin, and by keeping a stedfast eye inwardly unto Christ in spirit, with humble resignation to him, and earnest desire after him, man finds preservation, and gradually advanceth from one degree of grace to another, till he really experienceth a renewal of the divine likeness upon his soul, and an inward translation out of sin, darkness and death, into divine light, life and holiness; and thereby, in conclusion, from anxiety and misery, to peace and felicity.

5. The natural man may polish and adorn himself with a variety of literature, arts and breeding; but in his best accomplishments, he is but the natural man still, which the apostle declares, receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them.<sup>d</sup>

This is the natural condition of all men, before the work of renovation is begun in them; and seeing all stand in need of divine grace to effect it, and that "God will have, or willeth, all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth;"<sup>e</sup> so, "the grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us," by its convictions, "that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world."<sup>f</sup> Thus, "the mighty God, even the Lord hath spoken, and called the earth, from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof."<sup>g</sup> All the personal instructions, and writings of the prophets, apostles and their contemporaries, taken in their full extent, have never been any thing near so universal amongst mankind, as this grace and power of God; for it always hath been, and is present to every individual in all nations, and throughout every generation.

6. He who is given for a light to the Gentiles, and for God's salvation to the ends of the

<sup>a</sup> Mat. viii. 10, 11, 12    <sup>b</sup> Rev. vii. 9, 10.    <sup>c</sup> Gal. v. 24.  
<sup>d</sup> 2 Cor. v. 17, 18.

<sup>a</sup> Rom. viii. 13, 14.    <sup>b</sup> Col. iii. 10.    <sup>c</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 18.  
<sup>d</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 14.    <sup>e</sup> 1 Tim. ii. 4.    <sup>f</sup> Tit. ii. 11, 12.    <sup>g</sup> Psal. l. 1.



earth,<sup>a</sup> not only dispenseth of his grace universally and individually, but even waits to be gracious. "Behold," saith he, "I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me."<sup>b</sup> This is Christ in spirit, who proclaimeth, He that hath an ear let him hear.

Query. But if man in his fallen estate be dead, how can the dead hear?

Answer. When the Saviour called, "Lazarus, come forth!"<sup>c</sup> the dead was quickened and immediately obeyed. The voice of him who is a quickening spirit<sup>d</sup> is a quickening power. "The hour is coming, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live."<sup>e</sup>

Query. What is meant by his standing at the door?

Answer. His wonderful condescension, patience and long forbearance, in waiting upon the soul of man, as for an entrance; that as he is a rational creature, he may be prevailed with willingly to open his heart to his Redeemer and receive him.

Query. How doth Christ in spirit knock, or call?

Answer. By influencing the soul in its seasons of quietude, so as to excite inclinations and desires towards good; and also at other times, by distressing it with the painful sensations of guilt and remorse, for its sinful pursuits and practices.

Query. How shall man open to him, and receive him?

Answer. By resigning his attachment to self, and the propensities of sense, and humbly adhering to the voice, or present manifestations of the Spirit.

Query. How doth the Lord come in and sup with man, and make him a partaker of his supper?

Answer. When the Spirit of Christ is received by the soul in faith, love and due submission, he proceeds by degrees to set it at liberty from the bondage and influence of corruption; for, "where the Spirit of the Lord is," in possession, "there is liberty;"<sup>f</sup> and when he hath brought the soul into a proper degree of purification, he sheds the comfort of his love into it, and makes it a partaker of the communion of saints, which is inward and spiritual. This is the true supper of the Lord. He who participates of this, discerns and tastes the Lord's spiritual body, and experienceth it to be meat indeed, and his blood to be drink indeed.<sup>g</sup>

## CHAPTER V.

1. *God's true and faithful witness in the conscience, a divine monitor and daily preacher to man.*
2. *It produceth the new-birth in the obedient; and, 3, promoteth its growth in them.*
4. *This is no indignity to man, but the contrary, and of absolute necessity to his ascendance above sub-lunary considerations.*
5. *It is not beneath the dignity of the Creator to make man so far the subject of his especial regard, as to enable him to answer the end he created him for. The same power that created is requisite to the support of his creation, and his continual superintendence necessary to mankind.*

1. MANKIND are not left to Satan, nor to their own lusts, nor to live without God in the world. A way is cast up. A means is provided. Besides the traditional consciousness of mere moral good and evil in every breast, God hath a divine witness in the heart of each individual, which will truly manifest right and wrong in the consciences of those who faithfully attend thereto, afford light and power to set them free from the mists of prepossession and prejudice, and become to them a safe conductor, and an able supporter in the paths of religion and virtue.

What instructor can we have equal to this most intimate witness? A monitor so near, so constant, so faithful, so infallible! This is the great gospel privilege of every man: the advantage of having it preached day by day in his own heart, without money, and without price, yet with certainty. Is it reasonable to conclude, that this nice, true and awful discernor, should be less than divine? Can any person, upon serious consideration, imagine it to be the nature of the fallen man himself? Is there the least probability that any thing so corrupted and clouded, should so clearly and instantly distinguish; and would the heart of man, which is declared by inspiration to be deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked,<sup>a</sup> so faithfully reprove itself? Would that which delights in its own indulgence, and is impatient of restraint, act in daily control to its own inclinations? Is it the property of evil to do good? Here is a just criterion. That which is natural leads according to nature; that which is spiritual according to the spirit. These are distinguished in Scripture by the terms flesh and spirit,<sup>b</sup> and are truly said to war against each other in man. As sin wars against the spirit to destroy the soul, the spirit wars against sin to save the soul.

Let me query with you who, instead of embracing in humility, love, and thankfulness,

<sup>a</sup> Isa. xlix. 6. <sup>b</sup> Rev. iii. 20. <sup>c</sup> John xi. 43. <sup>d</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 45. <sup>e</sup> John v. 25. <sup>f</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 17. <sup>g</sup> John vi. 55.

<sup>a</sup> Jer. xvii. 9. <sup>b</sup> Rom. vii. 23. Gal. v. 17.



this upright spirit as divine, are exerting your abilities to depreciate and revile it. Whilst you confess it distinguishes right from wrong in your own breasts, by its approbation of the first, and rebuke of the last; can you thus acknowledge it to be infallibly good, and at the same time attribute it to yourselves? "I know," saith Paul, "that in me, that is in my flesh," or belonging to my nature, "dwelleth no good thing."<sup>a</sup> Is your nature in a better condition than his was? Is there any good thing in yours, yet was there none in his? He confessed he had none as man. I presume you have no more than he had. Whence then this quick and righteous discriminator appearing in your consciences? You will not say, it is of Satan; it must therefore either be of man, or of God. For the reasons above hinted, it cannot be of man; it must therefore be of God. Wonderful is the mercy, and great the advantage to every man, that God himself, according to the Scriptures, thus condescends to be the teacher of his people,<sup>b</sup> by the manifestation of his Spirit in every heart; and certainly it ought to be accepted and observed with the greatest reverence and thankfulness.

2. The increase and operation of this living spirit becomes a new life in and to the obedient soul, quickening and refreshing it with a sense of divine love, strength and comfort. This life being begot and brought forth by the Holy Spirit in the willing mind, is called a birth of the spirit, and being its new production there, it is styled the new-birth; and seeing our first parents, immediately upon their creation, were favoured with this spiritual birth in them, and lost it by disobedience; the renewal of it, both in themselves and in their posterity, has taken the terms of regeneration and renovation, or the birth of divine life renewed in man. Being inheritors of spiritual death in Adam, or in the fallen state and nature, we can only be born again to life in Christ, by the power and virtue of his Holy Spirit, who is the resurrection and the life.<sup>c</sup>

3. Every productive power brings forth its own likeness; the evil spirit an evil birth, and the good spirit a birth answerable to its goodness; and as every natural birth admits of a growth, so doth this spiritual birth in the soul. Our Saviour represents its gradual progression, in those similes of the increase of the mustard seed, the process of leaven, and the springing up of living water into everlasting life.<sup>d</sup> The apostles Peter and John also show the several gradations experienced amongst

the believers, under the similes of new-born babes, children, young men and fathers.<sup>a</sup> There is likewise not only a progression from the lowest of these states to the highest, but even that of fathers admits of continual advances, as Paul witnesseth; who, though he truly asserted, that the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus had set him free from the law of sin and death,<sup>b</sup> yet he was sensible of higher degrees of attainment still before him; and therefore, after he had been nearly thirty years in the apostleship, he makes this acknowledgment; "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect, but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended; but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus."<sup>c</sup>

4. Those who treat this doctrine, of the necessity of man's being renewed, led and guided by the Spirit of his Maker, as a disparagement to human reason, put the highest indignity upon the Supreme wisdom, goodness, and power. The dignity of human nature consists not in self-sufficiency. The most exalted of created beings neither exist, nor act independent of their Creator; much less man, who in his primitive purity was made lower than the angels.<sup>d</sup> He stands in continual need of divine help; and his true dignity consists in being, by his reason, above all inferior creatures, capable of consciously receiving that assistance, and of being thereby preferred to, and preserved in a blessed union and communion with his Maker. It cannot be any lessening to an inferior, to be directed and guided by a Superior Being; especially by the supreme Lord, and sole author of all existence, infinite in excellency, power and wisdom, and immutable in glory. Endued with his Spirit, in any degree, the creature is raised above the highest elevation of its own nature; and the more it is clothed with it, the more it is dignified and exalted.

No created being, by its natural powers, can rise above its natural sphere. To reach a sublimer station, it must be assisted by strength superior to its own; a power equal to the height of its ascent. It is only when the Sun of righteousness sheds forth its quickening beams upon the spirit of man, that the poor worm is capacitated in reality, to take wing and mount above its sublunary limits, towards the regions celestial.

<sup>a</sup> Rom. vii. 18. <sup>b</sup> Isa. ii. 3, and liv. 13. Jer. xxxi. 34. John vi. 45, and xvi. 13. 1 Thes. iv. 9. 1 John ii. 27. <sup>c</sup> John xi. 25. <sup>d</sup> Luke xiii. 18, 22. John iv. 14.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 2. <sup>b</sup> Rom. viii. 2. <sup>c</sup> Phil. iii. 12, 13, 14. <sup>d</sup> Heb. ii. 7.



5. Some writers of the epicurean cast, have imagined it beneath the divine greatness, for the sovereign Lord of all, to stoop so low as to make man a peculiar object of his notice and regard. To such as mistake those sure marks of degeneracy, pride and haughtiness, for greatness of soul, this may seem reasonable; but in him to whom pride is abomination,<sup>a</sup> and as distant from his similitude as darkness is to light, it cannot have any place. What it is not below him to create, it cannot be beneath him to regard, proportionally to the end he made it for; and seeing man was created for a purpose of his glory,<sup>b</sup> and to partake of his felicity, it would derogate from his wisdom and goodness, to suppose he should look upon it as below him to enable man to answer the great ends of his creation; which he could not by any means do, without a competent assistance from his Maker. Pride was the cause of the degeneracy of angels, and its natural consequence is the destruction of peace and felicity to all that entertain it. By being something in our own conceit, attributing any good to ourselves, or aspiring above our place and due order, we centre in pride and arrogance. Created beings may be guilty of this; but it is impossible to that all-perfect existence, who is infinite, omnipotent, and immutable.

This visible world demonstrates, it was made by an Omnipotent Power, and is preserved by the same power. Without power it could not be made; and as Thomas Sherlock justly observes, "That which owes its very being to power must depend upon the power that made it, for it can have no principle of self-subsistence independent on its cause."<sup>c</sup> What doth not necessarily exist, must both be originally created, and continually upheld by the power that made it. It had no being before its creation. It cannot retain its being against the will of its Creator. Its existence and support stand equally in the power of its Maker; without whom it was nothing, could never have existed, nor can continue in existence. It was made by his power, is preserved by his power, and upon the withdrawal of his power would dissolve and vanish into its original nothing. There is no medium between self-existence and dependence on its cause; therefore a cessation from it, of the power that made it, is annihilation to it. Thus, as all created things were made, and still subsist solely by the energy of the Creator's will and power, he must necessarily, whilst they exist, be omnipresent with them, in them, and through them; therefore he cannot be ignorant of any thing

relating to them, nor unconcerned about them, or any part of them.

The continual interposition and superintendence of the Spirit of God, was always requisite to man, both to preserve him whilst in innocence, and to recover him from under his fallen estate, by governing the effects of natural causes; and to counteract the wiles, and oppose the influences of the evil spirit. Therefore the great Mediator for, and Redeemer of men, was from the beginning, not only incarnately and corporeally given for a propitiation for the sins of the whole world, to be testified, or verified, in due time; but he was also as universally given, in a spiritual manner, to be a witness, a leader, and commander.<sup>a</sup> 1. He is spiritually given for a witness, to testify against sin in every breast, by his smitings there for evil conceived or committed. 2. For a leader and commander, to such as pay due regard to his convictions, by turning from iniquity to him that smites them, and cleaving to him in that faith and love he produces in them. These he leads in a cross to all the corrupt nature, and empowers them to follow him in the regeneration. This is the true doctrinal cross of Christ.

#### CHAPTER VI.

1. *Regeneration not only necessary, but really experienced by the primitive Christians.* 2. *Paul's comprehensive description of this great work. It answers to the original work of creation, and is effected only by the Holy Spirit.* 3. *An objection against the sensibility of this work answered.* 4. *The same continued.* 5. *Who it is that disbelieves it. The renunciation of human reason not required, but the yielding of it to an infallible instructor, in order to its rectification and improvement.*

1. Now, O man! what is the great business of thy life in this world; but to regain thy place in the paradise of God; to secure an everlasting establishment in that inheritance which is incorruptible, undefiled, and fadeth not away!<sup>b</sup> To accomplish this, thou must be stripped of all that which unfits thee for an entrance. Whatever has been the cause of exclusion must be removed. Whatever can have no place or habitation there, must be separated from thee, or thou canst not be admitted. That which lets will let till it be taken out of the way. Whatever thou hast in thee or about thee, that thou art attached to in consequence of the fall, all separate self

<sup>a</sup> Prov. xvi. <sup>b</sup> Isa. xliii. 7. <sup>c</sup> Discourse on Providence. <sup>d</sup> Isa. lv. 4.

<sup>a</sup> Isa. lv. 4. <sup>b</sup> 1 Peter i. 4.



and the carnal mind thou must resign, or thou canst never know a restoration. The gospel axe, the power of the Spirit of God, must be laid to the root of the tree of corruption in thee, that it may be extirpated, and the vine of life implanted in its room; that in the heart, where the sinful nature hath spread its poisonous products, the engrafted Word, which is able to regenerate and save the soul, may flourish, and bring forth its heavenly fruits;<sup>a</sup> from whence ariseth happiness to the creature, and praise to the eternal Author of all virtue and felicity.

The necessity of regeneration was not only preached to the people in the primitive times, but was actually experienced by the believers. A clear and pregnant instance we have in 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, 11; "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolators, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God; and such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." Here the apostle plainly testifies, that some of the Corinthian brethren, who had been of polluted hearts and vicious lives, were become regenerated, made clean and holy; and shows that this great change in them was wrought in the name, or power of the Lord Jesus, which he explains to be by the Spirit of our God. The apostle Peter concurs with Paul in bearing the like testimony. "Seeing ye have purified your souls in obeying the truth, through the Spirit, unto unfeigned love of the brethren; see that ye love one another with a pure heart fervently; being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever."<sup>b</sup> To the like purpose might be added Eph. ii. 5, 6; Col. i. 13—ii. 10, 11, 12, 13—iii. 9, 10, with the sixth chapter of the epistle to the Romans, and many other texts.

2. The apostle particularly shows the nature and manner of this work in Romans the viith and viiith; which, for want of a real experience of, many have been led to imagine, were intended by him, as only descriptive of his own condition at the time he wrote them; yet it is manifest, they comprehend diverse, and even contrary conditions, which himself and others had experienced in their Christian progress, and which it was impossible he should be in at one and the same time; viz: a state of darkness, and a state of light; a state of

uncleanness, and a state of purity; a state of bondage, and a state of liberty; a state of life, and a state of death.

Chapter vii. 5, he saith, "When we were in the flesh," under the dominion of the carnal nature, "the motions of sins, which were" manifested "by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death." Here he refers back to that state of sin and death they had formerly been enthralled in, but were now past; as fully appears by the succeeding verse, which saith, "But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were held, that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter." Verse 7, he returns to the former state again, and becomes more particular. "I had not known sin," saith he, "but by the law." Before he became sensibly convicted in his own conscience, where the sense of the law was opened to him, he remained in his first state of natural blindness, yet knew it not to be such, notwithstanding his learned education, and legal strictness. Though dead as to any sense of divine life, yet he was alive in the spirit of the world. "For," saith he, "I was alive without the law once; but when the commandment came, sin revived and I died."<sup>c</sup> Opposed by the internal administration of the spiritual law, which brought conviction, the sinful nature was afresh excited by the power of evil, and sprung up as with new life and vigour, to obstruct his escape from it; "for without the law sin was dead."<sup>b</sup> That is, its nature remained quiet and undisturbed, enjoying its indulgence, without interruption, till the law of life was administered against it. Then "the commandment which was ordained to life, I found," by the resistance of that nature, "to be unto death. For sin taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me;"<sup>c</sup> or, darkened me, and brought a sense of death over me. It seems to have deceived him at first into a belief that the law brought forth death, because he found a sense of death ensue upon the convictions of this law; but death is the fruit of sin, which is condemned by the law. For saith he, "the law is holy, and the commandment holy, just and good. Was then that which is good made death unto me? God forbid."<sup>d</sup> He found it was that which so violently opposed it that produced death, and occasioned the condemnation of the law to come upon him, which discovered this death in him. This was permitted that sin might appear sin, and that by the convicting force of the commandment it might become exceeding sinful

<sup>a</sup> James i. 21.<sup>b</sup> 1 Peter i. 22, 23.<sup>d</sup> Rom. vii. 9.  
Verse 12, 13.<sup>b</sup> Verse 8.<sup>c</sup> Verse 10, 11.



in his view, or be held by him in abhorrence. He then feelingly expresses the enthralled situation of this convicted, but unconverted state. "The law is spiritual, but I am carnal, sold under sin."<sup>a</sup> That is, he found himself as really in captivity under sin, as those are to their purchasers who are sold into slavery. "For that which I do, I allow not."<sup>b</sup> I am convinced it is evil, and would gladly be delivered from it; but notwithstanding my convictions, I am under its power, and unable to extricate myself. "For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do."<sup>c</sup> Yet, in patient submission and fervent cleaving to God, some consolation attends this awakened condition; for, "If I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man; but I see another law" or power "in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law" or power "of sin which is in my members."<sup>d</sup> Thus prevented of what I love, and enthralled by what I hate, what a miserable slavery I am in! "O, wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"<sup>e</sup>

He then, still personating one in this struggling situation, thanks God through Jesus Christ, for having brought him thus far on his Christian course and warfare, that he could will to do good, though yet unable actually to perform it.<sup>f</sup> Hence he had a ground of thankfulness, in hope that he who had wrought the will in him, would also in due time perfect the deed by him. In conclusion, he proceeds to show, though this had once been his condition, he now experienced perfect deliverance, from all the perplexing and afflicting circumstances of this, and the several exercising states he had formerly passed through, and had just been giving so lively a description of. "There is therefore," saith he, "now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus," as he then certainly was, "who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit: for the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath set me free from the law of sin and death."<sup>g</sup> This again testifies his deliverance, and answers to that first cited, "Now we are delivered from the law," which condemneth for sin; "that," sinful nature, "being dead wherein we were held, that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter."<sup>h</sup> With these, accords that of Colos. i. 12, 13. "Giving thanks unto the Father, who hath made us meet to be partakers of the

inheritance of the saints in light: who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son."

In the passages above cited from Rom. vii. and viii. the experienced apostle evidently includes a representation of three very different conditions, in their course of progression, and state of disparity from each other. First, a natural blind unconverted state; which is that of darkness and death,<sup>a</sup> answering to the original chaos before light was brought forth. Second, a state of illumination and discovery, of conviction and internal warfare, in order to a complete conversion; which partakes of a mixture, and shows light and darkness in the act of separation, like that in Gen. i. 3, 4, 5. Third, a state of redemption from the power of sin, through purification, and a translation into the spiritual kingdom of Christ; which is the state of the perfect Christian, and completes the new creation, wherein every thing takes its due place, and moves in its proper order. I now refer it to the intelligent reader, whether it is not an absurdity to imagine, that these three diverse, and in some respects contrary states, should all subsist together at the same time, in the same subject.

By this representation, which contains a brief and comprehensive delineation of the work of the new-birth, the apostle shows to such as are young in the faith, what different states they have to pass through in that preparatory travel; and also reminds the regenerate of what they have witnessed, in the lines of his own experience. He describes the various steps, and principal leadings of the Holy Spirit, till by its effectual operation the soul is rendered a new creature, and introduced into the kingdom of God; which being inward and spiritual, is entered by an inward and spiritual way. Hence it is clear, a man may acquire all the learning, and receive all the degrees that schools and colleges can bestow, with all the authority men can afford him, and may be strict in the practice of all the forms and exteriors of religion, and yet remain the natural man still. These can bring him no nearer to true regeneration, than he was at the moment of his birth; for the new-birth is the work of the Holy Spirit only. Nothing but the spirit of holiness can make a man holy; for nothing can communicate what it hath not. Nothing can set men free from the power of sin and its wages death, but the law or power of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, individually administered. This, which turneth sinners into saints by a real purgation,

<sup>a</sup> Rom. vii. 14. <sup>b</sup> Verse 15. <sup>c</sup> Verse 19. <sup>d</sup> Verse 20. <sup>e</sup> Verse 21, 22, 23. <sup>f</sup> Verse 24. <sup>g</sup> Verse 25. <sup>h</sup> Rom. viii. 1, 2 Chap. vii. 6.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. i. 2.



and renders them, as to their inward state, new creatures, remains to be their light and leader, and the primary guide of their life and conduct, by its immediate manifestations in the heart; whereby it frequently brings Scripture truths to their remembrance, and opens the sense of them profitably to their understandings, at the same time influencing the mind to a practice answerable thereto.

3. Evident as it is, that the apostle, in the foregoing Scriptures, describes divers changes of condition, which through the operation and effect of the Holy Spirit, he had certainly known and sensibly felt; yet some have appeared, even amongst the leaders of the people, who acknowledge;<sup>a</sup> "The influence of God's spirit enables us to render him an acceptable service," but assert, that it is in a way imperceptible to us; that the sacred writings are utterly silent concerning any sensible demonstrations of its workings within us; that they cannot be distinguished from the efforts of our own reason; that all pretences to it are suggested by an enthusiastic or dis-tempered fancy; and that there never was a Christian with a cool head, and a sound judgment, that in any instance of a change of life, would presume to say, which part of his reformation was owing to divine help.

The truly sound reformed Christian knows and acknowledges, that every part of his reformation is owing to divine help; and whoever propagate the above-cited anti-scriptural doctrine, demonstrate their ignorance of true regeneration, and that their wisdom is but the superficial wisdom of words; which can only enable them to make a show of knowledge, by talking about the things of God, without any right understanding of them. The pomp of science, and the flourish of eloquence, have no more alliance to truth than the pride of life. They belong to the wisdom of this world, by which God is not to be known; "For the world by wisdom knew not God,"<sup>b</sup> nor the things of God.<sup>c</sup> All the knowledge of the natural man, the man whose nature remains unchanged, whether called Pagan, Jew, or Christian, and whether it be styled philosophy or divinity, is but the ineffectual ideal wisdom of this world: the vaunting head-knowledge. It is not the wisdom from above, by which alone God and the things of God are to be known; that is experienced. These are out of the reach of arts, languages, and sciences; and are discovered only by the manifestation of the Spirit of Christ in the

heart. "In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."<sup>a</sup> Yet though the world, by all its admired and celebrated wisdom, knows not God, there is a wisdom communicated by which he is known. "For God," saith holy Writ, "who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face" or inward appearance "of Jesus Christ."<sup>b</sup> The apostle adds, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels;" we enjoy it now whilst in these bodies of clay, "that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us."

This luminous and excellent power operates upon the humble thankful acceptor, so as to open an understanding of what he reads, both in Scripture and other experimental writings; often giving him to feel that concerning which he reads, and rendering it of improving effect to him. But he who rejects the means can never attain the end. He who refuses or flies from the light of life, when it offers itself to him by reproof and conviction; not believing it to be of God, nor receiving it as such, stops its operation, prevents it from opening itself to him, and enlarging in him. For the unbelieving heart shuts up its own way,<sup>c</sup> and therefore remains insensible of the internal power of the Saviour.

4. What man upon earth can say, he has not had convictions? Or, that he has had them without any sense of them? Who could have a sense of them, and not distinguish it from the efforts of his own reason; not distinguish the reprover from the reprov'd? Unfelt convictions are impossibilities. In what manner is the work of renovation known, without any perception of it in its progress? Did the apostle Paul so pathetically describe the painful states he had travelled through, and the opposite powers engaged within him, without ever having a certain sense of them? Or is the coolness of his head, and the soundness of his judgment now to be arraigned; and are his Christian experiences to be treated only as the issues of an enthusiastic or dis-tempered fancy?

How could any witness repentance unto life, remission of sins, and the times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, without an inward sense of them? Were all the cries, the pantings and thirstings after the divine presence, uttered by the sacred writers, without a sense of that want; and were all their triumphant rejoicings in the consolation of his presence, expressed under a total insensibility of it? Were the kindly fruits of the Spirit, and the comforts of the Holy Ghost unfelt by

<sup>a</sup> See a quotation from Sermons published under the ludicrous title of *Yoric's*, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1766.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. i. 21.    <sup>c</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 11.

<sup>a</sup> Col. ii. 3.    <sup>b</sup> 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7.    <sup>c</sup> Mat. xiii. 58. Mark vi. 5, 6.



those who enjoyed them? Who can affirm these absurdities? Where can such blind leaders bring their blind followers to? Those who turn their backs on the light must walk in darkness. It is the sole property of the Spirit of Christ, the light of men, to make true discoveries to the mind, both respecting itself and every thing else that concerns it. Hence he is rightly styled the Sun of righteousness; the same thing to the soul of man, that the sun in the firmament is to his body. The one is the light without, the other the light within; and therefore is properly so denominated.

5. It is the unbelieving unrenewed man, unacquainted with the effectual operation of this heavenly spirit, that unwittingly rejects and disparages it, and thereby contributes to keep both himself and others in blindness concerning it, and prejudice against it. "The natural man," saith the apostle, "receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."<sup>a</sup>

What! saith the mighty man of reason, must I put out my eyes in order to see? Must I lay aside and renounce my reason, to obtain a better understanding? It is impossible, absurd, and preposterous. Very true; and it is equally true, that no such absurdity is required. It is neither right reason, nor the proper use of man's reason, that is objected to and advised against. For right reason is truth, and is ever correspondent with the inward motions of the Spirit of Truth; and man's rational faculty is what renders him capable of receiving divine influence and instruction, without which it is impossible to conceive he could be a fit subject for it. But it evidently appears, from the various biasses and prepossessions men are generally under, the weakness and mutability of their understandings, and the innumerable and irreconcilable differences amongst them, especially the learned and leading part of mankind, that human reason is far from being always agreeable to right reason, which is unchangeably true. What is cautioned against therefore, is the setting up of human reason above its due place in religion, making it the leader instead of the follower of revelation, the teacher instead of the learner; and esteeming it vested with a kind of self-sufficiency, independent of the direction and help of God's Holy Spirit.

We are not required to lay aside our understandings, either in order to, or under the influences of the Spirit; but, as prudent and

docile scholars, to submit them to the necessary instruction and improvement of that infallible Master of infinite wisdom and knowledge, who is the universal teacher of his people;<sup>a</sup> that we may be enabled rightly to obey and worship him with the spirit, and with the understanding also.<sup>b</sup> The Spirit of God and a right understanding must infallibly concur.

As the light of the sun is so agreeably dispensed by the sovereign wisdom, that it doth not put out or blind men's eyes, but assists to the proper use of them; so the divine illumination and influence is administered by the same wisdom, in such due degrees, that it neither banishes man's reason, nor deprives it of its utility; but restores it to its full and proper use in religion, by dispelling the fogs of prejudice and passion, giving it a clear sense of duty, and furnishing ability to perform it. The holy men of God were not deprived of their understandings, when they spoke and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost,<sup>c</sup> but found them illuminated and highly improved by it. They were not used by the Spirit as senseless machines, nor remained as vegetables, imperceptive of the virtue arising in, and enlarging them. Their faculties were brightened, and raised to a higher pitch of usefulness, than could ever have been reached by them whilst unassisted by the power of divine grace. With good reason, therefore, hath one of the inspired writers given this necessary exhortation; "Trust in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not unto thine own understanding."<sup>d</sup> And he further saith, "He that trusteth in his own heart, is a fool."<sup>e</sup>

#### CHAPTER VII.

1. *Whence true religion ariseth.* 2. *How God is to be known according to the new covenant. Of whom the body or church of Christ is composed, and the life it enjoys.* 3. *Whence this life is received.* 4. *That which brings forth the new-birth must maintain it.* 5. *True religion always essentially the same. Exterior institutions only super-additions to lead the darkened and degenerate towards it.* 6. *Man has no pretension to merit, but through faithfulness, is graciously allowed a filial claim.* 7. *The nature of God's covenants with man.*

1. NOTWITHSTANDING too many are taught to imagine importance and efficacy, in mode,

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor ii. 14.

<sup>a</sup> Isa. liv. 13. Jer. xxxi. 34. John vi. 45. Heb. viii. 10, 11, and x. 16. <sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. xiv. 15. <sup>c</sup> 1 Peter i. 21. <sup>d</sup> Prov. iii. 5. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. xxviii. 26.



ceremony, sign and shadow, the mint, anise, and cummin of the legal dispensation; yet it is certain, that in "Jesus Christ, neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love."<sup>a</sup> Neither the practice, nor disuse of forms and rituals, are of any avail with God. But the first may more than unprofitably busy their practisers, if they are so dangerously deceived as to place confidence either in their own performances, or those of their leaders. The religion of the true Christian consisteth not in form, but in substance; and ariseth not from the activity of human reason, imagination, or opinion, but from an heart-felt sensation of divine love in the light of life. Its foundation is no less than the immediate administration of God's Holy Spirit to the spirit of man. This shows unto man what his thoughts are;<sup>b</sup> what himself, and what the Lord is, so far as properly concerns him. It opens the understanding and directs the duty of the obedient; "for the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps."<sup>c</sup> It is the light of the Lamb which showeth the way of salvation; the one great light appointed to rule the day or spiritual dispensation of Christianity; wherein the nations of them which are saved must walk.<sup>d</sup>

2. Men in their natural state may, by reading and study, collect abundance of notions concerning the Supreme Being; but as light discovers all things, yet cannot be really known but by its own appearance; so God, who, in the most perfect and superlative sense, is light,<sup>e</sup> can only be truly known by his own immediate manifestation. What is ordinarily called the knowledge of God,<sup>f</sup> is but a series of apprehensions concerning his essence, his attributes, and his providence; but what our Saviour called so, is the real experimental sense of his life. "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Truly to know him, is to participate of the quickening sense of his life, through the communicated influence of his eternal Spirit. Thus to know him, is to partake of the new covenant, or true gospel dispensation; for therein it is declared, "They shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them."<sup>g</sup> Accordingly the living Christian has a certain sense of divine life in his own breast, which affords him instruction, strength and comfort, in such a manner, as he waits in faithfulness upon it, that he is under no absolute necessity to lean upon the teachings of other men; yet when they come

in a degree of the same life, he accepts them as instrumentally from God.

This life of God in Christ is the very soul of Christianity; without which the best forms and highest professions are but as members of a dead body, unavailable and unacceptable. "He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life."<sup>a</sup> "Because I live," saith he, "ye shall live also. At that day, ye shall know, that I am in my Father, and you in me, and I in you."<sup>b</sup> It is because he lives in, and communicates of his life to his spiritual followers, that they live also. Of these the true church, the adopted body of Christ under all denominations is composed. These alone are his peculiar heritage or clergy. This ecclesiastical body of Christ, is a living body, rendered such by the inspiration of his life. He is the life common to all his true members,<sup>c</sup> By his vital influence he communicates a living sense of truth to them, inclines them to himself, and inspires them both with the desire and power of obedience; and as they advance in faithfulness, he favours them with increasing tastes of divine grace and love, the savour of the holy unction, and the indwelling virtue and glory of his heavenly presence. "There is one body, and one spirit."<sup>d</sup> Was there not one and the same spirit throughout the whole church, it could not be one body, nor a living body. "Non potest vivere corpus Christi nisi de spiritu Christi,"<sup>e</sup> saith Augustine; the body of Christ cannot live but by the spirit of Christ. He who partakes not of the same spirit with the head, is no true member of the body. His spiritual influence is the precious blood or spring of life which renders all his members living, and what gives life gives a sense of that life; but though their life is most surely known to themselves, it is hid with Christ in God,<sup>f</sup> from the knowledge of those who remain unquickened by it; and hence ariseth all their opposition to it.

3. We are all by nature strangers to this divine life, and we cannot by any means obtain it for ourselves. It is not of man's acquirement, but God's communication; and as far out of the reach of the most learned, as of the most illiterate. It is hid from the wise and prudent, in their own eyes, and revealed to those who are as babes, to the world's wisdom. It is not the high learned, but the humble that God teaches, and the meek that he guides in the paths of truth and judgment. Every one's eye therefore ought to be humbly to God alone, and not to be fixed upon the

<sup>a</sup> Gal. v. 6. <sup>b</sup> Amos iv. 13. <sup>c</sup> Jer. x. 23. <sup>d</sup> Rev. xxi. 14. <sup>e</sup> John i. 5. <sup>f</sup> John xvii. 3. <sup>g</sup> Jer. xxxi. 34.

<sup>a</sup> 1 John v. 12. <sup>b</sup> John xiv. 19, 20. <sup>c</sup> Col. iii. 4. <sup>d</sup> Eph. iv. 4. <sup>e</sup> In Joh. Tract. 26. <sup>f</sup> Col. iii. 3.



wise, the scribe, the disputer of this world; for God hath, by the powerful simplicity and purity of his gospel dispensation, made foolish the wisdom of this world.<sup>a</sup> Yet so fond is the world of its own wisdom, that it has in great measure detruded the cross of Christ, and true spiritual religion, and erected and supported this idol in its room. After this image the world has wondered; and indeed it hath been a means wonderfully to blind, ensnare and deceive its worshippers, whose faith stands in the wisdom of men, and not in the power of God,<sup>b</sup> and is therefore the reverse of the faith of the gospel.

4. From a due consideration of the debased and corrupt state of mankind, since the fall, and of the great and good end of their creation, it must evidently appear, that regeneration hath ever been the one thing needful; a work essential for all to experience. And as the birth of the spirit cannot be brought forth by any thing but the spirit, so it must also be preserved in its growth and accomplishment by the spirit. Hence the abiding, or indwelling of the spirit, remains to be of absolute necessity to the regenerate; that as their souls are quickened into the divine life by it, they may continue to live, move, and have their being as Christians therein, and be sustained in a spiritual union, and blessed communion with their Maker.

5. The essentiality of true religion hath ever been the same, primarily consisting in the life of God being raised up, and the love of God shed abroad in the heart, operating therein to its renovation, and to every virtuous and benevolent end. Whatever of externals or ceremonials have, at sundry times, been super-added by divine direction or command, were not intended to alter, or unsettle men from due and constant attention to vital, spiritual religion; but when they were become greatly degenerated from it, and darkened concerning it, the merciful Creator was pleased, by means suited to their estranged and carnal condition, to point it out to them, and lead them by signs and symbols towards it. Thus the Mosaic law was not meant to be the whole of religion to the Israelites,<sup>c</sup> or to supercede the internal religion of grace; but only to be as a schoolmaster to bring them to Christ in spirit, in whom all is included and fulfilled, and whose presence was then with the faithful amongst them, who had spiritual communion with him; for, according to Scripture, "they did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them; and that rock was Christ."<sup>d</sup>

It is a vain thing to imagine, that religion ever wholly consisted in mode or form; or that the all-perfect Lord at any time dispensed with the substance for the sake of the shadow; ever made any alteration therein, by diversity of institutions, from arbitrary will and pleasure, merely to exercise his sovereignty, as though power was a darling attribute, and more regarded by him than wisdom, righteousness and goodness; or as though the attributes could be divided in him. No; he is God and changeth not. His law is his own spirit of eternal rectitude, and his retribution according to every man's state and works. The different modifications that have appeared amongst men in point of religion, have been occasioned by the different alterations in the conditions of mankind. The all-wise God hath directed some for a time, in condescension, for the good end above-mentioned; and divers combinations of men have invented and enjoined abundance more, according to their own carnal misapprehensions of spiritual things, or to advance their own sinister purposes.

Exterior forms are but temporary matters. They are not essentials of true Christianity. The great Author of it represents it as a well of water in man springing up into everlasting life.<sup>e</sup> It radically ariseth from a living, abiding, increasing spirit in man, of a pure, and heavenly nature. As this is cordially embraced, it enlarges in the soul, expels the works and power of darkness, and produceth its own genuine fruits of humility, self-denial, patience, resignation to God, and trust in him alone; righteousness, holiness, meekness, gentleness, temperance, goodness, brotherly-kindness, charity. It derives its origin from heaven, and leads to heaven. It carries the soul out of all formalities and false rests, up to the Supreme good himself. It breaks down all our own self-will, and brings into perfect resignation to the divine will. In this humble contrited frame, and no other, can we sincerely and truly say, thy kingdom come! thy will be done! For whilst our wills stand in separation from the will of God, we cannot address him in these terms with propriety; or in spirit and truth.

6. The pride of man is naturally averse to this abased and broken situation. It knows not how to submit to be, or to think itself, nothing; though it is worse than nothing. It would fain erect and plume itself upon some importance, some estimation, or deserving of its own; yet all its pretences to merit are false and vain. Man being nothing as such,

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. i. 20. <sup>b</sup> Cor. ii. 5. <sup>c</sup> Gal. iii. 24. <sup>d</sup> 1 Cor. x. 3, 4.

<sup>e</sup> John iv. 14.



but what God has made him, and possessing nothing but what he affords him, is wholly God's, and not his own; and is therefore in duty bound to walk in obedience to him, every moment of his life, which is given him for that end. And seeing man has fallen short of his duty, and hath sinned against his Sovereign by disobedience, it is neither in his power, by any thing he can perform, to merit heaven, nor to purchase remission for himself. He can neither undo what he has misdone, nor render to his Maker an equivalent for the trespasses he hath committed against him. But such is the merciful goodness, and free grace of God towards his helpless creatures, that he offers both forgiveness and felicity upon the most reasonable terms of repentance and amendment. To the willing and obedient, to him who is faithful unto death, to him that overcometh, through divine assistance, are the promises of eternal life. Upon the foundation of these free and voluntary offers of the divine goodness, and man's compliance with the conditions, stands his title. "Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter in through the gates into the city."<sup>a</sup>

7. The laws and requisitions of God to man are in Scripture often styled covenants. Not meaning that man has personally bound himself, on his part to perform the conditions, but that he is really in duty as deeply obliged, and as firmly bound to do the will of his Creator, as if he had voluntarily bound himself in the strongest obligations possible. The reason is, man owes his very being, and all the good he receives, spiritual and temporal, to his Maker, to whom he stands indebted for all, and who therefore hath an unquestionable right to claim all affection, gratitude, and obedience from him; and more especially as it is all for his own everlasting advantage. There is also an internal spiritual covenant, a divine connection, which the heart of man feels, in his faithfulness to his Creator. The spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which sets free from the bonds of sin and death, and unites the soul to its Saviour, in the powerful covenant of divine love. By this, through faith, it becomes engrafted into Christ; and by obedience it remains in him as a branch in the vine; or is incorporated with him as its head; for "he that is joined unto the Lord is one spirit."<sup>b</sup> Of this vital union regenerate souls have a certain sense, in proportion to their progress. "Hereby know we that we dwell in him, and he in us, because he hath given us of his spirit."<sup>c</sup>—"Hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the spirit which he

hath given us."<sup>a</sup> Hence it is clear, that the gift of the spirit communicates this intelligence.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

1. *Religion the same both to the learned and unlearned.—The Holy Spirit requisite to every man, as the universal reformer.* 2. *It was such to the Israelites, and,* 3. *The best part of their divine legation.* 4. *Why statutes of an outward and temporary nature were added.* 5. *They are taught to look through them to Christ, of whose spirit they partook.* 6. *But it was not dispensed to them in that degree of purity and splendour with which it broke forth at the Christian era.* 7. *How this was witnessed to by the law.* 8. *How by the prophets.* 9. *The Spirit was in all ages administered, and the truly humble favoured with its indwelling.*

1. RELIGION here, and salvation hereafter, are as much the concern and duty of the illiterate and ignorant, as of the wise and learned. And as those are by much the greater number, religious duty must undoubtedly consist in something equally attainable and practicable by all; for God is no respecter of persons. It cannot lie essentially in literal knowledge, nor in any peculiar mode of education; for these are the lot of few, in comparison of the whole of mankind. Happiness being the end of man's creation, and the universal indispensable concern of every man, the effective means of regeneration and salvation must be attainable by every man. Nothing but the omnipresent and all-effective Spirit of God can be this means; for nothing else is universal, nor any way adequate to the work. The Spirit of God therefore, being necessary to every man, is afforded to every man, by him who withholds nothing necessary.

This holy operative spirit, Solomon, under its influence, with great propriety, styles wisdom, and represents it, in familiar language, as calling upon mankind, to turn at its reproofs,<sup>b</sup> with a promise, to pour out its spirit unto them. He also impleads those as fools who reject or slight its reproofs or convictions in their consciences; by which he shows, it accompanies them even in the streets and places of concourse.<sup>c</sup> Recounting the great works of this spirit of wisdom, he elsewhere testifies, "She preserved the first formed father of the world, that was created alone, and brought him out of his fall."<sup>d</sup> She was not only his preserver before his fall, but his re-quickener and restorer out of that death, which he through transgression fell

<sup>a</sup> Rev. xxii. 14.    <sup>1</sup> Cor. vi. 17.    <sup>1</sup> John iv. 13.

<sup>a</sup> 1 John iii. 24.    <sup>b</sup> Prov. i.    <sup>c</sup> Verso 20, 21.    <sup>d</sup> Wisd. x. 1.



into; and seeing the whole rational progeny of Adam are naturally under the like necessity of being born of the spirit, its administration is offered to all, in due degrees; and every individual in all ages, who has experienced the new birth, by which right reformation is wrought, has known it to be effected by the operation of the spirit. This the wise author above cited witnesseth, in his acknowledgment to Almighty goodness; when he saith, "Thy council who hath known, except thou give wisdom, and send thy Holy Spirit from above? For so the ways of them who lived on the earth were reformed, and men were taught the things that are pleasing unto thee, and were saved through wisdom."<sup>a</sup>

2. Evident tokens of internal religion, and the immediate manifestations of the spirit for that end, appear throughout both the Old Testament and the New. Before the flood, the old world was favoured with the manifestation of the Holy Spirit, as it is implied, Gen. vi. 3. "My spirit shall not always strive with," or rather in, "man." For so Hebrews say it ought to be rendered. And indeed, where could the spirit so properly strive as in the soul of man, where the seat of corruption is, and to which the suggestions of evil are applied? And to what end should it strive with them, but to bring them to repentance and reformation, and to become, through their obedience, the kingdom, or ruling power of God in them.

Renovation of heart by the Holy Spirit and its genuine fruits of repentance towards God, faith in him, and obedience to him, was the principal and essential part of religion also among the Israelites. Deut. xxx. 10. Moses represents the conditions on the performance of which they should be entitled to the promises. "If thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes, which are written in this book of the law, and if thou turn unto the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy soul." These are the terms; first, that they should keep the law; this was the external and legal part of their duty. Second, that they should turn their whole hearts and souls to God; this was the internal and evangelical part. He leaves them not here in a state of uncertainty, but proceeds to show them to what their inward attention should be turned. "For," saith he, "this commandment which I command thee this day," or this which I command thee to turn thine heart unto, "is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven that thou shouldst say, who shall go up for

us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it! Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say, who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it and do it, but the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it."<sup>a</sup> The apostle assumes and explains this passage, Rom. x. 6, 7, 8. "The righteousness which is of faith speaketh on this wise, "Say not in thine heart, who shall ascend into heaven? that is to bring Christ down from above. Or, who shall descend into the deep? that is to bring up Christ again from the dead. But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart. That is, the word of faith which we preach."

By this explanation of the apostle, it appears; 1st, that, besides the law, Moses then preached to Israel the same word of faith, which himself and his evangelical brethren did. 2nd, That this Word is Christ in spirit, calling for attention and obedience in the heart, or conscience of man, in order to effect his restoration and salvation. 3rd, This is not a local, or temporary, but an inward visitation of the Saviour of mankind, by his spirit in the heart.

The word of faith is the word of truth, the word of the everlasting gospel; and not a composition of letters. The term word, like many other words, is used in various senses; as a speech or saying, an engagement, a report, a command, an exhortation, an instruction, &c., because these are composed of words. And as men use to convey their sense to one another by words, so God conveys his to men by Christ, who is peculiarly and emphatically styled in Scripture the Word of God;<sup>b</sup> and as the way men receive words from the mouths of one another is by hearing, so the manner by which the soul receives internal instruction, reproof, &c., from the Holy Spirit, is metaphorically called hearing. Thus faith, which is the gift of God, is said to come by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God.<sup>c</sup> That is, I apprehend, the internal sense itself is opened in the soul, as well as subjects communicated by the spirit of Christ.

3. Hence we see, the Divine legation to the Jews, consisted not in the outward written law only. Nor were they kept in ignorance of inward spiritual religion, or of a future state of rewards and punishments. For, if so, to what purpose did Moses press the consideration of their latter end upon them with so much fervency? "O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would

<sup>a</sup> Wisd. ix. 17, 18.

<sup>a</sup> Wisd. ix. 11. &c. <sup>b</sup> John 1. and Rev. xix. 13. <sup>c</sup> Rom. x. 17.



consider their latter end!"<sup>a</sup> What material consideration should their latter end, or time of death, be of, to such as know no better but that it would be the period of their existence? Or, why should he command their attention to the living word of faith, Christ in the heart, as well as to the written code? He was an eminently inspired prophet, and well knew that salvation is by Christ alone; and that his inward spiritual law is as preferable to the exterior one, as the substance is to the shadow. Obedience to the outward temporal law, had outward and temporal promises; but obedience to the inward spiritual law, hath promises of an internal and eternal nature. By the works of the first no man could be justified; but by the operation of the last, sanctification is wrought, and salvation experienced. Moses was a type of Christ, and the temporal law with its temporal rewards, a type of the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, and its eternal recompense.

4. But it may be queried; if the spiritual law was always afforded, what occasion was there for the addition of temporal statutes? Answ. The Israelites by living under servitude to a most superstitious and idolatrous people, were become prone to superstition and idolatry themselves; "They were mingled among the heathen," saith the Psalmist, "and learned their works; and they served their idols, which were a snare unto them."<sup>b</sup> Out of this idolatry they were to be brought, and by their obedience to the only true God, were to become an example to the nations round them, to influence their return likewise. Though all had the word nigh in the heart, yet having lost the right sense of what it is, the law was added because of their transgression and corruption, till the coming of Christ in the flesh.<sup>c</sup>

Seeing their habitual attachment to the forms and superstitions of paganism, was too strong to admit of their being willingly and clearly brought out of them at once, divine wisdom condescended to meet them in the state they were in, and to proceed gradually with them, by allowing them some forms and ceremonies like to those they had been inured to; but more regular and significant. The Supreme Lord of the universe first observes to them: "I am the Lord thy God which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage," and then commands, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me."<sup>d</sup> Thus he draws their attention off from the idols of the heathen, and places it wholly upon himself, as the sole object of their ado-

ration and obedience. And to give one instance for all; as the heathens, whose manners they had imbibed, were accustomed to swear by their false gods, he did not see fit to prohibit all solemn oaths at once, but confined them to swear by himself alone, exclusive of the pagan idols; not requiring the perfect practice of the Christian precept, swear not at all, neither by heaven, nor by the earth, nor by any other oath, of them, whilst not in a Christian state, nor under its clear dispensation; but only entering them into the path appointed for them towards it, and to prepare the way for its establishment. Thus he made the law a temporary expedient, to bring them gradually towards the practice of that perfect religion, he intended in due season to introduce, and to set up in its purity, for all men to come into, and to walk in.

5. In the mean time, the sovereign wisdom was pleased to sound an alarm, and set up an ensign to the rest of mankind, amongst the descendants of Israel. He wrought wonders for their deliverance and support; and besides many excellent moral precepts, dispensed to them a form of knowledge and of the truth in the law;<sup>a</sup> symbolically denoting the nature and manner of redemption and salvation through his Son, by many significant types, allegories, and similitudes, accommodated to the religious modes and apprehensions they had espoused; which, though semblances of a distant, because of an exterior kind, yet were intended, and wisely adapted to be to the superstitiously disposed, as a schoolmaster<sup>b</sup> to lead them gradually to Christ. That is, to the knowledge of Christ; then to come outwardly as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of mankind, and also to the knowledge of Christ within, the hope of glory, as the actual sanctifier and Saviour of men. For though they were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud,<sup>c</sup> or dipped into his exterior dispensation as under a veil; yet the spiritually-minded amongst them were enabled to penetrate through the veil to the internal reality, and "did," as before observed, "all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink; for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ."<sup>d</sup>

Still further to assist them, divine goodness at times inspired divers of the most regenerate, and most devoted of both sexes with the spirit of prophecy; and engaged them to preach the necessity of righteousness and holiness to them; and to direct their view, through the figures and outward similitudes

<sup>a</sup> Deut. xxxii. 29. <sup>b</sup> Psal. cvi. 35, 36. <sup>c</sup> Gal. iii. 19  
<sup>d</sup> Exod. xx.

<sup>a</sup> Rom. ii. 20. <sup>b</sup> Gal. iii. 24. <sup>c</sup> 1 Cor. x. 2. <sup>d</sup> 1 Cor. x. 2, 3, 4.



of the ceremonial law, to the truth signified by them, and plainly to instruct them in, and exhort them to inward and spiritual religion; which was the ultimate intent of the Mosaic, and every other dispensation of God to mankind. For the rituals of the law were not instituted to supercede, but to serve, as an index to the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus.

6. I do not apprehend that the mystery of godliness, and its internal life and virtue, was ever intended by divine wisdom to be concealed from mankind; but was always held forth, though sometimes obscurely under typical forms; on account of the numbers of degenerate minds, who were too much prepossessed and darkened, to behold the splendor of the gospel in its clear manifestation. For, throughout all generations, to as many as rightly received Christ, he gave power to become the sons of God;<sup>a</sup> yet the spiritual powerful gospel of our Lord, was not so publicly promulgated, without some kind of ceremonial shadows, till the full display of the Christian dispensation, at the time of the Jewish feast of Pentecost; when the disciples, waiting together in obedience to the command of Christ, were, according to his promise, baptized with his one true permanent baptism; that of the Holy Ghost, which fulfills and supercedes all other baptisms, and remains the standing ordinance of God to his church forever. Then by revelation was the mystery conspicuously and powerfully disclosed; "which," saith the apostle, "in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as," or in the same degree "it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets, by the spirit; that the gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel."<sup>b</sup> "For now the righteousness of God without the law, is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets."<sup>c</sup>

7. The law witnessed to the gospel; 1st, by its various offerings and sacrifices; pointing out, and keeping in remembrance, that the Messiah should come in the flesh, in order "to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself."<sup>d</sup> This was the real use of the sin and trespass offerings; for, "It is not possible, that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins."<sup>e</sup> No; they had reference to the precious blood of Christ, both corporeal and spiritual; who, "by one offering, hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified,"<sup>f</sup> thereby putting a final period to the legal sacrifices. 2nd, The law witnessed to the gospel, by its

divers sprinklings, washings and purifications, which had no more efficacy towards the removal of sin and guilt, than the blood of bulls and goats; but must be understood to denote the necessity of real holiness, and to signify the spiritual administration of Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us, not only from guilt and condemnation, but also from all iniquity, the cause of them; and purify unto himself a peculiar, or sanctified people, zealous of good works.<sup>g</sup> This he doth by the washing of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.<sup>h</sup>

8. The prophets witnessed to the gospel, 1st, by their predictive declarations concerning the coming, sufferings, and offices of the Messiah. 2nd, By instructing the people in the necessity of internal, essential, effectual religion, in preference to the written law, even during the time that stood in force; as that weightier part and superior duty, which ever necessarily remains throughout all generations.

Samuel saith, "To obey is better than sacrifice."<sup>i</sup> Hosea, "I desired mercy, and not sacrifice," or not in comparison with it, "and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings."<sup>j</sup> David acknowledges to the Lord, "Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it: thou delightest not in burnt-offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."<sup>k</sup> In his pathetic address to the Almighty, verse 6, he saith, "Thou desirest truth in the inward parts;" and verse 10, he prays, "Create in me a clean heart, and renew a right spirit within me." Micah queries, "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?"<sup>l</sup> And then answers; "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"<sup>m</sup> Moses exhorteth the children of Israel, to circumcise the foreskin of their heart; and told them, "The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul."<sup>n</sup> Here he showed them, though they had received the sign of circumcision,<sup>i</sup> the reality most required was that of the heart in the spirit; which is the work of regeneration, the Christian circumcision of the apostle; who asserts, "He is not a Jew who is one outwardly, nei-

<sup>a</sup> John i. 12. <sup>b</sup> Eph. iii. 5. 6. <sup>c</sup> Rom. iii. 21. <sup>d</sup> Heb. ix. 26. <sup>e</sup> Ibid. x. 4. <sup>f</sup> Heb. x. 14.

<sup>g</sup> Tit. ii. 14. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. iii. 5. <sup>i</sup> 1 Sam. xv. 22. <sup>j</sup> Hos. vi. 6. <sup>k</sup> Psal. li. 16, 17. <sup>l</sup> Micah vi. 7, 8. <sup>m</sup> Deut. x. 16. <sup>n</sup> Ibid. xxx. 6. <sup>o</sup> Rom. iv. 11.



ther is that circumcision which is of the flesh; but he is a Jew who is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter."<sup>a</sup> He also observes to the Colossians; that in Christ they were circumcised, "with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ."<sup>b</sup>

That the necessity of the knowledge and love of God, and of a change from sin to holiness, by the internal circumcision of the spirit, was both taught and pressed upon the Jews, as that without which the observance of the law would little avail them. Nay, the prophet Isaiah<sup>c</sup> plainly shows, that the latter without the former, rendered the practice of it, though divinely instituted, abominable even to its institutor.

9. Regeneration, or the circumcision of the heart in the spirit, being always required, the spirit by which alone it is wrought, must have been always dispensed to mankind for that end. This is the gracious gift of the Father Almighty, through the Redeemer; to whom the Psalmist saith, "Thou hast ascended on high; thou hast led captivity captive; thou hast received gifts for men; yea for the rebellious also; that the Lord God might dwell among them."<sup>d</sup> This was the blessed experience of those that humbled themselves under his mighty hand, "For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy; I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit; to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones."<sup>e</sup>

## CHAPTER IX.

1. *The Mosaic law a new form of Theocracy, therefore introduced by miraculous appearances. The abolition of the law, and the setting up of the gospel in its genuine purity, was necessarily attended with equal demonstration of the like wonderful powers.* 2. *All the primitive ministers had the spirit, but their gifts were different. All were not workers of miracles, therefore these were extra powers, not essential to an inspired ministry. Inspiration always requisite to true ministry; but miracles not.* 3 and 4. *Miracles were temporary sanctions requisite to the abolition of the law and institution of the gospel, but not essential to be continued for its support. Yet under all dispensations, at times were occa-*

*sionally wrought. The want of them no proof a minister is not inspired.* 5. *The institution of Christianity once confirmed by them, the future promulgation of its doctrine stands not in need of their continued repetition. The excellency of the gospel consists in its being a ministration of the spirit, clear of all exterior signs and shadows.* 6. *True Christians are baptised by one spirit into one body.* 7. *The primitives not opened at once into the perfect clearness of the gospel, but gradually enlightened.* 8. *Hence many professors to this day, mistake the first initiatory mixture for the complete state of Christianity.* 9. *This consists in the total removal of outward signs and shadows, and the clear shining of the Sun of Righteousness itself. The vanity of superceding this by human learning.*

1. AFTER the wonders of creation and providence were displayed, in producing and establishing the stupendous system of external nature, its great Author was pleased, at distant periods, to show forth the visible effects of his miraculous power amongst the sons of men; but when the time came wherein he saw fit to recall the degenerate world from the corruptions it was immersed in, by a public assumption and manifestation of his own just dominion amongst a people chosen for that purpose, he raised up the children of Israel as an exemplar to the rest of mankind. He brought them out of their Egyptian bondage by an high hand, and through many admirable strokes of his power; and upon his institution of the Mosaic law; which being the introduction of a new form of Theocracy, unknown to the world, it was requisite it should be attended by such extraordinary marks of Divine authority, as might be sufficient to authenticate and enforce it, as coming from himself. He therefore, on that great occasion, appeared to the Israelites in a manner answerable to his Almighty sovereignty; and also to the nature and solemnity of that law; which being a ministration of condemnation, was ushered in by the most dreadful and astonishing tokens of terror; with thunderings and lightnings, blackness, darkness, and tempest; the mountain flaming with fire, the alarming sound of the trumpet waxing louder and louder, and the voice of words so terrible, that not only the people, but the whole mountain quaked exceedingly. This being an obvious, and most solemn act of the Supreme Legislator of the universe, no less authority than his own, could either abolish or alter it: and when the period arrived wherein he saw fit to set aside and supercede this law of outward and carnal ordinances,

<sup>a</sup> Rom. ii. 28, 29. <sup>b</sup> Col. ii. 11. <sup>c</sup> Isa. i. 11 to 19. and chap. lxvi. 3, 4. <sup>d</sup> Psal. lxxviii. 18. <sup>e</sup> Isa. lvii. 15.



by bringing forward into full view and sole obligation, the substance pointed to by it, his spiritual and more excellent covenant; it was necessary that it should appear to be done by clear demonstrations of the same sovereign authority, in as public a manner, and at the most proper season for it. Accordingly, the gracious dispensation of the gospel was introduced by evidences of divine authority equally extraordinary, and equally suited to its placid and salutary nature.

Besides the numerous predictions of the prophets concerning the Messiah, the advent of his forerunner the Baptist, and the miraculous conception of our Saviour by the blessed virgin; witness the many wonderful works he performed, the unaccountable darkness, and the rending of the veil of the temple throughout from top to bottom, upon his giving up the ghost; denoting the separation, conclusion, and passing away of all sign and ceremony, and the disclosure of the substance in spirit and truth; his astonishing resurrection, and that of the bodies of buried saints which arose and went into the city; and his visible ascension, attended with the glorious ministration of angels. After all this, at the time of the Jewish feast of Pentecost, annually observed in memorial of the giving forth of the law on Mount Sinai, the apostles and disciples, male and female, being assembled together according to the Lord's command, the Holy Spirit gave a two-fold demonstration of its advent, as the administrative power of the Christian dispensation, then to commence without any mixture of a legal or shadowy nature; first, by the appearance of cloven tongues, as of fire, which sate upon each of them. Second, by filling their hearts with the Holy Ghost,<sup>a</sup> to such a degree that they began to speak with other tongues, or in other languages besides their own, as the spirit gave them utterance. Endued with heavenly wisdom and power, and inflamed with divine love and fervour, they were now qualified to put in practice the commission before given, in a verbal manner, by the great Lord and lawgiver. To divers of them were likewise added, the miraculous powers of healing all manner of diseases; the dumb were made to speak, the deaf to hear, the lame to walk, the blind to see; demoniacs were dispossessed, and the dead were raised and restored to life.

2. But these extraordinary powers were neither conferred upon all, nor confined to the apostles only; yet a measure of the same spirit was communicated to every one of them, women as well as men; otherwise Peter's application of the prophecy of Joel had not been

true. They were all filled with the Holy Ghost, but differently gifted and qualified by it, for different services, according to the will and wisdom of the great Dispenser. "To one is given by the spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same spirit; to another faith by the same spirit; to another the gift of healing by the same spirit; to another the working of miracles by the same spirit; to another prophecy; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues. But all these worketh that one and the self same spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will."<sup>a</sup>

Hence it appears, that what are commonly called miracles, are not necessary or essential to divine inspiration, but only adjunctive operations of the spirit thereto, which have been occasionally superadded; and therefore may either totally cease, when the occasions for which they were added are over, or continue to be used as it shall appear requisite to Divine wisdom. When therefore the gospel was so far spread and established in the parts then intended, that the end for which those extraordinary powers were afforded was answered, they were gradually withdrawn from the church; which was left, in the general, upon its proper and permanent bottom, the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit. No necessity, therefore, can be pleaded for the constant continuance of miraculous powers, or such a spirit of prophecy as signifies a peculiar gift of foretelling future events; but only of those supernatural influences which are requisite to enlighten, quicken, regenerate, sanctify, bring forth the fruits of the spirit in man, enable him to fill up his duty, and finally prepare him for a celestial mansion. These are indispensably necessary to be continued. They are of moral consideration, and immediately influential to the preparation and salvation of every man, which miracle and prediction are not.

3. Notwithstanding manifest appearances of extraordinary power were added, both to the introduction of the law, and that of the gospel, they are not to be considered as parts of either, but as sanctions requisite to their institution; so I believe, some divine exertions of a miraculous nature have been evidenced, at times, under both administrations, as well as before them; either for the conviction of doubtful persons, or to give additional weight and authority to the ministry of some inspired servants of God, amongst those present with them, or to encourage and confirm them in their service. Though I doubt not

<sup>a</sup> Acts ii.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. x. ii. 8, &c.



but this hath sometimes been the case since the first century, and may remain to be so to the end of time, for neither the power nor goodness of the Almighty is shortened; yet I am also of opinion, that miraculous appearances have been less public, and more sparingly afforded since the first century than before it; which may be in part owing to the declension of the professing churches. I also believe, according to the prophetic declarations of the apostles, that under the declined and darkened state of both teachers and hearers, many strange signs and lying wonders have been, and still may be, suffered to be imposed upon the credulity of a disobedient people by false pretenders, for the support of a corrupt interest and the aggrandisement of the conductors. Undoubtedly, those mysterious delusions have been abundantly more numerous for many centuries past, than the exertions of divine power in an extraordinary way.

4. The continuation of exterior miracles is not essential to the ministration of the gospel; for was it so, Christianity could not subsist without them. Yet, though they are not of absolute necessity thereunto, they may be occasionally used, or not, as the sovereign wisdom sees meet. But that they are still constantly, or periodically continued in any particular church, as a peculiar mark of its being the only true church of Christ, above all others, I find no warrant to believe. Pretensions of this kind, naturally put thinking minds upon looking for a superior excellency in the doctrines and practices of such a church; and when they find it abound in superstition and pomp, coercive imposition, proud hierarchy, craft, lucre, and idolatry, even bordering upon polytheism; for what else is the adoration of saints and sinners under that title, by attributing to them a kind of omnipresence and influence in the court of heaven? When they find these, and other monstrous absurdities in the established doctrines of such a church, instead of the simplicity, purity, humility, love, and life of the gospel; what can they conclude of those pretensions, but that they are the deceitful juggles of imposture, and the legends of folly? The very ends most of them are calculated to answer, sufficiently evidence their falsehood, and show, whatever they are, that they are not divine.

It doth not appear, that in the primitive age of Christianity, those who were sometimes attended with miraculous powers, were always so accompanied in their ministry; nor that all inspired ministers were ever enabled to work miracles in the sight of the people. Seeing therefore it is evident that these extraordinary powers are not essential to an inspired minis-

try, they are not the necessary proofs of it; nor the want of them an argument that a minister is not inspired. But though these are not essential to Christianity, immediate inspiration is constitutionally so. The excellency of the gospel dispensation is, that it is not a mixture of sign and substance, as that of the Jews was, nor a temporary, but a standing ministration of the spirit.

5. Seeing no further change of dispensations is ever to be made, nor any other doctrine to be preached, but that of our Saviour and his apostles; which, upon its commencement, received a miraculous confirmation sufficient for its lasting establishment, people are not now to expect or call for miracles from those who preach the Christian doctrine; but to turn to, and attend upon, that divine Spirit pointed out in the Scriptures, as manifested in the breast of each individual, the ministration of Christ in spirit. This will give the sincere and humble receiver more clear and particular demonstration, than outward signs and tokens could do; for the powers whence these proceed may be disputed, but the internal evidence of the light of Christ, the life of men, as rightly waited for and adhered to, leaves no doubt in the mind concerning its divine nature and authority. Hence R. Barclay asserts, in the words of the primitive protestants, there is no need now of outward miracles to avouch the doctrines of the gospel; yet acknowledges, that some did appear upon its revival in the last century. But to return.

The apostle, 2 Cor. iii. shows that the ministration of the gospel far excels that of the law, and that its excellency stands in its spirituality. Having spoken of the law, verse 7, he subjoins, "How shall not the ministration of the spirit be rather glorious? For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of righteousness exceed in glory. For even that which was made glorious, had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory which excelleth. For if that which was done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious."<sup>a</sup> Why is the gospel thus supereminent above the law, seeing that was a divine institution? Principally, because it is not an outward code as the law was, but an inward law of life,<sup>b</sup> "written, not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart; and because it makes able ministers, not of the letter, but of the spirit; for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life."<sup>c</sup>

No man can be a true Christian without

<sup>a</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 8, 9, 10, 11. <sup>b</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 3. <sup>c</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 6.



the spirit of Christ; for, "If any man hath not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his."<sup>a</sup>

Every Christian ought to experience the indwelling of the spirit. "Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own."<sup>b</sup>

It is requisite to every Christian, that he should know the spirit to be his guide and leader; for, only "as many as are led by the spirit of God, are the sons of God."<sup>c</sup>

No man can be a sheep of Christ without a distinguishing sense of the spirit of Christ. "I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine." "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me." "The sheep follow him, for they know his voice, and a stranger they will not follow."<sup>d</sup> The voice of Christ is the manifestation of his spirit to the soul.

Without being born again of the spirit, no man can enter the kingdom of God,<sup>e</sup> and without the spirit, no man can be born of it; consequently the spirit is altogether as requisite to us as it could be to the primitives. It is no more in our ability to regenerate and prepare ourselves for the kingdom, than it was in theirs. No powers, natural or acquired, in our unregenerate state, are sufficient for so great a purpose; and to enable us truly to say, with the people of God in former times, "Lord, thou wilt ordain peace for us; for thou hast wrought all our works in us."<sup>f</sup>

Without the spirit, no man can be a minister of the spirit. The apostolic direction is, "As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God; if any man minister, let him do it as of the ability which God giveth; that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ."<sup>g</sup>

6. Every true believer and faithful follower of Christ, in the apostolic age, received a portion of the same holy Spirit which the prophets and apostles did, though in less degrees; "for," saith Paul, "by one spirit are we all baptised into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one spirit."<sup>h</sup> This one spirit rendered them one body, and joined them to the one living head. "There is one body and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all."<sup>i</sup> Thus, according to the several

measures allotted them, they were all partakers of the same holy Spirit; and as it was then, so it is now, and ever must be in the true spiritual universal church of Christ.

7. The gospel sun arose in great splendor; yet it appeared not in its full meridian at once, to any. The openings of truth in the minds of the primitive Christians, apostles as well as others, were gradual. As they advanced forward in the new nature, they saw further and further. For a time, they occasionally circumcised, entered into vows, anointed with oil, baptised with John's baptism; all of which were of an external and legal nature. Nay, at first, they perceived not that the Holy Ghost was to be given to Gentiles as well as Jews; though Joel had plainly prophesied it should be poured out upon all flesh. But afterwards, as their concern continued to press forward, they were led beyond the first initiatory mixture of things; they saw clearly and declared, that the Holy Spirit fell upon the Gentiles as well as Jews;<sup>a</sup> that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth;<sup>b</sup> that a good conscience ariseth not from the practice of exterior rights;<sup>c</sup> that the unction from the holy One is altogether sufficient to give instruction and true judgment;<sup>d</sup> that the saving baptism is not that which can reach no deeper than the outside of the flesh, but that of the spirit; which baptises the heart, and produceth the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Christ, or his spiritual arising in or upon the soul.<sup>e</sup>

8. It is no uncommon thing to hear the apostolic age styled the infancy of Christianity; and so it was in point of time, and also in respect to the temporary continuation of a few exteriors; not immediately seen through, and afterwards retained for a season, in condescension to those new believers, who had been so much attached to symbolical practices, they could not readily be brought to disuse them. And, in our day, many of the present leaders and rulers, in divers of the most numerous churches professing the Christian name, seem to imagine, that though the assistance of the Holy Ghost was necessary to the introduction and support of the Christian religion in primitive times, it has no need of it now. It is become so matured by man's wisdom and learning, which had no share in its origin, that it is fully capable to go alone. So that now it is, in great measure, become another thing, and stands upon another foundation, than formerly. Though it still calls Christ its head, and accounts itself his body, it receives no immediate direction from him,

<sup>a</sup> Rom. viii. 9. <sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. vi. 19. <sup>c</sup> Rom. viii. 14. <sup>d</sup> John x. 14, 27, 45. <sup>e</sup> John iii. <sup>f</sup> Isaiah xxvi. 12. <sup>g</sup> 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. <sup>h</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 13. <sup>i</sup> Eph. iv. 4, 5, 6.

<sup>a</sup> Acts xi. 18. <sup>b</sup> Gal. v. 6. <sup>c</sup> Heb. ix. 9. <sup>d</sup> 1 John ii. 20, 27. <sup>e</sup> 1 Pet. iii. 21.



nor feels the circulation of his blood, which is the life and virtue of true religion. Thus deservedly incurring the reproof of the apostle implied in this query; "Having begun in the spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?"<sup>a</sup> In truth, it too evidently appears, in a general view, that the professed Christian churches, instead of being in the maturity of Christianity, are greatly in the decline from that state; or they could not be so insensible, nor durst appear so opposite to the life of religion, as to reject and decry the vital part of it, and treat it as extinct, unnecessary, or at least insensibly to be now received; as too many of their leaders and members do. Surely a church in this condition, is properly entitled to that address of the spirit, to the degenerate church of Sardis; "I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest and art dead."<sup>b</sup> Yet, notwithstanding this seems to be too generally the case, and that the religion of many high professors is little else but real deism, covered with a superficial kind of Christianity, I hope, and verily believe, there are many living and sensible members of the body of Christ in those churches.

The vitality and glory of Christianity lies in the clear administration of the Holy Spirit, without any veil of legal or ritual adumbrations. School learning is but a human accomplishment; and though very useful as a servant, is no part of Christianity. Neither the acquirements of the college, nor the formalities of human authority, can furnish that humility which fitteth for God's teaching. Possessed of arts and languages, weak people are puffed up with a conceit of superiority, which leads from self-denial and the daily cross, into pride and self-sufficiency; and instead of waiting for, and depending upon the wisdom and power of God, into a confidence in the wisdom of this world, and a devotional satisfaction in the rote of external forms and ordinances. Whereas those that worship God in the spirit, rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh.<sup>c</sup> And why? Because it is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.<sup>d</sup>

Whosoever deny that the Holy Spirit and its internal operations are now to be sensibly experienced, only demonstrate their own insensibility thereof. The true people of God in all ages, have declared their own undoubted sense of divine illumination and help; and the apostle in Rom. vii. and viii. before cited, testifies he had a strong, clear, distinguishing sense of the Holy Spirit throughout its opera-

tions. As it was then, it now is, and must remain to be, as long as men are upon earth. The same work in due measure is absolutely necessary to every one, and the like sense of it proportionally clear and certain to all who experience regeneration. No man can obtain felicity out of God's kingdom, nor can any enter the kingdom without being born of the spirit; neither is the work of the new birth wrought insensibly in any. Whatever medium incognitum, or unknown means men imagine, insensible operation is not regeneration. It is a mere deception. The Holy Ghost, whether it operate by words and instruments, or without them, always comes in power; a power which gives an undeniable sense of it; perfectly distinct from, and above all other powers; and with a perspicuity, at times as far exceeding all natural lights, as the radiant sun does the faint glimmer of the glow-worm.

This Holy Spirit of Divine Light and power of life, is the great fundamental principle of the reproached Quakers, and the only true saving principle for all mankind. It is Christ in spirit, a light to lighten the Gentiles, and God's salvation to the ends of the earth; who always became, and stands always ready to become, the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him.<sup>e</sup>

#### CHAPTER X.

1. *S. Newton's mistake, in asserting the doctrine of the Quakers centres in the reprobationary scheme.* 2. *God first sets man at liberty, often revisits him by the spirit of grace, seeks by all proper means to prevail with him, without violating the liberty he affords him, till his continued backsliding demonstrates he will not turn from his evil ways, and live. Then his time of visitation ceases, and he is given up to his beloved delusions.* 3. *God is not the author of evil. Objections from Isaiah and Amos answered.* 4. *Men justified in evil-doing, if God be its author. What sin is. It is not the effect, but the cause of his displeasure, and to be placed to man's account.* 5. *The cause of man's salvation. The great efficient of it. He operates towards it, both immediately, and by the use of proper means, all by grace, through the faith it communicates, which necessarily produceth good works, not to be attributed to man as meritorious.* 6. *What Calvinism teaches.* 7. *&c. The modern fatalists somewhat refine upon this, but unavoidably centre*

<sup>a</sup> Gal. iii. 3. <sup>b</sup> Rev. iii. 1. <sup>c</sup> Phil. iii. 3. <sup>d</sup> John vi. 36.

<sup>e</sup> Luke ii. 32. Acts xiii. 47. Heb. v. 19.



*in the same absurdity and falsehood. This largely shown in a variety of matter to the end of this chapter.*

HAVING endeavoured plainly to show what the leading principles of the people called Quakers are, and that they are the genuine doctrines of true Christianity, I shall now proceed to take more particular notice of divers material parts of my opponent's treatise.

His insisting that the Quakers' doctrine centers in the reprobationary scheme, and that Barclay was as much a predestinarian as John Calvin, is merely his own mistake. He grounds it not upon their doctrine, but what he improperly imagines to be so. Page 14, he says, "Barclay and his friend speak of no divine assistance which enables persons to be passive, that the light within may operate and save." Whereas, in my observations, page 82, I quote Barclay, saying, "As man is wholly unable of himself to work with the grace, neither can he move one step out of the natural condition, until the grace of God lay hold upon him, so it is possible to him to be passive, and not resist it, as it is possible for him to resist it." That is, by the power of divine grace laying hold of, or influencing the spirit of man, it first becomes possible for him to be passive, and not resist its operation; which is the first step man takes in the way of salvation. "Without me," saith our Saviour, "ye can do nothing."<sup>a</sup> I therefore added, "Man cannot set one single step towards his salvation without the assistance of the grace of God, as the first moving and continually enabling cause, both of the will and the deed." So that though passiveness is the beginning of the work, he is previously disposed to it by virtue of the Holy Spirit. This manifests the untruth of S. Newton's assertion, page 212, and the nullity of all his reasonings from it, that "the Apologist will not suffer the honour of the first step of the soul towards salvation to be ascribed to the light or grace within." On the contrary we attribute the whole of man's salvation to it, first and last, without at all placing man's destruction to the account of his Maker; which John Calvin directly doth.

What our doctrine teacheth is, 1. That man has no ability to save himself, is not naturally in a state of equal freedom to good or evil at his pleasure, nor is in possession of that faith which is necessary to his salvation. 2. That the Redeemer affords a manifestation of his Spirit to the soul of every man, by which, at seasons, he checks his corrupt inclinations, stops them in their career, and

puts it in his power to reflect upon his present condition, and become passive to the operation of this inward spirit. If he resist it not, but stand in submission, it takes further hold of him, gives him so to believe in it, as to suffer it in some degree to unite with, abide in, and operate upon him. In this situation, he feels strength and comfort spring up from it, which increase his faith and trust therein, and gradually enable and engage him to become active; that is, to join heartily in concurrence with its operations, and to proceed from faith to faith, and from one degree of grace to another, till he attain to know the new birth of the Spirit, and to participate in degree of the glorious light, life, and nature of the heavenly kingdom.

2. God hath made man a reasonable creature, and therefore requires a willing obedience of him, in order to the high reward of eternal felicity; and if he repeatedly visits all with the reaches of his grace, and continues time after time to convict, persuade, and woo, as the Scriptures declare, that he may prevail upon him to come to repentance; doth he not go as far as reasonable creatures can claim, without violating the rational liberty he affords? Let man but yield obedience to his convictions, and see if he can charge his Creator with partiality, or hard measure. It is the unprofitable and unprofiting servant that doth this.

Education and tradition do certainly prepossess, and give a bias to the mind against every doctrine different to those it hath been taught; but the divine light, at times, darts in upon the soul unawares, as quick as lightning, penetrates through all its darkness and every false colour, disturbs it in its polluted rests, and carnal gratifications, shows its bondage under them, and inspires the secret wish, and heaving sigh to be delivered, attended with some degree of resolution against them. This being the opening of divine light upon the mind, is called the day of God's visitation, the time of grace unto man; wherein life and death are distinguished in him, and liberty is not only given him to choose life, which he could not do before, but also a suitable measure of ability to love and cleave to the grace, he is visited with, and thereby to come to repentance, and be saved. For this grace is the Spirit of the Saviour, and brings the power of salvation in it.<sup>a</sup>

These merciful visitations of divine grace are often repeated, by night as well as by day. "God," saith inspired Elihu, "speaketh once, yea twice, yet man perceiveth it not, in a dream, in a vision of the night, when

<sup>a</sup> John xv. 5.

<sup>a</sup> Tit. ii. 11.



deep sleep falleth upon man, in slumberings upon the bed. Then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction; that he may withdraw man from his purpose, and hide pride from man."<sup>a</sup> He then proceeds to show, how he operates upon the submissive soul, in the work of repentance and mortification, and what shall be its issue. Afterwards, he recapitulates the whole in these comprehensive terms. "He looketh upon men, and if any say, I have sinned, and perverted that which was right, and it profited me not; he will deliver his soul from going into the pit, and his life shall see the light. Lo, all these things worketh God oftentimes with man, to bring back his soul from the pit, to be enlightened with the light of the living."<sup>b</sup>

The great FATHER OF MERCIES, is pleased to continue his gracious visitations from on high to backsliding men, till they are become so determined in wickedness, and so habitually united to its servitude, that like the servants in Exodus xxi. 5, 6, they will not be freed from it. Then night comes upon them, the day of their visitation ceases; for God will not always strive with those, who have been long and often reprov'd, and still harden their necks,<sup>c</sup> to no purpose; but after long forbearance, he withdraws the reaches of his merciful loving-kindness, and suffers them to incur that dreadful sentence, "He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still."<sup>d</sup>

When persons are thus judicially hardened, and given up to their own hearts' lusts, and beloved delusions, and left in a state of insensibility of the divine Spirit, they may blindly mistake it for peace and security. To such conscience becomes, for the present, obscured, and as a book shut up, wherein they cannot read; but in the day of the righteous retribution of the great Judge of quick and dead, this hidden volume will again be unfolded, by him who openeth and none can shut, and a just distribution made to every one according to what is written therein, for it will prove either a book of life or of death to every man; to them who, by patient continuance in well-doing, have sought the glory of God, their own salvation, and the good of others, immortality and eternal life; but to those who have continued in disobedience and rebellion against God, tribulation and anguish both inexpressible and interminable.

3. Can any reasonable creature think it possible, that the same Spirit and power of goodness which condescended to take our low

nature upon him, suffer in, and sacrifice that nature whilst connected with it, a propitiation for the sins of the whole world,<sup>a</sup> could ever intentionally consign the majority, or any part of the same world, to unavoidable unconditional misery? It appears from his attributes of truth, equity, wisdom, mercy, and goodness, impossible that he should either actually oblige any of his creatures to sin, that they might be miserable; or, when he has created them, to desert them to sin and misery, by entirely withholding from them that which is necessary to their help and preservation. We therefore rationally conclude, that he doth not only set good and evil before man in their just distinctions, but at the same time, enables him to choose which he will follow; and further, that he stirs up and assists man to desire after true felicity, and as he abides in this desire, he empowers him to strive, press, and wrestle effectually for deliverance and preservation.

The primary motions of volition in the mind being very nice and delicate, are not easy, if possible, for men to form a precise idea of, without the light of God's Spirit; whence some have taken occasion to charge the different dispositions of men towards the visitations of divine grace, to God's account, by which they render him the primary author of evil, who by the special peculiarity of his essence, is unchangeably perfect in all his attributes, and can never warp from perfect rectitude. But is it not absurd to suppose, that any intelligent being can voluntarily produce what is contrary to its nature; especially an omnipotent existence, whose power must be irresistible by all objects and occurrences? Is not sin the transgression of God's will, and vice contrary to his nature? How then could these be produced by an act of his will, or be the genuine fruit of his power, either mediately or immediately? Can a right understanding lead any man to think, that the will of God is possible at any time to be contrary to his nature?

From purity, goodness, and virtue, no impurity, vice, or evil could naturally arise. But that text hath been objected, "It is impossible but that offences will come."<sup>b</sup> True; but whence come they? Not from God, but from that root of corruption which hath entered and overspread the world. Whilst this corrupt root remains, they will naturally spring from it; and the same text pronounces, "Woe unto him through whom they come." "But God saith, I create evil."<sup>c</sup> And the prophet saith, "Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord hath not done it?"<sup>d</sup> Moral evil is not here intended, but the natural evil of pain and

<sup>a</sup> Job xxxiii. 14, &c. <sup>b</sup> Job xxxiii. 27, &c. <sup>c</sup> Prov. xxix. 1. <sup>d</sup> Rev. xxii. 11.

<sup>a</sup> 1 John ii. 2. <sup>b</sup> Luke xvii. 1. <sup>c</sup> Isa. xlv. 7. <sup>d</sup> Amos iii. 6.



distress, through hostility, sickness, famine, &c., which are the judgments of God upon men for disobedience and the commission of moral evil.

4. To say, that God originally so constituted and ordered things, that evil must necessarily ensue in consequence of such constitution, is to treat him both as the designing and potential author of all evil. Wherein then are the wickedest creatures, whether angelical or human, to blame? If they cannot be otherwise than they are, or act otherwise than they do; in point of equity, all their wickedness is justified by the necessity they are originally subjected to by their Creator; whom this doctrine renders the real author of it, either immediately or remotely. If God himself laid the ground-work of all evil, he must be the author of all that follows by necessary consequence upon it.

According to my apprehension, sin consists in the creature's preferring the indulgence of its depraved nature, to the obedience of divine grace; which indulgence leads to the abuse of that grace, and to think, speak and act against the manifested will of its Creator. Neither the origin, nor continuance of sin in the world can be the fruit of God's will; for it always brings his displeasure upon the creature. It is not the effect, but the cause of his displeasure. A being perfectly holy, just and good, can neither do evil, nor delight in seeing his creatures do it. It is contrary to his nature, therefore against his will, and what he could not suffer to originate without offering means to prevent it, and showing his displeasure with it; nor can he consistently be conceived to extend personal approbation or aversion to any, exclusive of the state of the parties respecting good and evil.

That some obey, and others refuse obedience to the manifestations of divine grace, is certainly true; and we believe, the cause of this difference is not of God, but entirely owing to the man. Let him that doubts it inquire in his own conscience. The faithful witness there, by its condemnations for evil, will plainly show him, that the fault is his own. What man is there upon earth without these compunctive strokes? Who has not, also, felt at times inclinations and dispositions excited in him towards virtue and a good life; and who knows not, that when he followed them, he found peace in his obedience; and when he turned from this salutary pursuit to one of a contrary nature, he incurred trouble and condemnation? Can a reasonable creature need further proofs, that both those convicting reprehensions and comforts, are the internal immediate adjudications of a just, good, powerful, omnipresent, all-intelligent

Spirit? And what is this but God; and for what end doth he thus attend every soul and spirit, but that all may come to repentance and experience salvation?

5. The first moving, true, and proper cause of man's salvation is the goodness and love of God to him. The essential means by which he effects it, is the operation of his own Holy Spirit on the soul of man, often immediately, and sometimes instrumentally, by making use of exterior and incidental things, and working by them as secondary means; such as preaching, reading the Scriptures and other good books, pious conversation, worship, mercies, distresses, &c. After this manner it pleaseth divine wisdom to exercise the body in the service of the soul, whereby both are bettered divers ways. It is God by his Holy Spirit who worketh all good in man, both as to the will and the deed. It is by grace we are saved, through faith; or in the way of faith. That faith which worketh by the love of God to the purifying of the heart, and the production of good works. These are the genuine fruits of it, and inseparable from it: therefore without works we cannot be saved. Yet it is not by the works that we are saved, as the cause of salvation to us, but by grace, through the root of them, the faith, by which we believe in God, open to, and receive him, cleave to him, trust in him, and so lay hold of eternal life. This faith is not our faculty, but the gift of God to us. It comes by grace, the free grace of God, who is "not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance."<sup>a</sup> He whose works are evil, hath not this saving faith, believe what propositions he will; for where it is, it necessarily produceth good works. This root is never without its fruits. "Show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works,"<sup>b</sup> saith the apostle James. Yet these works do not render us meritorious of salvation, for they are not to be attributed to us, but wholly to him who through his grace, hath brought us into this blessed state of living faith wherein they are produced. "For, by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God. Not of works, lest any man should boast: for we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained, that we should walk in them."<sup>c</sup>

6. The reprobationary scheme demonstrates, to what a pitch of absurdity, the minds even of sensible and pious men may be carried, when they follow their own cloudy reasonings instead of the illuminations of the Holy Spirit. Calvin asserts that, "by the ordination and will

<sup>a</sup> 2 Pet. iii. 9. <sup>b</sup> James ii. 18. <sup>c</sup> Eph. ii. 8, 9, 10.



of God Adam fell. God would have man to fall—and that the highest or remote cause of hardening is the will of God. Beza saith, God hath predestinated not only unto damnation, but also unto the causes of it, whomsoever he saw meet. Zanchius, that God is the first cause of obduration. Zuinglius, that God moveth the robber to kill. He killeth, God forcing him thereunto. But thou wilt say, he is forced to sin; I permit truly that he is forced. Piscator, that reprobate persons are absolutely ordained to this two-fold end; to undergo everlasting punishment, and necessarily to sin, and therefore to sin, that they may be justly punished.\* It is a mystery to me, how the poor reprobates can be justly punished, for actions they are divinely obliged to commit; or how they can sin by necessarily doing the will of God.

7. Our modern writers of this class, refine a little from the barbarism of their predecessors in expression, but their refinements ultimately centre in the like accusation of their Creator. S. Newton often edges about it, yet appears very shy of speaking his sentiments clearly upon this point; but I presume, we have them in his favourite author, Jonathan Edwards, M. A. whom he so particularly recommends in his letter, page 54. This author, in his careful and strict inquiry into the modern prevailing notions of that freedom of will, &c., has these expressions. "If by the author of sin be meant the sinner, the agent, or actor of sin, or the doer of a wicked thing; so it would be a reproach and blasphemy to suppose God to be the author of sin.—But if by the author of sin is meant the permitter, or not a hinderer of sin; and at the same time, a disposer of the state of events in such a manner, for wise, holy, and most excellent ends and purposes, that sin, if it be permitted, or not hindered, will most certainly and infallibly follow: I say, if this be all that is meant by the author of sin, I do not deny that God is the author of sin"—"It is no reproach for the Most High to be thus the author of sin. This is not to be the actor of sin, but on the contrary, of holiness. What God doth herein is holy, and a glorious exercise of the infinite excellency of his nature"—"That it is most certainly so, that God is in such a manner the disposer and orderer of sin, is evident, if any credit is to be given to Scripture; as well as it is impossible in the nature of things to be otherwise."†

I think I have already shown, in the preceding part of this discourse, that it is not only possible, but most probable to be other-

wise; and now shall proceed to show, it is impossible to be according to this author's assertion.

8. If God disposeth the state of events in such a manner, that sin will most certainly follow, and that he also permits, or doth not hinder it, he must be the sole author of sin himself, and those who are called the actors, or committers of evil, are only subjects by whom he effects it: they are nothing more, in the case, than the necessitated instruments of evil. If he hath so ordered the nature and concerns of his rational creation, that they must most certainly and infallibly sin, he must be the cause of sin, and not they; and it cannot be righteous in him to charge the blame of what must infallibly follow, from his own determination and disposal, upon those to whom he has rendered it unavoidable.

If the Almighty, from the beginning, so ordered his creation that evil must necessarily ensue in it, it must be designed by him, or he would not have so ordered it, and every supposed transgressor necessarily acts according to the divine will, in every sin he commits, and the divine being takes pleasure first in his sin, and next in his eternal misery; for he is certainly pleased when his will is done. What worse can be said of the worst of beings, than this doctrine implies of the best.

If man be allowed no choice, he can incur no guilt. He must at some time be at liberty, or he can never do amiss. If he do only what he is obliged to do, by a constitution of things fixed by his Creator, he cannot sin against him; for what he obliges him to do, he wills him to do, and it can be no transgression against him to do his will; because to sin, is to offend him, and to offend him, is to act contrary to his will. Whatever a man doth from the necessity of his nature, let that necessity be the consequence of the lapse of his first parents, or not, if a remedy be not in his power, it is the same thing to him. It was not himself that subjected himself to such a faulty or defective nature; therefore he cannot, in equity, be condemned for what he could no way help, or avoid. To assert, that a person may be justly punished for being what he is obliged to be, or doing what he is inevitably forced to do by his Maker, may pass upon blind inconsiderate people for mystery; but to others it must appear a manifest absurdity, and a most daring one, when attributed to the eternal Fountain of all Truth and justice, a reproach to him, and a blasphemy against him.

9. It is impossible God should commit any act of sin, because it is against his nature, and consequently impossible he should will it. Sin is the transgression of his will, and if he

\* Cap. 3. Gen. 1 Inst. C. 18. S. 1. Lib. de Præd. Lib. de Prov. Lib. de Præd. De Ecclat. Q. 5. Lib. de Prov. C. 5. Resp. ad Versi. Part I. p. 120. † P. 357-8.



could neither will nor act it, he cannot be any way the author it. Barely suffering it to arise, is not causing it to be. All that can be allowed is, that by forming reasonable creatures, and constituting them in a state of rational freedom, he afforded them the opportunity of making their duty their choice; but never willed them to abuse it by lapsing from the grace he favoured them with for their preservation, dividing their wills from his will, and counteracting his salutary laws, to whom they owed their being, and on whom they must absolutely depend for all the good they ever could enjoy. And notwithstanding he foresaw they might be prevailed on to make a wrong use of their liberty, he certainly intended to favour them with means amply sufficient for their recovery and restoration. Though he forebore forcibly to hinder them from falling into iniquity, he did all that could be done to prevent it in rational creatures. He forewarned them against it, showed them the dreadful consequence of it, and unquestionably armed them with power, by his Spirit, to withstand all temptation to it, had they kept under it. He never could so permit, as to license their departure from their reasonable duty, and true interest. By the power and goodness dispensed to man, he might have stood without sin; and now that he has fallen into it, by a renewal of the same power and goodness still afforded him, he may be recovered from it, and brought to felicity. His Redeemer both offers and assists him; yet he backslides, and refuses to abide under the guidance of his great Benefactor. Man's destruction therefore, is of himself, and in the Lord alone is his help.<sup>a</sup>

10. We are told, the will is always determined by the strongest motive. Has the will no liberty then, at any time? Is it always so forcibly determined, in all its motions by circumstances and motives successively arising upon it, from the original constitution of things, that every man is necessarily obliged to think, speak, and act just as he doth? No, it is answered, in temporal matters the mind has a liberty of choice. Why not in spirituals as well as temporals? How are the motives and circumstances which determine the will in temporal concerns, more in its power than those that determine it in spiritual ones; and how do we know it to be so? Was this really the case, our inevitable acts would certainly render us no proper subjects of reward and punishment; of Come, ye blessed, or go, ye cursed. We must be equally unentitled to approbation and censure.

Those who allege, that motives arise from

the circumstances we are placed in, and the occurrences we meet with, which necessarily oblige us to think, speak, and act as they impress our minds, do not appear sufficiently to consider, that there is a supreme all-powerful Controller of circumstances and events, who can, and unquestionably doth, in due season, by his potential influence upon the mind of man, counterbalance every other influence. Can we think that he placeth good and evil, life and death before men, as the sacred records testify, and calleth them repeatedly to choose life and good, and yet that he doth not enable them so to do? Every divine precept, every exhortation, every command, every commination, implies a liberty afforded to the subject, to comply or refuse; to obey, or disobey.

11. In the supposition before us, the will of man is effectually deprived of all freedom in his main concern. For it is the same thing to the sufferer, whether the superior power subject him under this irresistible fatality, by an immediate and unalterable decree, or by the means of motives and inducements, so powerfully suited to his natural inclinations and passions, that he must necessarily be carried away with them. The man is equally in bondage either way. To tell him, that his will is free, because he doth as he pleases when he acts agreeable to those motives, and the dispositions they necessarily excite or enlarge, whilst at the same time, they are unavoidable by him, and so irresistibly influential to his corrupt inclinations, that they are rendered eagerly concurrent with them; to argue in this case, that because the party pursues the gratification of his present desires, he acts upon a principle of freedom, is to assert an evident falsehood. For, the man is first deceived, overpowered, and so unwittingly captivated, that he cannot avoid willing the evil he is ensnared into; and though he wills it, it is because his will is not at liberty, but previously deceived and captivated, though he sees not how, and instead of being a moral agent, is merely the instrument of an unseen superior power, who artfully obliges him to an evil course, and to the infelicity consequent upon it.

The nature of liberty supposes no absolute necessity, but such a freedom as may admit of choice, without a predetermining power obliging one way only. It is true, the powers of men, as well as those of all other creatures, are necessarily limited to their proper sphere. No creature can exceed the bounds of its proper element, yet it can act with freedom therein, as a bird in the air, or a fish in the water; so man, though unable to stretch beyond the compass of humanity, is enabled to



act at liberty within it; and I conceive, a wise and good being, though omnipotent, would not put any restraint or force upon him there, but for his good. It is barbarous to suppose, he would restrain him from good in order to his hurt. "Far be it from God, that he should do wickedness; and from the Almighty, that he should commit iniquity. For the work of a man shall he render unto him, and cause every man to find according to his ways.—For he will not lay upon man more than right; that he should enter into judgment with God."<sup>a</sup>

12. I cannot perceive any ground for a destructive partiality in Almighty wisdom, and perfect equity. Can he who prefers mercy to sacrifice, exalt cruelty above mercy? To suppose that the Supreme excellence should create all the millions of mankind of one nature, and for eternal duration, and that he should, either immediately or remotely, necessitate a minority of them to everlasting happiness, and at the same time determine to give the major part no other opportunity, but to be inevitably and eternally miserable; is to suppose, that there is more cruelty than goodness, more rigour than wisdom, and more inequality than mercy in the divine nature. I therefore must conclude, that the supposition is irrational, unjust, and grossly injurious to the divine character.

It is to be understood, that he who is supposed to act in this contrary manner, towards his creatures in the same state and nature, doth it from one and the same nature in himself; or that he is differently determined towards them, from two different natures of contrary dispositions in himself? I am utterly unable to conceive how opposite wills can subsist in the same nature, and how two contrary natures can exist in a being of perfect and immutable simplicity and purity; or that such contrary procedures concerning his rational creatures, can arise from unity, equity, and goodness, in the utmost perfection? But no difficulty attends the supposition, that the same nature should operate to different effects, upon subjects in different conditions. It is evident to every man's observation, that the most glorious inanimate object of creation, the sun, by its beams will soften pitch and harden clay; but these contrary effects arise not from different natures in its own rays, but are different effects of the same beams, occasioned by the contrary dispositions of the pitch and clay to receive them. So, I apprehend, the Holy Spirit operates differently on different persons, by reason of their different states and dispositions to receive its influences.

It is not a little affecting, to behold allegations so injurious to the great Dispenser of all good, set forth with subtlety of sentiment, and elegance of language, which can hardly fail to operate to the deception and hurt of those who embrace and allow them a place in their minds. To assert, that God either originally, or afterwards, disposed the course of things, and state of events in such a manner, that sin must certainly and infallibly follow, is to render him the intentional and primary author of all the evil that ensues. For he that raises a building, causeth it to be filled with combustibles, and sets fire to it by a fuze, or a train of powder of the greatest extent, which must infallibly burn it down, is as certainly the destroyer of the edifice, as if he fired it immediately without such means.

13. It hath been alleged, if God had not given man liberty, he could not have abused it. Very true. If the artificer had not made, nor the shopkeeper furnished the suicide with the knife he cut his throat with, he could not have misused it; but is he who made or sold it to him for better purposes, entitled to any part of his guilt? Without liberty man could not have sinned, and without the knife the suicide could not have made such a self-injurious use of it; yet it is not the knife, nor those who furnished it; neither is it the liberty, nor he who afforded it; but the ill-conceived disposition of the perpetrator from whence the default ariseth, and to which it is in justice, wholly to be imputed.

14. All the souls that God has made are equally his; and he whose mercies are over all his works, overlooks none of his creatures in the distribution of his mercies. He withholds his talents from none, but dispenseth them in different portions to different persons; that social communication and connection may be preserved amongst us in this life. To one he gives five talents; to a second, two; to a third, one; but to every one a degree of divine manifestation sufficient, if believed in and obeyed, to operate to his salvation. He justly requires a profiting answerable to the measure he affords; and as he perfectly knows to what degree of improvement each might have attained, he will finally judge all according to their increase, their negligence, or their rejection of the talent received.

15. The rational immortal soul, is principally and essentially the man. This, as I have already shown, is the immediate creation of God, and descended not from Adam and Eve, nor passeth from parents to children, like the mortal body; and seeing it never was in them, it never sinned in them. The doctrine of *preterition* therefore, which supposes, that all sinned when Adam transgressed, and deserve condem-



nation for the sin he committed, and thence concludes, that God doth justly withhold his saving grace from the majority of mankind; is a conclusion drawn from untrue premises, and consequently a false doctrine. First to create the rational soul, and then to forsake it, is not preterition, but dereliction. And this doctrine is not only false, but dangerous. For when some feel the comfortable touches of divine visitation, instead of humbling themselves under it, that the work of regeneration may go forward, this opinion leads them to imagine it to be a mark of their election, and perhaps to add other marks to themselves from mistaken Scriptures; by which they increase their natural pride, self-conceit, and presumption, which defeat the good intention of God's grace towards them. Others, of a melancholy turn, when convicted and distressed in their minds for sin, are led by this opinion, to think it a mark of personal reprobation, and thence into despondence, with all its dismal consequences. Thus, what the merciful Creator intends for men's benefit, they turn to their own great disadvantage.

16. Whatever doctrine contradicts the evident sense, of those clear and express portions of the sacred record, which, by divine commission, professedly and directly treat upon this point; such doctrine must be false, and ought to be rejected. It answers no good purpose to increase disputation about things hidden, or texts obscure and ambiguous; but this is certain, and certainly to be relied upon, that where the Almighty plainly declares his will respecting his creatures, he who cannot be mistaken, is surely to be credited in preference to the contra-positions of mistaken men, who presume to interpret his words so as to contradict his most clear, and most solemn asseverations.

Through a misapprehension of the second commandment, the people of Israel, in Ezekiel's time, had espoused this reprobationary notion, that the children were punished for the sin of their parents, so that it was become a maxim among them, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." The prophet therefore, was especially commissioned to declare God's immutable will and determination, in opposition thereto. "As I live, saith the Lord God, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine, as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth it shall die.<sup>a</sup> The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righte-

ous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.<sup>a</sup>—Yet ye say, the way of the Lord is not equal. Hear now, O house of Israel! Is not my way equal? Are not your ways unequal? When a righteous man turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and dieth in them, for his iniquity that he hath done, shall he die. Again, when the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness that he hath committed, and doth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive. Because he considereth, and turneth away from his transgressions that he hath committed, he shall surely live, he shall not die.<sup>b</sup>—I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to his ways, saith the Lord God. Repent, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin."<sup>c</sup> The prophet repeats more to the like purpose, both in this chapter, and in the 33rd. "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live. Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?<sup>d</sup>—Yet the children of thy people say, the way of the Lord is not equal; but as for them, their way is not equal. When the righteous turneth from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, he shall even die thereby. But if the wicked turn from his wickedness, and do that which is lawful and right; he shall live thereby."<sup>e</sup>

It is manifest, the death denounced in these Scriptures, is not the common death of the body; for in that respect, one event happeneth to the righteous and the wicked, but that state of everlasting infelicity peculiar to those who go out of time into eternity, without repentance and regeneration.

From all these express declarations, it evidently appears, that the Almighty "doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men;"<sup>f</sup> that he is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance.<sup>g</sup> These are all plain manifestations of the mind of God professedly on the point, and to all who intend not to deny his uprightness and veracity they ought to be decisive. The sins of men are placed to the account of their own will, and not to the will of God, in that pathetic expostulation, Why will ye die? And indeed, it is impossible he should will that which is a transgression of his will. It is clear, he doth all that can be done by fair means to prevent it. By that pressing repetition, Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways, it is manifest, he puts it in the power of men

<sup>a</sup> Ezek. xviii. ver. 2 to 5.

<sup>a</sup> Ezek. xviii. 20. <sup>b</sup> Ver. 25 to 29 <sup>c</sup> Ver. 30. <sup>d</sup> Chap. xxxiii. 11. <sup>e</sup> Verse 17, 18, 19. <sup>f</sup> Lam. iii. 33. <sup>g</sup> 2 Pet. iii. 9.



to turn from them. Who then can justify their perverseness, any way charging their sin, either immediately or remotely, to his account?

Men are not destroyed through any malevolence in their Creator towards them; but are saved by his grace, which he dispenseth to all from that unparalleled benevolence, which ariseth purely from his infinite goodness. Sinful man hath nothing to offer, God therefore, will have mercy, because he will have mercy; because he is full of mercy, he will dispense it to his helpless and unworthy creatures. "I," saith he to the repenting sinner, "even I am he that blotteth out thy transgressions, for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins."<sup>a</sup>

17. Detachments of various texts and portions of Scripture, though indirect to the subject, and alluding to different considerations, have been pressed, and martialled under divers colours, to fix a cruel partiality on our common Creator and Benefactor. We are told, that he ordered the obstinacy of Pharaoh, the sin and folly of Sihon, and the kings of Canaan, the treacherous rebellion of Zedekiah against the king of Babylon, the rapine and ravages of Nebuchadnezzar, &c.<sup>b</sup> But properly considered, this was ordering punishment for sin, not sin for punishment. He hardeneth none till they have hardened themselves past all probability of repentance, and then he leaves them to the misrule of their own beloved lusts and vices; and what are treated as unrighteous ravages, though really such in the committers of them, are, respecting the Almighty, the righteous execution of his justice against those who have filled up their measure of iniquity, and abused his gracious goodness and long forbearance towards them, till he sees fit no longer to continue it to them. Thus he punisheth the settled wickedness of some, by the wickedness of their enemies, which he permits to be turned upon them; and afterwards proceeds in like manner with their chastisers, when they also have filled up their measure.

I shall omit at present to proceed further with the Scriptures alleged against the universal extension of divine goodness to the souls of men, and acknowledge my inability to conceive, what wise, holy, and most excellent ends and purposes could be answered, by the Almighty's disposing the state of events in such a manner, that sin will most certainly and infallibly follow, and eternal misery to innumerable multitudes of his creatures in consequence; and also what glory can accrue to a Being infinite in wisdom, power and

goodness, from his continually creating immortal and reasonable creatures, with no better intention towards them but that most barbarous one of irredeemable infelicity. I am also at a loss to discover, what comfort can arise to a humane, virtuous and charitable mind from such a cruel consideration. Those hearts must be very unfeeling for others, and their conceit in their own favour very strong, who, fancying to themselves a personal election, can pride and console themselves in their own imagined security, and the inequitable destruction of the major part of their species. Misled men, like the unprofitable servant, may imagine such unjust severity in the unchangeable perfection of equity, but those who have the love of God shed abroad in their hearts, by the Holy Ghost, find it to flow freely towards all mankind without exception, and to engage them to wish the salvation of all. This is a stronger proof to them of the universality of God's good-will to men, than all the sophistical reasonings of those who remain insensible of it, to the contrary.

18. Before I leave this subject, let me observe, that my opponent, page 198, after his usual manner of making meanings for me, will have it, that according to some of my expressions, "Mankind are by nature, in such a state, that if God does not afford them sufficient means of salvation, he is unjust; surely then, there can be no grace in his giving them these, for, whatsoever he is bound in justice and equity to bestow, cannot be grace. This is an observation which carries its own evidence with it."

Every observation carries its own evidence with it, but it may not be a true evidence. What I assert is, that as it would be an act of injustice and cruelty, to create rational and sensible souls, with no better purpose towards them, than to render them inexpressibly and eternally miserable, by continually supporting them in being, and as continually withholding that from them without which they never can be relieved; so it is impossible for God, who is essentially and immutably justice and goodness itself, to act otherwise by his creatures than according to justice and goodness; and therefore, that he certainly doth not withhold, but affords his creatures the means necessary to their felicity. I believe his mercies are over all, and to all, with a just and gracious intent towards them; and that the universal Redeemer purchased gifts for those who prove rebellious, as well as others, and that all are visited with a manifestation of his Spirit, that they may profit by it; and though they do lapse from the visiting power, and often lose the disposing assistances afforded them, he

<sup>a</sup> Isa. xliii. 25. <sup>b</sup> Edwards' p. 358, &c.



still follows them, time after time, in long forbearance, and often revisits them, of his freely abounding grace and mercy, that they may be prevailed upon to come to repentance and be saved. Hence, according to common phraseology, we style his universal primary assistance an act of equity, and his numerous repetitions thereof acts of goodness; yet neither is the first without grace and mercy, nor are the latter void of equity. As to that of God's being bound in justice and equity, I do not see the propriety of that language. I apprehend, he is not bound by any thing, but that he always acts in the perfect freedom of his own nature; which is that of equity, truth and goodness. For, strictly speaking, I think it less proper to say, that he has what we mean by these terms, than that he is what we intend by them; and as his essence can never admit of the least imperfection, it is impossible he should ever be, or act otherwise. It is therefore by a strained and unjust innuendo, that S. Newton would infer from my words, that irreverent upbraiding kind of expression, "If God does not afford them sufficient means of salvation, he is unjust." Should I follow his manner of reasoning, I might as properly infer, that he holds grace and justice are incompatible with each other, and cannot possibly concur in the same act; which, I think, he will hardly affirm. Doth not he, as well as I, assert that God's acts are according to justice? Will he allow me to say, that he therefore denies there is either grace or mercy in them? Should I put such an abuse upon his expressions, he would unquestionably bestow the severity of his justice upon me; which I acknowledge he has often done with great freedom, without any just merit on my part.

19. We read Isaiah lv. 8, 9, "My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord; for as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts." And chap. xl. 28, the prophet saith, "There is no searching of his understanding." Yet our Christian fatalists appear to think themselves wise enough to discover, the very precise mode and manner of God's prescience; and because they can see but one way how omniscience should foreknow, they seem to conclude, there can be no other in the unlimited expanse of infinite ability. But, "who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor?"<sup>a</sup> To whom hath he revealed those unsearchable, and incomprehensible secrets of the divine essence which belong to himself only? A due degree of modesty would teach us, there is something

in the mode and manner of infinite comprehension, as much beyond the reach of our limited capacities, as the extent of omniscience itself; and attempts to unveil inscrutable mysteries, are more evident demonstrations of human presumption and folly, than of wisdom and piety. Are those men sure, there is no way possible for God to know, but what is open to the perception of their imperfect modicum of reason? The arguments they ground upon this imaginary foundation, are sufficient to impeach their basis; for they carry an evident face of falsehood. They ultimately and unavoidably render the undeniable Source of all good, and centre of all perfection, the real and intentional author of all imperfection, vice and wickedness, and all the misery consequent thereupon; which it is impossible for unchangeable Truth and goodness to be. "Wilt thou," saith he, "disannul my judgment? Wilt thou condemn me, that thou mayest be righteous?"<sup>a</sup>—"God forbid," saith the apostle, "yea, let God be true, but every man a liar."<sup>b</sup>

From the certainty of the premises the certainty of the conclusion ariseth. From uncertain premises no certain conclusion can be drawn. There is something in the divine prescience which always hath been, and is ever like to remain an impenetrable secret to human understanding. What no man knows, no man can properly argue from. We know the divine Being is but one essence, perfectly pure and simple. One eternal, immutable, central power, making and supporting all other beings, and operating variously according to the subjects, and the state of the subjects of its operation; but never contrarily towards subjects in the same condition. As all souls are equally his immediate creation, no just reason can be advanced why he, who is righteous in all his ways, and holy or merciful in all his works,<sup>c</sup> should deal so unequally with them, as to predetermine some to eternal happiness, and others to inevitable misery. Mere will and pleasure, implies an unaccountable severity, though under the guise of sovereignty. The condemnation of men, according to our Saviour, is neither the fruit of God's previous decree, nor his preterition; for, "this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, but men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil."<sup>d</sup>

#### CHAPTER XI.

1. *The Quakers cleared of the charge of their holding anti-scriptural principles.* 2. *S. Newton's reiterated pretence to try their doctrine by*

<sup>a</sup> Rom. xi. 34.

<sup>a</sup> Job xl. 8. <sup>b</sup> Rom. iii. 4. <sup>c</sup> Psal. cxlv. 17. <sup>d</sup> John iii. 19.



*right reason, and the true sense of Scripture, a presumptuous vanity. The Scripture not clearly and fully understood without the illumination of the Spirit that gave them forth.*

*3. Authors cited to this purpose. 4. Barclay's assertion defended. 5. No disagreement or clashing in the different degrees of divine evidence. 6. The infallibility of the Scriptures as given forth by the Spirit, and the fallibility of human understanding concerning them. 7. None but the divine Author able to ascertain his own sense in the Scriptures. 8. The Scriptures rightly understood, a rule; but not the sole, the primary, and universal rule. The Holy Spirit alone is such. 9. The Scriptures allowed to be the primary written rule, to which, in all disputes, we therefore refer, as well as others; but the immediate illumination of God's Spirit, is a more certain criterion to each individual in his own breast.*

1. My opponent, in his introduction, p. 3, and in several other places, insinuates, that the Quakers' system is founded upon a supposed saving influence of the Holy Spirit, without the instrumentality of the Scriptures; and p. 4, he charges it upon them as an anti-scriptural principle. This he positively asserts, from which I must dissent, because I understand the religion of the Quakers stands not in system; nor is a supposed saving influence of the Spirit any part of their doctrine, but a real experimental one; not always without, but often with the instrumentality of the Scriptures. I will own myself obliged to him, if he will show me where the Scriptures either say, or fairly imply, that the Spirit is not to be received without their instrumentality. How was the Spirit received by the penmen of the Scriptures, from beginning to end, when they wrote and spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost?<sup>a</sup> I look upon this assertion of S. Newton as a fundamental error; for, it is not only true, that the Scriptures assert no such thing, but also that they plentifully inculcate the contrary, as will appear anon.

Christ is with his true followers, and will be to the end of the world. To say, he is always with them in the Scriptures, appears to me, too great a strain of language for truth to accompany. If the Spirit of Christ be so connected with the text, as always to attend it, I apprehend, no sincere and sensible reader could mistake the sense of it, nor any such differ to an opposition of each other about it; yet what is more common? We have frequently experienced, and always allowed, that

the Spirit of Truth often useth, and openeth truth by the Scriptures, as an instrumental means; and we also assert, that the same Spirit often hath opened truths, given a sense of their conditions, and administered help, to sincere and attentive minds, without the instrumentality of the Scriptures. This is the universal gospel privilege, foretold by Jeremiah through divine inspiration. "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more," of necessity, "every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, know ye the Lord; for they shall all know me," each man for himself, "from the least of them to the greatest of them, saith the Lord."<sup>a</sup>

Is it rationally to be understood, that this divine internal Teacher is so absolutely bound to the instrumentality of Scripture, in his immediate legation to the soul of man, that he never opens or instructs without it? The text implies no such matter. The apostle John, Anno Dom. 90, treats of this immediate teacher under the title of an unction from the Holy One. "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things."<sup>b</sup> That is, I take it, ye have the Spirit, which, as you attend to it, gives you a right discerning of all things that concern you; for, "The anointing which ye have received of him, abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is Truth," the Spirit of Truth, "and is no lie; and even, as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him or it." This shows the complete sufficiency of this inward, immediate instructor, without any instrumentality of an exterior kind. The eternal Spirit of Truth cannot stand in need of any such assistance; consequently, is not to be understood as confined to any, but operates either by the Scriptures, or without them, at his pleasure.

God hath always afforded instruction to his people; but his teachings by the law to the Jews, were through instrumental means. The prophet declares, this new covenant of the gospel should not be according to the old covenant of the law; it should not consist of instrumental teaching, though that might be occasionally used; for God himself would put his law in their inward parts.<sup>c</sup> This implies his own immediate communication to the soul, of that law which is not according to the literal nature of the old covenant, but is really and truly, the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus; the illuminating quickening law, immediately and mentally given to man by the

<sup>a</sup> 2 Pet. i. 20, 21.

<sup>a</sup> Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. <sup>b</sup> 1 John ii. 20, 27. <sup>c</sup> Jer. xxxi. 31, 32.



Spirit of life itself; which therefore is, and ever must be, the constitutional establishment of the gospel dispensation.

Isaiah, in a prophetic address to the gospel church, saith, "All thy children shall be taught of the Lord."<sup>a</sup> In reference to this, and other like prophecies, our Saviour saith, "It is written in the prophets, and they shall be all taught of God. Every man therefore that hath heard, and hath learned of the Father, cometh unto me."<sup>b</sup> And in the preceding verse he saith, "No man can come to me except the Father who hath sent me, draw him."<sup>c</sup> This drawing, hearing and learning of the Father, and coming to Christ, are all spiritually to be understood; as I have shown in the former part of this discourse. This doctrine is witnessed to, 1 Thess. iv. 8, 9. Beginning with those who had so little understanding of it, as to treat it with contempt, the apostle declares, "He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit. But as touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you; for ye yourselves are taught of God, to love one another." The apostle was then writing to them mediately from God, by divine inspiration; and he makes a manifest difference between this mediate manner of teaching, and what he intended by their being taught of God; the direct and obvious sense of which is, God's own immediate illumination and instruction.

By necessary consequence from these premises, and abundance more that might be added from the Scriptures, it appears to be both an experimental and a scriptural truth, that God teacheth immediately by his Spirit, as well as instrumentally by external means; and that this is an indispensable doctrine of the gospel.

2. S. Newton sets out, in his letter, p. 4, with a profession to try the leading principles of the Quakers by right reason, and Scripture, or as he afterwards expresses it, the true sense of Scripture. Upon this, I observed that without divine illumination, man has not sufficient ability to ascertain the genuine sense of doubtful and disputed texts, which being very numerous, and mentioned in proof, the diversity of senses wherein those texts are understood, by persons apparently of equal sincerity, and of the best natural and acquired parts, under the same, as well as different denominations, as plain indications, that the assistance of the divine Author himself is requisite to the right understanding of them. I also showed, that man's reason is too much clouded, and biassed by his passions and preposses-

sions, to be justly denominated right reason, and instanced its diversity concerning spiritual matters, and its mutability in the same person; also that right reason is truth, unchangeably the same, and incapable of error, and therefore exists only in the divine nature, which men must, in measure, become partakers of, in order to the rectification of their fallen and fallible reason.

Instead of either acknowledging, or disproving this, S. Newton now professes to bring the leading sentiments of the Quakers, a second time, to the bar of right reason and the true sense of Scripture; but he forgot that he ought, in the first place, to prove, that he hath these infallible criterions in possession. "A man," says sir William Temple, "that tells me my opinions are absurd or ridiculous, impertinent or unreasonable, because they differ from his, seems to intend a quarrel instead of a dispute, and calls me fool or madman with a little more circumstance; though perhaps I pass for one as well in my senses as he; as pertinent in discourse, and as prudent in life. Yet these are the common civilities in religious argument, of sufficient and conceited men, who talk much of right reason, and mean always their own, and make their private imagination the measure of general truth."—*Observations on the United Provinces*, page 226.

Respecting the Scriptures, we are so far from lessening them, or opposing the true sense of them, that we verily believe, and sincerely assert, that the Holy Spirit, in what degree of illumination soever it appears, never can contradict them; for difference in degree makes no contrariety. It is the private, or particular interpretation of man, without divine illumination, that we object to, as insufficient to assure the sense of disputed Scriptures. Besides man's natural inability, the various prejudices, the prevailing passions, the different interests, and the diverse leaders of the people, all contribute to give different, and sometimes opposite senses of the sacred text. Many have the words of the Spirit in Scripture, who have not the mind of the Spirit in their hearts.

3. Neither nature nor education can give a man the sense of the Holy Ghost, nor, of consequence, interpret its expressions with certainty. It is therefore truly asserted, not only by the Quakers, but also by abundance of distinguished writers of various professions, ancient and modern, that the internal illumination of God's Holy Spirit is absolutely necessary to every man, in order to his rightly understanding the Scriptures. Let me advance a few out of many more now before me.

"The holy Scriptures opened by the Holy

<sup>a</sup> Isa. liv. 13. <sup>b</sup> John vi. 45. <sup>c</sup> Verse 44.



Spirit, show Christ unto us ; the Holy Spirit is therefore the opener of the Scriptures." Theophylact in Joan. 10.

"What men set forth from human sense, may be perceived by the wit of man ; but what is set forth by the inspiration of the divine Spirit, requires an interpreter inspired with the like spirit." Erasmus, Paraph. in 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. And Coll. in Ixthuophagia prope Finem, he says, "They expound the sacred writings from the pulpit, which no man can either rightly understand, or profitably teach without the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.

"The Scriptures are of no private interpretation ; i. e. not of every private man's interpretation out of his own brain, because they were dictated by the Holy Ghost ; and by the Holy Ghost, the meaning of the Holy Ghost in them only can be expounded." Obad. Watker's disc. concerning the spirit of Martin Luther, p. 97.

"The Scriptures are not to be understood, but by the same spirit by which they were written." Luther, Oper. Tom. 2. p. 309.

"The Spirit of God, from whom the doctrine of the gospel proceeds, is the only true interpreter to open it to us." Calvin's Com. in 1 Cor. ii. 14.

"The apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. 2, that the Scripture cannot be apprehended and understood but by the Holy Spirit." Zanchius, De Sacra Scriptura, Tom. viii. p. 430.

"The things of the Spirit of God, are understood and perceived by the powerful inspiration of the Holy Spirit alone." Beza, anotat. in 1 Cor. ii. 14.

"As the Scriptures were written by the Spirit of God, so must they be expounded by the same. For, without that Spirit, we have neither ears to hear, nor eyes to see. It is that Spirit that openeth, and no man shutteth, the same shutteth, and no man openeth." Bish. Jewel's Defence of the Apology, p. 72.

"The outward reading of the Word, without the inward working of his Spirit, is nothing. The precise pharisees, the learned scribes, read the Scriptures over and over again ; they not only read them in books, but wore them on their garments ; they were not only taught, but were able to teach others. But because this heavenly teacher had not instructed them, their understanding was darkened ; their knowledge was but vanity." Archbp. Sandys's Sermons, printed 1616, p. 48.

"The holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost ; it followeth, that all the Scripture ought to be expounded by God, because it is inspired of God—We do acknowledge, that all means are vain, unless the Lord give eyes to see ; to whom therefore, the prophet made his prayer, Open thou mine

eyes, that I may see thy wonders of thy law." <sup>a</sup> Rainolds's conference with Hart, p. 81.

"The internal light whereby we come to see the sense of the Scripture, is the Holy Spirit." Weemes's Christian Synagogue, Lib. i. p. 31.

"The anointing of the Holy Spirit, teacheth the faithful to understand those truths, which they have received from the apostles." Amelius, Bellarm. enervatus. Lib. i. C. v. N. 32. p. 60.

"It is not possible that supernatural knowledge should be rightly received, without supernatural light." Fra. Rous Interiora regni Dei Cœlest. Academ. chap. ii. p. 12.

"God is the author of all divine Truth, and of the discovery of it made to us. An inward enlightening and irradiating the mind by the Holy Spirit, is absolutely necessary for the apprehending of the divine mysteries, which are contained in the doctrines of the gospel." John Edwards's Free Disc. concerning truth and error, p. 481.

"In regeneration the understanding is illuminated by the Holy Spirit, that it may understand both the mysteries and will of God." The Helvetian Confession, and Expos. Fidei Christianæ, chap. ix.

"The gift of interpreting Scripture, is not of human prudence, but of the Holy Ghost." Wirtembergica Confessio, de Sacra Scriptura, in Corp. Confess.

"We acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God, to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word." Confession of Faith by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, since approved by the Kirk of Scotland, and the same with that of the Independents, and particular Baptists.

4. Page 5, S. Newton saith, in his note, that I charge him with ignorance and design. My words are, ignorance *or* design. Ignorance ; if he really thinks Barclay means, the internal illumination of the Spirit in one man's breast, is an evidence of it to others ; design ; if he really understands his meaning, and wilfully perverts it. Barclay's assertion, that neither the Scriptures, nor the natural reason of man, are a more noble, or certain rule or touchstone, than the immediate revelation of God's Holy Spirit, relates only to such as are sensible of its immediate revelations, and to the evidence of these revelations in the parties themselves to whom they are immediate. To these he asserts, they are more noble, because divine, and more certain, because immediate, than their own private interpretation of Scriptures, by reading and study, without the illumi-

<sup>a</sup> Psal. cxix. 18.



nation of the Holy Spirit, can be. The Spirit only can ascertain the sense it intends. Sometimes it communicates a literal, sometimes an allegorical sense, a direct, or an allusive sense, a theoretical, or an experimental sense. Men are liable to mistake one for another, and without a sense of the Spirit, must often miss of the mind of the Spirit.

In the next proposition, Barclay demonstrates the truth of his assertion, by showing from 1 Cor. xii. 12, &c., that though the body or church of Christ is one, it is composed of many members, who have each their several services appointed, and directed by the Holy Spirit in that body; and each must therefore attend to the Spirit for his own proper direction. He afterwards instances the special duties of particulars in the church. Barclay therefore gives frequent advices, to a waiting for, and due attention to, the Holy Spirit; which S. Newton, p. 5, seems so out of temper with, that he treats them as bold dictates, terrible impositions, and enthusiastic delusions of fatal tendency.

5. P. 7, he professes to untie what he calls the Gordian knot of Quakerism, by observing, that the true sense of the Scriptures, is of equal authority with divine manifestations, and that, as the Scriptures were given forth by the apostles, whom we allow had the Spirit in a greater degree than any in this age, therefore he concludes, upon our principles, the true sense of the Scriptures is a nobler rule of judgment in religion, than our own pretended inward divine revelations.

We are well apprized of, and have always asserted that greater and lesser degrees of divine illumination have been communicated to different persons; but we also believe, there cannot be any contrariety, clashing, or dissonance in any of its degrees; because it is from one and the same spirit; and in what degree soever it appears, it speaks one and the same thing in point of congruity, and carries its own divine authority with it in every degree. Hence, to suppose a disagreement between one degree of it and another, whilst it can differ in nothing but degree, is untrue and absurd. As to our own, or any man's pretended, or any pretended divine revelations, we utterly and equally disclaim, as being of any authority, or advantage whatsoever; for such mere pretensions are altogether as unequal to discover and assure the true sense of dubious parts of Scripture, as the unenlightened reason of the natural man. It is a vain thing in any person to pretend he has the true sense of the Holy Scriptures, whilst his performances demonstrate his mistakes concerning it; which is evidently the case with our present opposer, as I shall make more fully appear by and by.

6. When any press their own particular opinion of the sense of any part of Scripture, as the true sense of the Holy Ghost, yet deny all sense of the Holy Ghost in their hearts, who that observes a diversity of senses amongst these, can give credit to their assertions? But they allege, the Scripture is infallible. I allow it; but how is its true sense to be infallibly conveyed to every reader? By human study and instruction? That has led into all the differences and disagreements about it. The plain truth of the matter is, nothing but the Spirit of divine Wisdom, whence the Scripture came, can give the genuine sense of it. For, "The things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God"<sup>a</sup> What is the infallibility of Scripture to him, who has not the infallible sense of it? If all had this, who have the Scriptures, none could mistake them, or differ with each other about them; yet it is too manifest, by the differences among Christians, they do mistake them. This is not to be imputed to any defect in the sacred writings, but to the common unfitness of men's understandings to discover the right sense of them. What then can open it to man's capacity but the Holy Spirit?

The question is not, whether the Scriptures, as written by divine inspiration, are infallibly right, for such must be so, but whether every one that reads them, is able infallibly to understand them? To pretend, if they are not clearly to be understood without the assistance of the Spirit, they are given in vain, is to contradict the Scripture, which declares that, "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal."<sup>b</sup> It may as truly be asserted, that the divine Being, whilst he knows we are in darkness gives us a chart to direct our way, and at the same time withholds the light, by which alone we can discover its true contents; which is merely to mock and tantalize us, and also to render our situation worse than that of the Jews; for all the written precepts of their law were plain and evident. Yet God gave them of his good Spirit to instruct them;<sup>c</sup> all the written doctrines of the gospel are not so, and is not the Holy Spirit as requisite to us as it was to them?

7. Scripture doctrines are of divers classes. They exhibit just morals, and benevolent conduct between man and man, in a manner superior to the best ethic writers in all ages and nations. These are generally and justly allowed to be of natural, universal, and unalterable obligation, and are sufficiently plain and clear to the common sense of every man. But matters relating to faith and worship, having admitted of many circumstantial addi-

<sup>a</sup> Cor. ii. 11. <sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 7. <sup>c</sup> Neh. ix. 7



tions and alterations, according to the different dispensations of divine Wisdom, have not been so level to men's understandings, nor have they been so united in judgment concerning them, as in the case of moral duties. Ever since the collected publication of the New Testament, differences in opinion about the true sense, especially in matters of faith, have subsisted and abounded; and what can determine these differences? The learned A. saith, such a text means so and so. The learned B. asserts, it is to be accepted in a different, perhaps a contrary sense. They apply to the context, and remain still as different in opinion, and as positive of being in the right. They recur from text to text, and from critic to commentator, till they have exhausted every one they can find, or force to their purpose, and still remain equally, if not more at a distance than at the beginning. What is there left to determine the matter? Will churches or councils do it? They jangle from year to year, or from age to age, and leave the difference as wide as they found it. The true sense still remains only with the divine Author of the disputed texts, and he alone is able to communicate it. Would it not be a wild presumption in either A. or B. to boast that he will try his opponent's opinion by the true sense of the Spirit, and at the same time deny, that either himself, or man, can have any real sense of the Spirit? I have not here supposed a nonentity, but a case that has subsisted for a great many centuries, and which must always continue, whilst men prefer their own prejudices, imaginations, and reasonings, to the internal leadings of the Spirit of Truth.

8. We hold the Scriptures to be a rule to all that have them, so far as they have a right understanding of them, and also that they are adequate to the purpose intended by them; but we cannot aver, they are the sole, the primary, and the universal director of mankind in matters of religious duty. 1. They are not the sole director; because the Spirit of God in the heart and conscience of man is also an undeniable director. 2. They are not the primary director; because the illumination of the Holy Spirit that gave them forth, is requisite to open the true sense of those numerous parts of them, about which the apprehensions of men so much differ. The Spirit also from which the Scriptures came, is original, and therefore primary to them; and as the Spirit only can open its own true sense included in them, they are secondary to the Spirit, as an instrument in its hand. 3. They are not the universal director; because it is not probable that one in ten, if one in twenty, of mankind, have ever had the opportunity of possessing them. Seeing therefore this is the case, they cannot

properly be pronounced, the complete, adequate, universal rule of mankind.

Hence we esteem them the secondary rule or guide of Christians, which being divinely communicated for the use of all to whom they may come; and also being intrinsically superior in excellence to all other writings, we prefer them above all others, and as thankfully accept, and as comfortably use them, as any people upon earth; verily believing, with the holy apostle, that they "were written for our learning, that we, through patience, and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope."<sup>a</sup>

This is not to depreciate the Scriptures, but to hold them in their proper place, and due superiority to the works of men, and subordination to their Supreme Communicator, and only sure expounder. For the Holy Spirit is requisite to the right use of them, as the agent to the instrument; and what is an instrument without a hand to guide and enforce it? And which is superior, the agent or the instrument? The Holy Spirit is the original wisdom, whence the Scriptures came, and the sole power that can open, and give right effects to them. The Spirit of Truth is given to guide into all truth;<sup>b</sup> is the only thing that can do it, and consequently the Supreme Guide afforded to mankind. It is both unwarrantable and irrational, to assert that any thing else is the sole, or primary director, whilst the Spirit of God is communicated for that purpose.

The same Scripture truths appear as differently to each person, as their understandings differ one from another. Human intellects therefore must be rectified, to enable them to see those truths in the same sense. The rectifier is the Spirit of Truth, who alone can unite them in the true sense.

We stick not to style the Scriptures collectively, a divine, or Christian rule; but we object to call them, the rule of faith and practice, lest that should be understood to imply we are to look for nothing further to be our guide or leader. The Scriptures themselves abundantly testify, there is something superior to them, which all ought to look for and attend unto; that is, the Holy Spirit of the Supreme Legislator of men, and prime Author of the sacred writings; in and by whose light and power they are made instrumentally useful, and adequate to the purposes intended by them. Like a good sun-dial, they are true and perfect in their kind, that is, as writings; but, respecting the parts differently understood, they may justly bear the same motto with the dial, *\*Non sine lumine*. For as the dial without the cast of the sun-beams, has

<sup>a</sup> Rom. xv. 4.    <sup>b</sup> John xvi. 13.

\* Useless without light.



not its proper use, to tell the time of the day; neither doth the ambiguous text answer its true end, infallibly to communicate the mind of the Holy Spirit to different understandings, except the luminous beams of the Sun of Righteousness discover it to the attentive mind.

9. Our opposers call the Scriptures the primary rule. We allow it is the primary written rule, and in all disputes betwixt them and us, we abide by its decision, according to our understanding of the sense of it, which they profess to do likewise by theirs. In all public differences therefore we refer intentionally to the same rule with them. But we have both plain Scripture and experience to support our belief, that respecting the particular duty of individuals, every one hath in his own breast, a nearer and more certain rule or guide of conscience than the Scriptures; the manifestation of the Spirit given to every man to profit withal, which duly observed, gives a right interpretation of Scripture, so far as it is necessary for them, and also the truest sense of each particular person's duty to him. When a person feels the faithful witness of God in his conscience, condemning him for what is wrong, and approving him for what is right, does he not find it to speak more clearly, particularly, and convictingly to his case and state, than he can read it in the Scriptures? Can he then conclude, that this truly distinguishing and most striking witness, is less than that Spirit of Truth, or Comforter, which convinceth the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment?<sup>a</sup>

Speaking of persons unenlightened, I observed that "every man's sense of Scripture, is his Scripture, and when he proposes his opponent shall be determined by Scripture, he means according to his own apprehension of the sense of it." This S. Newton applies equally to men's apprehensions of the illuminations of the Spirit within them; and I allow, it holds equally against those pretenders to the Spirit's illuminations, who are in reality void of them; but it will by no means conclude against the really enlightened; nor will his following argument prove that no man is enlightened. "For," saith he, p 10, "what John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton thought to be the mind of the Spirit within them, William Penn and his brethren denied; and what these thought to be the mind of the Holy Ghost, the former rejected as spurious." This shows, that the pretensions of both parties could not be right, but not that neither of them were so, any more than it would prove the apostle Paul and Elimas the sorcerer, or

Jeremiah and Hananiah, equally wrong in their pretensions.<sup>a</sup>

When Christ, after his resurrection, opened the understandings of his disciples that they might understand the Scriptures,<sup>b</sup> was not the divine illumination in their understandings, a more clear, certain and superior evidence of the sense of them, than all their reading and study could have afforded them, without such illumination? Are mankind now become so much more wise and penetrating, than those who for years had the benefit of hearing him who is perfect in wisdom, that they have no need of his assistance to open their understandings? Or is their school and college learning so perfect, as to render God's illumination quite needless? Are the innumerable clashing and janglings of the book-learned about the sense of Scripture, a proof of the unity of their sentiments, and the verity of their sense of disputed texts? If so, discord may be a proof of harmony, and fighting of agreement.

From what is past, I trust, it will appear that our opposer's more certain criterion, p. 3, is only such in his own imagination. How can that be the certain criterion, about the meaning of which all the uncertainty arises? It is certain, without divine illumination, every reader of texts of a dubious sense, accepts them in the sense his prepossessions make for him; which is the cause of the innumerable differences amongst professing Christians. R. Barclay therefore justly denies, that divine inward revelations are to be subjected to the test either of the outward testimony of the Scriptures, or of the natural reason of man, as to a more noble, or certain rule or touchstone.

## CHAPTER XII.

1. *S. Newton's reasoning not pertinent.* 2. *His charging me with mistake, an error of his own.* 3. *His observation answered.* 4. *His misconstruction and misapplication of 2 Tim. iii. 15, &c., and its antinomian consequences refuted.* 5. *What true gospel faith comprehends.*

1. PAGE 7. to introduce a weak argument, S. Newton queries, "Is the real nature of the Spirit to be known either by mere feelings, or metaphysical speculations?" Answer. The divine nature which the faithful, in measure, have been made partakers of, they have known by a divine sensation of its influence communicated only by itself; as nothing but the sun

<sup>a</sup> John xvi. 8.

<sup>a</sup> Acts xiii. 8. Jer. xxviii.

<sup>b</sup> Luke xxiv. 45.



itself can reveal and impart its own light and warmth.

Ibid. "They must tell us what these feelings are like." Answer. They are not like any thing the natural man is acquainted with. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."<sup>a</sup>

Ibid. "It is not conceived however that they can find out his essence." Answer. They do not presume to find out his essence. They are content with, and thankful for, the dispensations he is pleased to make of his influence; which this author, p. 8, injudiciously jumbles together with views, sentiments, effects, production, creature, &c. Whereas the influence shed by the essence is not of its creation, but an emanation of its own nature, power and quality, which produceth those effects in the creature, as the potential influence of the sun, is of the nature and quality of the sun, producing its salutary effects in external nature, and sensibly operating upon sensitive creatures, so as to enable them to see by its light, and to feel the comforting warmth of its presence, as well as truly to discover its productions in and around them.

Having indiscriminately confounded things that differ, S. Newton proceeds thus to syllogize upon it.

"That which is not known, felt or discerned in its real nature, cannot be a rule of action to any one, superior to its own influence, effects or productions.

"The Holy Spirit is not known, felt or discerned in his real nature, by any Quaker or others, but only his influence, effects, &c.

"Therefore he cannot be in his own real nature a rule of action to them, superior to his own productions, effects and influence."

This demonstrates how void of truth and probability, logic may be in a sophistical hand. For, how should any thing be a rule superior to its influence, when its influence is that by which it rules? And with what propriety is its influence, and the effects and productions of that influence placed under the same predicament? This argument evidently insinuates, 1. That the influence of the Holy Spirit is no more of its real nature, than the works and effects produced by it; which is the same thing as to say, the influence of the sun in the firmament, that is, his beams which irradiate his distinguishing light, and shed his animating warmth, are no more of his real nature, than the wax he softens, or the clay he hardens. 2. That the rational soul feels and discerns the influence of the Spirit, without any real

sense of the nature of the Spirit. This appears to me just as true, as that we see by the light of the sun, without any perception of that light, and are corporeally animated by its warmth, without ever feeling it. 3. That if the essential fulness of the divine Being do not come into immediate contact with the soul of man, he cannot have any sensible perception of God's nature by his divine influence; which is like asserting, that the powerful influence of the sun cannot be sensibly perceived by a man, unless the body of the sun immediately touch his body.

2. Having noted in my observation, p. 14, 15, from John v. 39, that the pharisees rested upon the Scriptures, and would not apply to Christ; my opponent answers, p. 11, "Our Saviour, however, seems to give a different account of the matter; for he frequently tells them, Mat. xv. 6, Mark vii. 13, that they made the word of God of none effect, through their traditions; how then could they be said to rest upon it?" Answer. The reason our Saviour gives, why they should, or did search the Scriptures, is, "For, in them ye think ye have eternal life." If they thought to have eternal life in the Scriptures, they certainly in that sense, rested upon them for it, and not upon Christ, the only Saviour, to whom they would not come that they might have it. As to their making the word, or command of God of none effect through their traditions, that was spoken at a different time, and appears not to relate to the object of their dependence for eternal life, therefore cannot either with propriety or prudence, be urged in contradiction to what he here asserted. The text, I apprehend, may be thus understood. Search, or rather, ye search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life. You think so, but are mistaken, for they are not the life, but come from the life, and they are they which testify of me, who am the life; yet ye stick in them as your life, and ye will not come to me, the life, that ye might have life; therefore, notwithstanding your dependence upon the Scriptures, ye remain in a state of death, resting upon the letter only, without the knowledge of the Spirit.

3. P. 12, S. Newton says, "It deserves to be particularly noted, that our Lord never once blames them for not attending to the light within." I think, it merits more particular notice, that if he doth not blame them in terms, for not attending to it, he does more, by showing them the condemnation that accrues to those who neglect it. "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light,



neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doeth truth cometh to the light," or attends to it, "that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God;"<sup>a</sup> that is, under the influence of his Spirit. For "God," saith the apostle, "who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ."<sup>b</sup>

The light of God shining in the heart, is certainly a light within, and this light comes in the face, or appearance, of Jesus Christ; which appearance, therefore, must be within, and ought in duty to be attended to.

4. I am unjustly charged with a design to lessen the importance and show the insufficiency of the Scriptures; because I said, that "though they are sufficient to make the man of God perfect, through faith which is in Christ Jesus, yet they are not able to make the sinful man, the corrupt man perfect, who hath not this divine faith of the operation of God, by which the victory is obtained." Against this S. Newton cites 2 Tim. iii. 15—17, and saith, "Paul then here asserts, that the Scriptures are able to make a person"—who was not so before, or was not so without them, and must therefore be sinful and corrupt—"wise unto salvation, or in other words, a man of God, through faith," &c.

If to perfect the man of God, and to change the corrupt sinner into a man of God, be the same thing; or if the man of God, and the sinful man; the regenerate, and the unregenerate; the prophet, and the profligate; be one and the same, the apostle saith it; but if they are not so, he asserts no such thing. Writing in this place, to his beloved brother in Christ, Timothy, who in his former Epistle he styles a man of God, he addresses him in particular with this expression; "From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works."<sup>c</sup> This cannot with propriety be extended to any but Timothy, and such as Timothy; true believers in, and followers of Christ. To add wisdom to the man of God, the regenerate man, in order to his perfection in divine knowledge, appears to me a very different thing from the making a sinful corrupt man holy, or turning a gross and miserable sinner into a saint; for this,

according to Scripture, is the peculiar work of the Holy Spirit; as I have already made appear.

The Scriptures Timothy had been instructed in from his childhood, could hardly be any other than those of the Old Testament; and all they could here be meant to do for the man of God, must be to afford him instruction in the way of righteousness; to add to his own experience the experiences of those before him in that line. For to suppose they were sufficient to regenerate and perfect the sinful corrupt man, is more than they are able now to do, even with the New Testament added to them.

The sinful corrupt man is certainly he that abides in sinful practices; and the apostle saith, "He that committeth sin is of the devil."<sup>a</sup> Will S. Newton assert, that the man of God, and he who is of the devil, are the same? Then Christ and Belial are united in the same person, light and darkness may accord with each other, and that which separates from God may be joined to him.

I do not think so injuriously of my present antagonist, as to believe he really intends what the doctrine I oppose ultimately results in; but I judge this a proper opportunity to caution against such corrupt and dangerous positions as some have publicly avowed.

1. That man, at the same time he is actually unrighteous in himself, is righteous in Christ. That is, he is not what he is in reality, but what he persuades himself to be, by a false imagination concerning the sacrifice of Christ; like that generation who are pure in their own eyes, yet are not washed from their filthiness.<sup>b</sup>

2. That the supreme essence of immutable truth looks upon man in a false light; esteeming him pure, whilst he knows him to be sinful and corrupt.

3. That Christ, the Truth, is a false medium, showing the states of men contrary to what they are in reality.

4. That man is the servant of Christ whilst he is under the influence of antichrist; that he is imputatively holy, whilst he is ruled by the author of pollution, the adversary of all holiness; and that he is acting in the will of God, whilst he is doing the works of the devil; notwithstanding we read, "To whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness."<sup>c</sup>

It is a vain delusion for any to expect that purity in the highest perfection should unite with them, whilst they remain in the very

<sup>a</sup> John iii. 19—21. <sup>b</sup> 2 Cor. iv. 6. <sup>c</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 1.  
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<sup>a</sup> 1 John iii. 8. <sup>b</sup> Prov. xxx. 12. <sup>c</sup> Rom. vi. 16.



cause of separation from him. Sin made the separation at first, and the continuance of it continues the separation. If it be queried, Did not Christ die to reconcile sinners to God? I answer, Yes; but not to reconcile God to sin, nor to save sin. He suffered not to purchase a license for sinners to continue such, but to open the way for them to come to repentance, through the gift of God procured by him; for, saith he, "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish."<sup>a</sup> He came not to uphold, but to destroy the works of the devil, which include all manner of sin and corruption. "Know ye not," saith the man of God, "that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived; neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God."<sup>b</sup> The notion of imputative righteousness to such as remain in the commission of these evils, therefore, is a vain and pernicious error.

We must die to sin, or we cannot live to God; and in proportion as we die to sin, we live in Christ, and no further. We must put on Christ, by true faith and obedience, which are never separate; for that is a false faith which abides in disobedience, or satisfies any, without obedience, "Faith without works is dead," saith the servant of Christ; and "show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works."<sup>c</sup>

The law saith, do, or avoid this, and live. The gospel not only forbids the outward act, but also restrains the inward desire and motion towards it. The law saith, Thou shalt not kill; nor commit adultery; nor forswear thyself, &c. The gospel commands, Give not place to anger; thou shalt not lust; swear not at all, &c. In this manner the gospel destroys not the moral law, but fulfils it, by taking away the ground of sinful acts, and laying the axe of the Spirit to the root of corruption.

Can the considerate imagine that the everlasting Source of wisdom and might, can be at a loss how to expel satan's kingdom in man whilst upon earth? Or can they think him so delighted with men's offences against his purity and goodness, as to will that satan should reign over his creatures to the last moment of their lives? Is it not more to his glory to deliver from the power of evil, and to save both from sin here and misery hereafter, than to save only from wretchedness in futurity? Is a part greater than the whole?

Or, is an incomplete deliverance preferable, or more glorious than that which is perfect?

When doctrines opposite to purification of heart and holiness of life are industriously propagated, it stands every one in hand to be alarmed, lest by giving place to them in their minds, they become blinded through the deceitfulness of sin; which will centre them at last in a fool's paradise, instead of the city of God, the heavenly Jerusalem, into which nothing that defileth, that worketh abomination, or maketh a lie, shall in anywise enter.<sup>a</sup>

5. The ability in the Scriptures, as before cited, to enlarge the man of God in saving wisdom, the apostle saith, is through faith which is in Christ Jesus. S. Newton resolves this saving faith into a belief of those parts of the Old Testament, which related particularly to Christ, to which he adds the like parts of the New Testament.

What true gospel faith is, let us a little consider. As the entrance of the divine Word quickeneth the soul, so it first communicates a degree of faith, through which it operates; for true faith is the gift of God, and the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of faith;<sup>b</sup> which is not a bare belief of truths concerning Christ, but a faith in him. The faith in Christ is not comprised in giving credit to narrations and doctrines, and a mode of practice framed by the wisdom of men upon it; for that centers short of the essential substance of faith. Gospel faith in man believes the truth of all that is revealed by the Spirit, both in the heart and in the Sacred Writings; because it feels it, savours it, and is one with it. It not only assents to the Scriptural accounts of the incarnation and whole process of Christ in Judea; but it also receives his internal appearance, consents to his operation, and concurs with it.

That faith which stands wholly upon hearsay, tradition, reading, or imagination, is but a distant kind of ineffectual credence, which permits the soul to remain in the bondage of corruption. The wicked may go this length towards gospel faith; but the true faith lays hold of and cleaves to the Spirit of Truth, in its inward manifestations, wherein it stands, and whereby it grows, till the heart is purified, the world overcome, and salvation obtained.

This faith is as a flame of pure love in the heart to God. It presseth towards him, panteth after him, resigns to him, confides and lives in him. The mystery of it is held in a pure conscience,<sup>c</sup> and in the effective power of the everlasting gospel; whence the Chris-

<sup>a</sup> Luke xiii. 5    <sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10.    <sup>c</sup> James ii. 18. 20.

<sup>a</sup> Rev. xxi. 27.    <sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 9. and Col. ii. 12.    2 Cor. iv. 13.    2 Tim. iii. 17.    <sup>c</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 9.



tian dispensation in Holy Writ is often distinguished from the exterior dispensation of the Mosaic law, and the prior administration of angels in visible appearances, by the appellation of faith.

Though the term faith is occasionally used by the penmen of Scripture in divers, yet not contrary, but consistent senses, this seems to be the one standing faith mentioned, Eph. iv. 5, which is in Christ Jesus, as it is the fruit of his grace and good Spirit in the heart. Through this the Scriptures become effectually instructive to the man of God, and helpful to the real Christian in the way of life and salvation. It is the faith by which the members of Christ truly live, and abide as such. It is their invincible shield; and the knowledge of Christ in them<sup>a</sup> is the proof of their possessing it. Abundance is said of the nature, power, and effects of this all-conquering faith; but I hope this will be sufficient to show, though in its complete sense it includes a belief of all that is said of Christ, and by Christ, in Holy Writ: it goes deeper, and ariseth not in man merely from the man, but takes its birth, and receives its increase from the operation of the Holy Spirit in him; which works by it to the sanctification of the heart and the production of every Christian virtue.

### CHAPTER XIII.

1. *S. Newton's saving ability of the Scriptures considered.* 2. *His wrong reasoning from the plea of the Papists.* 3. *Spiritual things how understood.* 4. *Barclay defended from the charge of arguing in a false circle.* 5. *George Fox rescued from S. Newton's illiberal abuses.*

1. S. Newton says, page 14, "No more than what we assert of the ability of Scripture, have the Apologist or his defenders said of the Light within." It may be so; but where is the proof of what himself and his coadjutors assert concerning the saving ability of the Scriptures? Why thus it follows: "We also say, the Scriptures will make us wise unto salvation, if we attend to the sense of them, believe it, and so become influenced by it, therefore they are able to save."

I have already shown that he mistakes the sense of the text abovementioned, which is not the only one by many; how then should he attend to, believe, and be influenced by the sense, who has it not? And how should he be saved by the sense of that he does not understand? I hope his salvation will be

better founded than his argument; for this hath no firmer basis than bare assertion. "We say, the Scriptures," &c., therefore they are able to save. But I have said enough before to this point.

2. Page 15, he reminds me that the Papists plead, "The Scriptures are not the supreme guide; for they do not answer the end, that is, the reconciling of differences; for those who pretend most to consult the Scriptures, do most of all disagree in matters of faith, and in their interpretation of the Scripture."

No Protestant of a sound understanding can deny the truth of this; for more religious differences have arisen, and still subsist, about the sense of Scripture than anything else. There is therefore need of an infallible interpreter; which is the Spirit of Truth, whence they came, and who is measurably given to guide into all truth.<sup>a</sup> The error of the Papists stands not in asserting the undeniable diversities amongst men, concerning the sense of Scripture, but in setting up a visible carnal head, instead of the invisible spiritual head of the church; a succession of fallible men, under the pretence of their being infallibly empowered, officially and finally to determine doctrines for, and to direct the consciences of, all others; and those who approach the nearest to this part of Popery, are such as pretend that their own private or peculiar interpretations are the true sense of the Scriptures, and who seek to impose them upon others as such.

3. Page 18, S. Newton expresses an imagination that Barclay meant by right reason, "not the faculty of the understanding itself; but that reasoning or argument which is conformable to the true relation of things." I must suppose him to intend here, the true relation of spiritual things; for those are what we have here to do with. But what will this avail him? By what means will he assure us, that his understanding is adequate to this relation, and to what is, or is not conformable to it? Spiritual things are the things of God, and saith Holy Writ, "The things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God;"<sup>b</sup> therefore the apostle declares, "We have received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God." "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Hence it is clear, that he who hath not the knowledge of spiritual things by the manifestation of the Spirit of God, hath not the true knowledge of

<sup>a</sup> Rom. i. 17. Gal. ii. 20, and iii. 11. Heb. x. 38. Eph. vi. 16. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Heb. xi.

<sup>a</sup> John xvi. 13. <sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 11.—Verse 12.—Verse 14.



them, imagine what he will of his other acquirements; and he must find himself at last upon the sandy foundation of vain opinion.

The apostle follows this by asserting, "The spiritual man judgeth all things."<sup>a</sup> That is, the man who is rendered spiritual by the renewing influence of the Holy Spirit, has, through the shining of divine Light upon his mind, a clear discerning of all those spiritual matters it concerns him to know; which it is impossible for the natural man rightly to comprehend.

4. Page 21. "The Apologist has recourse to the Scriptures, to prove to us the necessity of immediate inspiration for all persons; but when he will convince us of the truth and certainty of the Scriptures, he turns back again to his peculiar notion of the revelation of the Spirit in every man." Strange logic indeed!

What conclusion is more natural, than to determine what a tree is by its fruit; or what the fruit is by the tree? Men do not gather grapes off thorns, nor figs off thistles; but when they see a fig-tree, they know its fruit must be figs; and when they see a grape, they know it to be the fruit of the vine. In this manner the Holy Spirit and the Scriptures, where both are known, bear mutual testimony to each other, by a demonstration above all logic, and out of the reach of sophistry. What Barclay therefore urges in this case, is the reciprocal testimony of the Spirit with the Scriptures, as the clearest and best conviction of both to the mind of man, and this not so much by way of argument to the head, as appeal to the conscience.

5. Page 22. Our opponent falls upon George Fox, whom he represents in no very candid manner. He takes upon him to contradict those concerning him, who for many years were personally acquainted with him and his conduct, and who, both from the opportunities they had, and the abilities they possessed, were much better judges both of the man and the reality of the facts, than he can possibly be. What he calls his fair and just examination, is a mere train of invective and abuse, relating to matters transacted long before he was born into the world; and which his notorious prejudice renders him unfit to determine upon. Having pursued George Fox with great warmth, through eight or nine pages, and sufficiently heated his spirits, he fastens upon his singular concern at Litchfield, in 1651. Upon which I shall drop the following observations.

It has pleased the divine Being at times, to require things of his devoted servants, which

must appear very foolish to the wisdom of the world; but "he hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise."<sup>a</sup> Might not such an act as this, simply related by George Fox, be required of him, in part, to try, or to give him an opportunity of exercising his faith and obedience; and also to alarm a people too secure in false rests and carnal indulgences? He represents the apprehension he had of it, was to revive the memorial of their predecessors, and their deep sufferings for the cause of Christ; which, in divine Wisdom, might be proper to a generation immersed in a state of degeneracy and forgetfulness of God, and to show them the woe that would attend a continuance in a degenerate life and practice. With the same view, woes have been pronounced by divers of God's inspired messengers, as we read in Scripture, and what mighty hurt or scandal accrued from this, that it must be interpreted in the worst sense possible to be put upon it? What but ignorance, or an invidious and malevolent disposition, would see nothing else in the case, but arrant villainy, rank enthusiasm, gross and melancholy fanaticism, loquacious lunacy, and diabolical possession?

If George Fox had, from a divine impulse, found it his concern to go naked for three years together, as the prophet Isaiah did; or to lay siege to a tile, in a cumbent posture,<sup>b</sup> and bake his bread with dung, for the space of fifteen months, as Ezekiel did;<sup>c</sup> it would as surely have drawn down the resentment of S. Newton upon him, and would have been altogether as just a foundation for his asperity.

With respect to miraculous testimonies; when I consider the many gross impositions of that kind, under names delivered down to us with great veneration, and sainted in the Romish church, I do not admire that thinking persons, not sufficiently experienced in the divine life, should be inclined to disbelieve any modern narratives of supernatural tokens. But this difference is evidently observable, between the few related by George Fox and his friends, and the many by Popish writers. These industriously propagated their miraculous legends for a name; for the support of unscriptural superstition and separate interests, monastic institutions, the adoration of relics, and of the blessed Virgin, the invocation of saints, real or nominal, prayers for the departed, image worship, their deified sacrament, the formal sign of the cross, consecrated oil, &c. But George Fox never once pretended to a power of working miracles to the people where he came, to open a door amongst them for the reception of himself or

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 15.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. i. 27. <sup>b</sup> Isa. xx. <sup>c</sup> Ezek. iv.



the principles he spread; nor was it necessary he should, since they had been already miraculously attested, in the first planting of Christianity. For the fundamentals he preached were, Christ once in the flesh, and always in Spirit as the light and life of men, the Mediator, the Propitiation, the Intercessor, the potential and actual Redeemer, offered for all, and to all, and the especial Saviour of all that believe in him so as to obey him; with the necessity of regeneration in man, and the practice of every moral and Christian virtue.

Is it nothing extraordinary that a person so obscure and illiterate, so little conversant amongst men, so uneducated in arts, languages and sciences, so unversed in the various modes of divinity by turns in fashion, uninstructed, unprovided, unprotected by men, should singly and alone, launch into the troubled sea of a tempestuous fluctuating world, and in direct opposition to all the pride, policy and power of a learned and lucrative priesthood, and a prejudiced people with a bigoted magistracy at their head; that such an one, by the simple doctrine of the cross of Christ, should be made instrumental to the turning of thousands, not from form to form, but from darkness to light; from the power of satan to the power of God; from a death in sin, to the life of righteousness; from habitual vice, to a course of virtue; insomuch that some judicious magistrates declared, the people raised through his ministry eased their hands of much trouble, and had it not been for the spreading of this principle of the divine Light, the nation would have been overrun with ranterism and licentiousness? In this great and good work, George Fox, with the people he had been instrumental to raise, stood with unabated courage and constancy, and were enabled with undaunted fortitude, to bear up for nearly forty years against cruel persecution, with small intervals, both from royal and republican parties, as each ascended the scale of national power. This he was favoured to see an end of before his removal beyond the noise of archers, and out of the reach of envy and malignity.

Notwithstanding the invidious misrepresentations made concerning him, no marks of insincerity, artifice or imposture appeared in his conduct, nor of interest, or ambition in his views. He sought not to gather people to himself, but to Christ alone. He made no pretences to work miracles in confirmation of his mission, whilst he travelled and laboured amongst his fellow creatures; but in his journal, which he left behind him in manuscript, he acknowledges the goodness and power of God, in giving extraordinary proofs at times, according to his pleasure, that he attended

some of them with a measure of the same divine power which formerly accompanied divers of the primitive ministers in a much larger degree.

But notwithstanding, the principles we profess are evidently Scriptural, and depend not upon, nor as S. Newton mistakenly asserts, stand or fall together,\* with any relations of miraculous appearances, either in George Fox's Journal, or the writings of his contemporaries; which relations are purely incidental, and appeared not till many years after the settlement of the Society. Yet as he was an useful, eminent and honourable member of our religious body, we are not unconcerned in his veracity, and therefore require better proofs against it than the surmises, presumptions, and disguises of prejudice. What he relates of the facts, he asserts upon his own knowledge of them, and divers are witnessed to by others as well as himself. Can S. Newton assert the contrary, upon his certain knowledge of the falsehood of those relations; or has he demonstrated the truth of them to be impossible? No such matter. They are such as have always been; and what has been may be. George Fox's integrity is too well attested to be destroyed by imaginations, innuendoes, and invectives. Lucre, preferment, the avoidance of disadvantage, distress, or abuse, have operated upon the hopes and fears of many; but never appeared to shake or to weigh with him. Such was the strength of his faith and the internal support which attended him. He was no sect-master. He sought neither external benefits, nor the honour that is from below. He traded not in religion. He truckled not to the corrupt humours or dispositions of any. He called the people out of that apostacy from the Holy Spirit of God into which they were too generally sunk, and out of those carnal ordinances which could not truly profit them, nor contribute to renovation of heart and reformation in life and practice. Neither did himself nor those who became connected with him, divide from others for separation-sake, but to join together in following the One Everlasting Shepherd of the true sheep. To him they gathered, and in the life and love of the gospel, became united to him in spirit, as their only Head, and one to another as brethren. They learnt to call no man master, in a religious sense, and to know that the true church is not the church of Peter, of Paul, or of Apollos; that it owns but one Head, the Lord Jesus Christ; whose followers they professed to be, and not the followers of George Fox, Robert Barclay,



William Penn, or any other, further than they followed him. These they never looked upon as heads of, but brethren in the Society; never styled themselves by their names, nor allowed them any other estimation than that double honour required by the apostle,<sup>a</sup> to those who are doubly serviceable.

It is too probable from the Sacred Writings to be denied, that the Almighty, both before the institution of the Mosaic law, and during its continuance, all along, at seasons, occasionally manifested apparent tokens of his supernatural power, through those he particularly concerned to hold up the mirror of true religion in its genuine purity, and to revive and restore it when lost, or to a great degree obscured amongst its professors; and why should it appear an absurdity to suppose, that since the primitive age of Christianity, he should see fit sometimes on like occasions, to add sanctions of like nature? When I find such instances testified to by men of understanding, integrity, and disinterested Christian piety, upon their own knowledge of the facts, I see no just ground to discredit their attestations, because persons manifestly prejudiced against them, and confessedly insensible of the influence and operation of the Holy Spirit, have settled themselves in an opinion, that they are to remain for ever discontinued under the administration of the gospel, though continued occasionally throughout all former dispensations. I have met with no reason sufficient to warrant me to conclude that the great Minister of the sanctuary might not see proper in the last century, to add some instances of this kind to the services of his disinterested and devoted servants, for their encouragement to stem the torrent of opposition against the revival of his truth in its purity, when formality and hypocrisy on one hand, licentiousness and profaneness on the other, with jarring and violence on all sides raged against them; as if nothing less was meant than their utter extinction.

#### CHAPTER XIV.

1. *S. Newton's insinuation, that I prefer the Apology to the New Testament, with the imaginations he grounds it upon, answered. Herein the true gospel is shown, and the people professing it defended.* 2. *Answers to his queries concerning the economy of the Quakers, wherein the nature and manner of their worship is explained.* 3. *An abuse obviated, and the Scriptures placed in their proper light.* 4. *The futility of S. Newton's remark concern-*

*ing the prophecies I adduced.* 5. *My inadvertence in one of my expressions acknowledged, and my sense cleared.* 6. *Concerning revelation objective and subjective, immediate and instrumental.* 7. *My opponent's instance of Balaam answered.* 8. *His artifice remarked, in perverting our words to serve his own purpose.*

1. S. NEWTON, in his letter, page 9, indirectly insinuated that the Quakers read more, and form their sentiments more from the Apology than the New Testament. Knowing this to be untrue, I denied it of the generality of that people, and queried with him, "If he intended it of particular persons, who are they?" In answer to this question, page 47, he now assumes the charge of Nathan upon David, and roundly asserts to me, "thou art the man." But how I should be the man he meant when he penned that suggestion, is mysterious to me, seeing he certainly was then perfectly unacquainted with me. But it seems, for want of another, I must be the man, because he cannot help thinking,—page 46,—that I assert or insinuate, 1. "What the apostles have spoken and written is not the gospel." 2. "That the real meaning of their writings is only a dry theory." 3. "That the gospel, in fact, is an inexplicable substance within all men, whether they know anything of the character and redemption of Christ, as represented in the New Testament, or not." 4. "That the whole of our salvation depends solely upon an inward power and virtue, without the influence of the inspired sentiments of the Book of God."

If I may be allowed to speak my own sense, what I have asserted and do believe respecting these points, is, 1. That the evangelical and apostolic writings are descriptive and declarative of the gospel, which therein is defined to be the power of God unto salvation;<sup>a</sup> that Christ is the power of God, who spiritually and internally administers light and life to the souls of men, which spiritual and powerful administration is the essential gospel; and that both those parts of Scripture which bear testimony to the incarnation and outward process of Christ, and those that witness to his inward ministration in spirit, whether narrative or doctrinal, being the best and most eminent written testifications of the gospel, are therefore by a metonymy, usually called by its name.

2. In my observations, from page 36 to 43, I fully made appear, that the real meaning of the apostolic writings is not a dry theory, but

<sup>a</sup> 1 Tim. v. 17.

<sup>a</sup> Rom. i. 16. 1 Cor. i. 24.



a strong recommendation of the living and sensible operation of the power of God.

3. The reader may see in my answers to the first of these articles, and other parts of this treatise, that I do not hold the gospel to be in fact an inexplicable substance, &c. But that it is not to be truly and certainly known without divine illumination; for "the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God."<sup>a</sup> We read, that "Life and immortality are brought to light by the gospel."<sup>b</sup> But what is this life and immortality? Did not mankind believe in a future state before the incarnation of Christ? Yes, certainly. Both Jews and Gentiles believed and held the truth of it. What life and immortality then is that which is peculiar to the gospel, and which it is its particular property to unveil? It consists not wholly in the relation of the external procedure and doctrines of our Lord, but mainly in that spiritual gift he procured for us through his sufferings, which is the life and power that the immortal Spirit of God manifests in the believing and obedient soul; that Spirit which quickens those who have been dead in trespasses and sins, and therein alienated from the life of God.<sup>c</sup> The very essence of the gospel, is the issuing forth of this Spirit of Life to the hearts of men. "Keep thy heart with all diligence," saith the wise man, "for out of it are the issues of life."<sup>d</sup> This teacheth that these living issues arise in the heart of man, but not from the heart itself. Was it so, the heart or soul would be its own quickener and saviour, and Christ would be excluded as such; but he alone is the Way, the Truth, and the Life,<sup>e</sup> therefore the issuings of life to the heart are from the Spirit, and in and through it by his Spirit. The divine influence of it is the life of the soul; that which renders it living, and void of this, it cannot be in a gospel sense, a living soul. It may endure to eternity, but mere duration is not this divine life. To exist without this life, is to be spiritually dead; it is therefore requisite for the soul to wait for, feel after, and find this immortal life, and also to keep to it with all diligence, that it may experience the daily issues thereof to its comfort and preservation, and to be as "a well of water springing up into everlasting life."<sup>f</sup>

4. The pretence that I assert the salvation of those who have the privilege of perusing the Scriptures, depends solely upon an inward power and virtue, without those as a means, is no assertion of mine; for my words plainly indicate the contrary. I say, page 14, "We do not pretend that the internal motion of the

Spirit is the only means of reformation and religion to those who are likewise favoured with the Scriptures; but highly prize, thankfully accept, and use them as the best secondary means extant." I also understand the propitiatory sacrifice of our Saviour, by which he opens the door of reconciliation for us, to be the initiatory part of man's salvation, and the internal work of regeneration by his Spirit, to be its actual completion; for thereby an entrance is administered into the heavenly kingdom.

Lastly, no man can have the influence of the inspired sentiments of the Book of God, without receiving those inspired sentiments, which I have sufficiently shown no man hath, who reads without the inspiring power. Every reader hath only his own conceptions about the sentiments inspired of God, and not those real sentiments, without a degree of inspiration from him; which the manifest mistakes and contradictions of many, demonstrate they are strangers to.

By all this, it must evidently appear that S. Newton's premises are so many perversions, and his "Thou art the man," a groundless accusation.

In his next two paragraphs, S. Newton demands an exposure of some matters relating to the internal management of the Society in its own peculiar affairs; and though I am not convinced of his authority for it, I will give him a just answer to his queries, without returning his incivilities.

1. The Quakers neither read the Scriptures, nor anything else, during the time of their worship, or as a part of it, but after that is over, they usually once in the year, take the opportunity before the congregation separate, to read those short informations and advices which are transmitted from the yearly meeting in London. These advices always consist of Scripture quotations and doctrines agreeable to Scripture, according to the best of their knowledge; but the reading of them is no more a part of their worship than the reading testimonies of denial against immoral members, or the substance of briefs recommended by the crown, at such opportunities.

2. They give such preference to the Scriptures above all other writings, that they strictly press the frequent reading of them, and call for answers at every quarterly meeting throughout the Society, and at the general yearly meeting in London from every particular quarterly meeting, whether the Holy Scriptures are constantly read in their families or not; which they neither do, nor ever did, respecting any of their own writings or any others.

3. The Society doth occasionally present,

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 11. <sup>b</sup> 2 Tim. i. 10. <sup>c</sup> Eph. iv. 18. <sup>d</sup> Prov. iv. 23. <sup>e</sup> John xiv. 6. <sup>f</sup> John iv. 14.



or recommend such of their books as they think proper to give information concerning their principles, to obviate the prejudices conceived and industriously propagated against them; which they apprehend they have as much right to do, as their adversaries have to misrepresent and calumniate them; and indeed the abuses of those are sufficient to oblige them to this practice.

4. They do recommend silence and stillness in their religious assemblies; and as our manner of worship is misunderstood by many, and often treated with ridicule, I shall take this opportunity to offer some explanation of it.

We look upon divine worship to be the most solemn act the mind of man is capable of being engaged in; and in consideration of the high and inconceivable majesty of Almighty God, think it our duty to approach him with the greatest reverence. Every thinking person, who is in any degree sensible of the love and fear of God, must esteem it an awful thing to present himself to the especial notice of the Infinite Omnipresent Eternal Being. Under a sense of this, the wise man adviseth, "Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God," or enters upon worship, "and be more ready to hear, than to give the sacrifice of fools; for they consider not that they do evil. Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thine heart be hasty to utter anything before God; for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth, therefore let thy words be few."<sup>a</sup> He well knew, as he expresses it, that both "The preparation of the heart, and the answer of the tongue is from the Lord."<sup>b</sup> This accords with what our Saviour saith, "Without me ye can do nothing."<sup>c</sup> We, therefore, cannot perform divine worship acceptably but by his assistance. This must be received in spirit; for, saith the apostle, "The Spirit also helpeth our infirmities; for we know not what we should pray for as we ought."<sup>d</sup> This being as certainly our case as it was that of the apostles and primitive believers, it is incumbent on us to wait for that Spirit which is requisite to help our infirmities, in order to pray as we ought. No forms of devotion of men's invention can supply the place of the Spirit. The same apostle further saith, "Through him we both have an access by one Spirit unto the Father."<sup>e</sup> Seeing, therefore, that both our help and access is through the Spirit of Christ, the renewal of which is at his pleasure, and not ours, we must necessarily wait for it. This waiting must be in stillness of mind from the common course of our own thoughts, from all wander-

ing imaginations, and also in silence from the expression of words; for the utterance of words is not waiting, but acting.

Words are requisite to convey the sense of one person to another, but not to that Omniscent Being who is a universal Spirit, and everywhere Almighty, who therefore stands not in need either of the use of corporeal organs, instruments, or the sound of words, to communicate with the spirit of man.

If, in order to worship, the mind does not settle into stillness, the passions will be at work, and may agitate it into enthusiastic heats and vague imaginations. But in true stillness and singleness of soul towards God, they are silenced and subjected. The still small voice of the Inspirer of all good then comes to be heard, and the mind being closely engaged in attention thereunto, and answering it in faith and humble submission, feels divine life and love spring up, and receives ability therein truly to worship the great Author of its existence and heavenly Supplier of its wants, with a devotion no forms can reach.

This worship is not entered upon by totally laying aside our faculties, and falling into a senseless stupor, as superficial observers have imagined, but by a real introversion of mind, and an attention fixed singly upon the alone Object of all adoration, in patient yet fervent desire after Him. Thus, according to the Hebrew, the experienced Psalmist advises, "Be silent to the Lord, and wait patiently for him;"<sup>a</sup> and respecting his own practice, he saith, "Truly my soul is silent upon God," adding this cogent reason, "from him cometh my salvation."<sup>b</sup> Verse 5, he applies the exhortation to himself. "My soul, wait thou only upon God, for my expectation is from him."<sup>c</sup> Great encouragement he had thus to wait, as appears Psal. xl., where he saith, "I waited patiently for the Lord, and he inclined unto me, and heard my cry. He brought me up also out of an horrible pit, out of the miry clay, and set my feet upon a rock, and established my goings, and he hath put a new song into my mouth, even praise unto our God." This was no new song in itself, but being sensibly renewed to him in his acceptable waiting, he, with sufficient propriety, styles it so.

To the same practical and profitable doctrine Jeremiah bears testimony. "It is good that a man should both hope, and quietly wait for the salvation" or saving help "of the Lord. It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth. He sitteth alone, and keepeth silence, because he hath borne it upon him."

<sup>a</sup> Eccles. v. 1. <sup>b</sup> Prov. xvi. 1. <sup>c</sup> John xv. 5. <sup>d</sup> Rom. viii. 26. <sup>e</sup> Eph. ii. 18.

<sup>a</sup> Ps. xxxvii. 7. <sup>b</sup> Ibid. lxxi. 1. <sup>c</sup> Lam. iii. 26, 27, 28.



Silent waiting was in practice among the prophets, and those that attended them, as appears in the prophecy of Ezekiel. We find the spirit of the prophet was engaged in divine vision, whilst the elders of Judah sat before him, as it is described from the 1st verse of the viiith chapter, to the 4th of the xith chapter. During the time of which vision, it cannot be consistently supposed, that he was either speaking to them, or they to him, or to each other. This was not a singular instance of their meeting together, for it was the manner of God's people to congregate with the prophets, as that close reprehension plainly indicates: "They come unto thee as the people cometh, and they sit before thee as my people, and they hear thy words, but they will not do them."<sup>a</sup>

In this solemn practice, we have often been enabled thankfully to acknowledge the verity of that gracious declaration of our Lord, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;"<sup>b</sup> the fulfilling of that promise, "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength;"<sup>c</sup> the certainty of that assertion, "The Lord is good unto them that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh him;"<sup>d</sup> and the necessity and authority of that just command, "Be still, and know that I am God."<sup>e</sup>

As silent waiting appears to us, in the first place, requisite to the worship of God in spirit and truth, it is always our practice, for we believe he ought to have the direction of our hearts therein; and if he please to influence any one under due preparation, vocally to appear, either by way of address to himself in prayer, or to us in preaching, we never preclude such appearances, but silently assist according to our measures. If it prove that none are so concerned to speak, we sit the time through in silence, wherein true mental worship is often experienced; but we never appoint any meeting with intent that it shall be held throughout in silence, as some have mistakenly imagined; for we believe, that all ought to be led and guided by the good Spirit of God, more especially in the solemn acts of divine worship. It would be a happy thing, were all so led, amongst us as well as others, but the case appears otherwise with too many, who sit unconcerned, in expectation of hearing the ministry, instead of waiting upon God, and therefore often meet with disappointment. The apostle said in his age, "they are not all Israel, which are of Israel."<sup>f</sup> So we must acknowledge, all who have descended from faithful ancestors, are

not themselves faithful; but the defect is in themselves, and not in the principle.

5. We profess, that the Spirit of Truth ought to be ours, and every man's leader, and that this Spirit is an infallible guide, and that so far as any faithfully follow it, they are infallibly led, and no further; but we never did, nor do profess, that all in society with us are so led, or even sufficiently seek to be so. Nor was it the case amongst the primitive Christians themselves. We well know, and freely own, that we have all sinned, and come short of the glory of God, and that without repentance and regeneration, we must for ever fall short of it. We are also sensible, that upon due confession, submission, and sincere obedience to the manifestations of Christ, the light of men, "he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness;"<sup>g</sup> and if we "walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin."<sup>h</sup> Could any thing but either gross ignorance, captious envy, or malevolence, infer from this, that we profess, we all are, or that any of us always are, infallible? Yet so have our doctrines been discoloured by our adversaries from the beginning, and in the same track our present opposer follows his predecessors; repeatedly upbraiding us by allegation, that there is some difference both in sentiment and practice among us; but is it possible to be otherwise with any body of people, whether less or more, whilst different degrees of capacity and experience remain amongst them, as they ever must, and whilst any are deficient in paying that due regard to the principles they profess, which they ought to do?

3. S. Newton's subsequent query, p. 47, has reference to an expression of mine, in answer to his common, though improper, manner of reasoning, that is, drawing general conclusions from particular premises, and charging the faults of particular persons upon the general body, which never espoused or countenanced them. This I showed to be a fallacious practice, and instanced, that by this manner of arguing, the theft and treachery of Judas might be charged upon the whole twelve apostles, seeing he was one of them. Upon this my opponent impertinently asks, "Did our Lord and his apostles countenance theft or treachery, as the Quakers do publicly and privately a neglect of a primary and principal attention to the Scriptures, as the best standard of faith and practice?"

This appears intended to deceive the unwary reader into a notion, that in the pre-

<sup>a</sup> Ezek. xxxiii. 31.

<sup>b</sup> Mat. xviii. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Isa. xl. 31.

<sup>d</sup> Lam. iii. 25. <sup>e</sup> Psal. xlv. 10. <sup>f</sup> Rom. ix. 6.

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<sup>g</sup> 1 John i. 9.

<sup>h</sup> Verse 7.



ceding remark, I have drawn a reflection injurious to the character of the apostles, and to heighten the prejudice, he irreverently foists in our Lord also, who is not once mentioned in the paragraph. With regard to the Scriptures, I have declared our sense concerning them, and shall only add, that we hold them to be the best written standard of belief and practice that we know of in the world. We venerate them for the sake of the great Author they came from, and seek to him for the right understanding and proper use of them, believing He who alone can open the true sense of them, and accompany it with power to enable us effectually to put it in practice, to be the primary guide, and therefore ought always to have our principal attention; ever esteeming ourselves in duty bound, in the first place, to look unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith.<sup>a</sup> As "the life is more than meat, and the body than raiment,"<sup>b</sup> so is the immediate influence of the Spirit of Christ more than the Scriptures, or than any man's, or people's, private or partial interpretation of them, from whence have arisen all the differences that subsist about them, and which must ever remain to be the case, till the Holy Spirit itself is applied and attended to, as the right interpreter, and supreme standard of faith and practice. This is the original essential primary guide, and that revelation which comes immediately from the Spirit of God into a man's heart, is certainly the primary one, and that which he receives through instrumental means, is as certainly but a secondary one.

4. S. Newton pretends, p. 56, "It is somewhat remarkable, that Mr. Phipps should refer us more than one hundred years back, to prove to us, there had been a spirit of prophecy among them." Why should this be so remarkable, when he demanded what grounds Barclay had to assert such had appeared among them? Would any person rationally expect I should bring modern instances to prove an assertion made before they existed? Had I introduced any that arose after the date of the Apology, he might properly have said they were impertinently alleged.

5. P. 64, he cites this passage from my observations, "Barclay's doctrine is, that the Holy Spirit communicates not a natural faculty, but itself to the faithful soul, and becomes to it a new principle wherein, or as an organ whereby, it is capacitated rightly to understand religious truth." My inadvertence in leaving an expression so short of my real intention, perhaps may have led my opponent to misunderstand my meaning. I must therefore request his leave to explain my own

words; which should have been, "The Holy Spirit communicates, not a natural faculty, but somewhat from itself, to the faithful soul, which becomes to it," &c. By this he might have gathered, that I intended not a communication of its essence, but its influence; like as the sun in the firmament doth not shed its body, but its radiance upon the earth; by the light and animating warmth of which, the faculties of men receive a clearer and stronger perception, both of that glorious luminary itself, and also of what it reveals and discovers, than it is possible for them to do without its assistance, by all other means whatsoever. As to the word organ here, S. Newton knows it is only a metaphor, a short similitude in one word, often used in discourse, not as argument, but for illustration; and as no similitude runs on all four, it is not reasonable to expect it in this. I meant to be understood by the words, as an organ, its operating to like purpose as a corporeal organ, or a means of conveying intelligence from the divine essence to the soul of man; as an eye doth from the object to the understanding. I hope this explanation will sufficiently obviate all the inferences and reflections occasioned by my inadvertence.

6. P. 69 and 70, S. Newton infers, that the Quakers' notion of revelation seems to imply, that it must be a revelation of something not understood, or a communication of something to the mind, of which the soul has no conception; and that it is a manifest contradiction—no revelation at all, &c.

Barclay distinguishes revelation into objective, and subjective, and sometimes he speaks of the one, and sometimes of the other. In order to show the propriety of this distinction, let me observe, that the soul of man hath not only a faculty of cogitation, by which it ordinarily thinks, unites, divides, compares, or forms ideas, but also a latent power of internal sensation, or of perceiving spiritual objects by an inward and spiritual sense, when presented through a proper medium; which, till the beams of divine light shine upon it, it must be as totally unacquainted with, as the child unborn is with its faculties of sight and hearing. For though in that situation, it may be completely formed, and possess every organ proper to corporeal sensation, yet it is not empowered to exercise them, or really to know it hath them, till it be brought forth into the medium necessary to the use of them, composed of the light and air of this world. Then it first finds the peculiar sense, and exercise of those natural powers which, before its birth, it could not have the least understanding, or proper use of. In like manner, the natural man must be delivered out of his na-

<sup>a</sup> Heb. xii. 2. <sup>b</sup> Luke xii. 23.



tural darkness, into the luminous and quickening influence of that divine Word, or Spirit, which is most emphatically styled the true light and life of men. Thus born of the Spirit, into this proper medium of divine knowledge, the soul is made acquainted with that spiritual sense it could neither discover, nor believe pertained to it, whilst in its natural state. This is no new natural faculty added, but its own mental power newly opened, and brought into its new place and use.

Words are inadequate to the expression of this internal sense felt in the soul under divine influence. It cannot be ideally conveyed to the understanding of the unexperienced; for it is not an image, but a sensation, impossible to be conceived but by its own impression. So true is that of the apostle, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him; but God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit."<sup>a</sup> It was upon this consideration that I said, divine light is the subject of inward sensation, "and is not to be communicated from one to another by reasoning, or verbal description." For should any person give the most clear and lively description possible of the light of the sun, to a man blind from his birth, it would only be communicating an ideal notion of the light, but not the light itself. It might be called a subjective revelation concerning the light to him, but not an objective one of the light itself. This no man can have but by his own immediate sensation.

Divine revelation is a disclosure of something to the rational mind by the Holy Ghost, not in the mind's own power to discover. This the Holy Spirit doth, either by unveiling itself by its influence in some degree to the soul, and giving it an internal sense of its presence; or by favouring it with the vision of other objects, real or representative, through the communication of divine light and power; or by giving the soul a clear sense of its own state and condition. All this being a discovery of objects, is called objective revelation.

Subjective revelation is a disclosure of subjects, or things relative, through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; by which the mind is opened into the knowledge of the divine Will concerning persons or things, led into the true sense of Scriptures, or into a deeper understanding of doctrines than it could ever reach without divine illumination. Of this kind was the original revelation of the Scriptures to those who penned them.

All this, both objective and subjective, is truly internal immediate revelation. What is

now modishly treated as the only revelation still existing, and to exist, is rather the fruit of revelation than the thing itself, a scriptural record of things revealed, for they certainly were so to those to whom they were immediately disclosed; but the different senses put upon the many disputed parts of them, for many generations past, demonstrate those parts are not truly a revelation to those who mistake them; nor can they ever become such to them, till they know the holy Author to be their interpreter. For, "No prophecy of Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time," or rather, at any time, "by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."<sup>a</sup>

P. 75 and 76, S. Newton argues, that the immediate internal revelation of the Holy Ghost is not in all sufficient to save, because Barclay allows, that some who have once had it, may be, and have been damned; to which I answer, if all were saved, it would be a certain proof that God is able to save all; but are we therefore warranted to deny or dispute the ability of Almighty power to save all, because all are not saved? A flowing spring is certainly sufficient to quench my thirst, if I drink sufficiently of it; but if I refuse, the insufficiency is not in the spring, but entirely owing to my refusal. But Balaam is adduced as an instance quite in point; because he had internal revelation, yet taught Balak to seduce the Israelites to sin. That he sometimes had internal revelation, is true, and whilst he adhered thereunto, it preserved him from teaching seduction. It was when he departed from it, or suffered himself to be so far overcome with a love to the wages of unrighteousness,<sup>b</sup> that the Holy Spirit departed from him, as an illuminator and preserver, that he joined Balak in his evil purposes. This has been the case of all apostates; the grace of God is all-sufficient, but they disobey, divide from, and thereby prevent it from operating sufficiently to their salvation.

#### CHAPTER XV.

1. *S. Newton's inconsistency with our Saviour's expression, Mat. xvi.*
2. *The possibility and necessity of attaining a spiritual sense of the Spirit of God, preached by Paul to the pagans.*
3. *A false inference from my words obviated.*
4. *The pagans not void of God's saving grace, nor led by it into polytheism, &c. The rude absurdity of charging us with paganism.*
5. *Impious idolators, &c., not in Christ; but he appears in them as a swift*

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Pet. i. 20, 21. <sup>b</sup> 2 Pet. ii. 15, and Jude 11.



witness. To whom he communicates saving knowledge. A piece of manifest abuse repelled. 6. The gospel comes not in word only, but in power, and Christ not only came outwardly, but also appears inwardly, and by the powerful operation of his Spirit effects all our works in us. He is the real efficient of all good in man. 7. The gospel sensibly preached in every man. The office of the Spirit of Truth. 8. The light not unintelligible, though undefinable as to its intimate and peculiar essence by the wit of man, to which natural things are equally so. 9. My belief respecting S. Newton's note. 10. His mis-information and impertinence concerning our terms of admission. 11. A day, or time of visitation to man demonstrated. 12. My intention in styling the relief he expresses a notional one. 13. What Deism is. The Quakers not Deists, nor such enthusiasts as their opponent would render them.

1. THE answer of Christ to Peter in Mat. xvi. 17, is, "Blessed art thou Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." In opposition to this, S. Newton saith, "It is at least highly probable, the apostle learnt the truth he confessed from our Lord's conversation and instruction, or from the Baptist's testimony, however the Spirit of the Father influenced him in receiving it." I take it, the truth Peter confessed was not the mere truth of a proposition, but a sense of the reality of Jesus being the Christ. This, our Lord saith, the Father revealed to Peter; but S. Newton saith, it is at least highly probable he did not, but that either Christ himself or the Baptist did it, and intimates that the Father only aided towards the apostle's better receiving their report. I do not see, why this truth is not as likely to have been spiritually revealed to Peter by the Father, as it was to Paul, who declares, that by revelation the mystery of Christ was made known to him, and that it was likewise revealed to his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit.<sup>a</sup>

2. "Neither shall we dwell upon his ranking, p. 41, the feeling after God, and finding him, mentioned by Paul to the Athenians, Acts xvii. 27, as an equal proof of his point, with the prophets being moved by the Holy Ghost, 2 Pet. i. 21." The point I brought this Scripture in proof of is, that a spiritual internal sense of God is not impossible to be known. I therefore first observed, that Paul told the Athenian pagans, "God made of one blood all nations of men, not only to live upon the

face of the earth, but that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him." Hence I inferred, "he then must certainly be to be found and felt by man; and as he is a Spirit, it must be after a spiritual manner. We cannot consistently suppose the apostle was bantering the Athenians here, by putting them upon feeling after and finding what was not to be felt or found by them." To this argument my antagonist answers not, but recurs to evasion, and charges me with invidious reflections and designing perversions, for no better end than I can see, but to cover his imbecility.

3. P. 106, he cites me as follows, observations p. 44: "The confidence of a true Christian is not in what he hears, or reads, but in what he feels of the Holy Spirit." Hereupon he says, "Now this sets aside the real use and importance of a written revelation, to all intents and purposes, for its contents cannot now be known but by either reading or hearing."

The real use of the Scriptures is to afford instruction and comfort, and their chief importance, is to recommend to the Spirit of Christ, from whence they came, that his people may be enabled rightly to put their trust in him.<sup>a</sup> The apostle declares, God had given them the earnest of the Spirit, therefore they were always confident. Was not their confidence then grounded in the earnest of the Spirit given them of God? And are a trust in this Spirit, and a belief of the contents of Scripture, incompatible with each other? Or, is a Christian to have no confidence in the spirit and power of the Saviour himself, but all in his own notions of what he reads in Scripture, true or false; and will his own efforts according to these notions save him? Cannot he follow those scriptural exhortations and doctrines which plainly teach us to pray for the Spirit, to be led by the Spirit, to live and walk in the Spirit, without setting the Scriptures aside, and treating them with contempt? Those who have experienced a living sense of the Spirit, instead of dividing from the Scriptures, and depreciating their service, are by the divine influence, more closely united to them, read them with a better understanding, and more to their comfort and advantage than ever; are altogether as fervently concerned to press the frequent perusal of them, as any of those who so unjustly accuse them, and who are so inexperienced in the Truth as it is in Jesus, as to place their whole confidence in the notions and opinions they gather from reading the Scriptures, and remain strangers to the necessary knowledge of Christ within, the hope of glory.

4. P. 109, S. Newton thus entitles his 7th

<sup>a</sup> Eph. iii. 3, 4, 5.

<sup>a</sup> 2 Cor. v. 5, 6.



article, "The religious opinions and practices of Mr. Phipps's brethren, whom he has selected from among the heathens, recapitulated, that he may see what their supposed divine inspiration taught them."

The instances I adduced from the pagans were to show, that it was evident from some of their own expressions, they had an internal sense of that grace of God which the apostle saith, "brings salvation, and hath appeared to all men." The citations I made, appear to me proofs of it. Our opponent appearing prepossessed with an opinion, that eternal salvation is confined to the knowledge of the history and doctrines of our Saviour, is necessarily led to think, that all who are not providentially furnished with this, are intentionally left under an impossibility of entering the kingdom of heaven; and thence concludes, that the generality of the pagan world must be void of any share of the saving grace of God; and that we must be wrong in supposing otherwise concerning them. Possessed of these notions, he seems to infer, that the same principle which taught them that they had at times a manifestation of something of a divine nature within them, also led them into their polytheism, idolatry, false theology, and immoralities. But I apprehend, this is as far from being true of the pagans, as it is of those patriarchs, Israelites and Christians, who have defaulted or degenerated. For I can no more believe, that principle which sometimes gave Plato a sense that "the light and Spirit of God raiseth up the soul into a sensible communion with him," led him also to teach a plurality of deities, than I believe the Spirit which led Noah to preach righteousness, led him also to overcharge and disguise himself with wine; or that the Spirit which at seasons inspired Aaron, led him also to make a golden calf, for the Israelites to worship, or at all concurred with him in it. Nor do I think it reasonable to conclude, that because Aaron assisted in an idolatrous practice, and offended the Spirit of God in other respects, as also Miriam, David, Solomon, and many other inspired persons did, that he never had a sense of divine influence.

But it seems, both myself, and the people I am religiously connected with are brother pagans, because we hold one like opinion with some of the best and most intelligent heathens. Is it either just or charitable, to suppose those heathens held no sound or sensible truths? If they did hold any such, how can any sound or sensible mind do otherwise, than to acknowledge the same truths? And, if such a one detest their polytheism, idolatry, and immo-

rality, as truly as S. Newton himself can do, is he justly to be stigmatized with the reproachful title of brother-pagan? What is it that constitutes paganism? Is it a belief, that "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal?"<sup>a</sup> Or, to perceive of a truth, "that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him?"<sup>b</sup> Then both Paul and Peter were brother-pagans too. If we hold the same doctrine with the pagans where their tenets are agreeable to truth, is it equitably to be inferred, that we are one with them where they are not agreeable to truth. Should I return my antagonist his compliment, by producing points wherein he accords with Papists, Deists, enthusiasts, antinomians, and pagans, and charge their errors and extravagances upon him, would he not tell me, it is treating him with haughty contempt and virulent invective, as he doth without any such reason? Let him look to the beam in his own eye.

The sentences I quoted from a few pagan writers, demonstrate what I adduced them for; that they were sensible of a divine principle in their consciences, and knew somewhat of its operation. Their abiding still in some part of the polytheism, &c., they had been educated in, and the customs they had been taught to hold as sacred and inviolable, only indicate, they had not come so fully under the guidance of this principle, as to be led into all truth by it; but not that they were void of all sense of it.

P. 119, 120, S. Newton asserts, when Paul was at Athens, he did not direct them to an immediate revelation—nor appeal to a divine saving principle, or Spirit in them. But elsewhere says, Eph. ii. 12, they were without God; 1 Cor. i. 21, and that they knew not God.

The text doth not peremptorily say, they knew not God, but that they knew him not by their own wisdom; and the same apostle saith; "They are without excuse; because that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves wise, they became fools."<sup>c</sup> This shows, they had sometime a knowledge of him, but through inattention and disobedience lost that knowledge; as is the case with too many professing Christians as well as they. And when the apostle was among the Athenians, he acquainted them, that God made all nations of men, that they might feel after him and find him;<sup>d</sup> intimating, for their encouragement so

<sup>a</sup> Tit. ii. 11.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. xii. 7. <sup>b</sup> Acts x. 34, 35. <sup>c</sup> Rom. i. 20, 21, 22.

<sup>d</sup> Acts xvii. 27.



to do, that he was not far from every one of them. If they might feel after and find him, it must be by the immediate revelation of his Spirit to their spirits; which when found and felt, would, as adhered to in obedience, become a divine and saving principle in them. As to that of Eph. ii. 12, it does not appear to relate to the Gentile world of all ages and qualities, but to the carnal state of those Gentile believers the apostle was then writing to, before their conversion to Christianity, as the preceding verse evidences. Respecting 1 Cor. i. 21, it is particularly levelled against all who depend upon their carnal wisdom, their natural or acquired parts, for the knowledge of God. For, the words of the apostle are, the world by wisdom knew not God; which is equally true of carnal Jews and Christians, as of carnal heathens. Both these texts therefore are impertinently alleged.

5. In the following paragraph, S. Newton pretends, that I may call idolaters, abettors of suicide, countenancers of shocking impieties and immoralities, brethren in Christ, and treat them as savingly influenced by the Spirit of the true God.

I deny all such to be either brethren, or any thing else, in Christ, or savingly influenced by the Spirit of God. What I believe concerning them is, that they all have at times felt the reproving witness of God in their consciences, which gives them a convicting knowledge of him; and if they continue to rebel against this light, they become so darkened towards it, that "they know not the ways thereof, nor abide in the paths thereof."<sup>a</sup>—Not liking to retain God in their knowledge,<sup>b</sup> after long forbearance, he gives them over to a reprobate mind. Our principle teaches, that the grace of God that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, first as a convictor, or convincer of sin. Thus it stands at the door of man's heart and knocks for entrance, and if the heart opens to it, and abides in the ability it furnishes, sincerely desiring, and seeking to obey its motions, it will, by due degrees, increase that ability therein, till it prove itself the power of God unto salvation to it. Then, and not till then, the mind is sensible of the saving knowledge of this divine Spirit; yet, before this, whilst the soul knew nothing more of it than merely its convictions, it could not be said to be totally ignorant of an internal immediate sense of that grace which is saving, both in its nature and intention, though it was not endued with the saving knowledge of it.

I appeal to that sense of the grace of God in every conscientious breast, whether those

uncandid reflections, and the insinuation of my opposer, that I may exult in the religious spirit of impure immoral idolaters, be doing justice to the scriptural doctrine I declare, and becoming his pretensions as a minister of the gospel?

6. As to what follows under his next head, we have all along uniformly acknowledged, as fully as he can do, the gospel came in word as well as in power; but not in word only, but also in power, even in the power of the Holy Ghost.<sup>a</sup> And, we are sensible, that this divine power, from whence the words sprang, is the very essence of the gospel, and the words but the outward expression, or exterior declaration by which it is preached and recommended. To this essential internal grace, power and Spirit of God, the apostles called and pressed their hearers, as well as to the belief of the outward advent and process of the Messiah then past. They taught them, that "Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many, and unto them that look for him, shall he appear the second time, without sin unto salvation."<sup>b</sup> This second appearance of Christ, we do not understand to intend his coming to judgment at the great day of general decision; for then he will come both to determine the final state of the righteous and unrighteous; not to salvation only, but to condemnation also. But this second appearance is in order to the salvation of those who look for him to that end. Accordingly, the apostle thus prays for the believers, "The Lord direct your hearts into the love of God, and into the patient waiting for Christ;"<sup>c</sup> and he describes the Corinthians as "waiting for the coming," or renewed appearance, "of our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>d</sup>

Notwithstanding our Saviour empowers and employs his messengers to declare his will, and to call people to the work of repentance and regeneration; yet he constitutes them not as deputies to do the work for him. It is not the words they deliver, nor any application man, by his own powers, can make of them, which can perform this great business. "Lord," saith the prophet, "thou wilt ordain peace for us; for thou also hast wrought all our works in us."<sup>e</sup> The Spirit of the high and Holy One is the true efficient of all the real good that is done, all the virtue that is wrought, either in the church in general, or any of its members. It is the Spirit that giveth understanding, and unveils the knowledge of the things of

<sup>a</sup> 1 Thes. i. 5. <sup>b</sup> Heb. ix. 28. <sup>c</sup> 2 Thes. iii. 5. <sup>d</sup> 1 Cor. i. 7. <sup>e</sup> Isa. xxvi. 12.

<sup>f</sup> "I said, days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom. But there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." Job xxxii. 7, 8. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard,



God; <sup>a</sup> quickeneth and maketh alive, <sup>b</sup> mortifies, <sup>c</sup> circumcises, <sup>d</sup> baptizes, <sup>e</sup> sanctifies, <sup>f</sup> regenerates, <sup>g</sup> sets free, <sup>h</sup> strengthens, and enables to obedience. In the Spirit is <sup>i</sup> the true light, <sup>k</sup> the life, <sup>l</sup> the love, <sup>m</sup> the waiting, <sup>n</sup> the walking, <sup>o</sup> the fellowship, and communion of the gospel. In the Spirit <sup>p</sup> is true prayer made, <sup>q</sup> access to the throne of grace opened, and acceptable worship performed. The Spirit is <sup>r</sup> the covering of God's people, <sup>s</sup> their guide, <sup>t</sup> their leader, <sup>u</sup> their comforter, <sup>v</sup> their seal,

neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? Even so, the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God." 1 Cor. ii. 9, 10, 11.

<sup>a</sup> "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing." John vi. 63. "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." 2 Cor. iii. 6. "If the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead, dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." Rom. viii. 11.

<sup>b</sup> "If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." Rom. viii. 13.

<sup>c</sup> "Circumcision is that of the heart in the Spirit, and not in the letter." Rom. ii. 29.

<sup>d</sup> "By one Spirit we are all baptized into one body." 1 Cor. xii. 13.

<sup>e</sup> "But ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." 1 Cor. vi. 11.

<sup>f</sup> "Except a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is born of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit, is Spirit." John iii. 5, 6.

<sup>g</sup> "The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death." Rom. viii. 2.

<sup>h</sup> "That he would grant you, according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might, by his Spirit, in the inner man." Eph. iii. 16.

<sup>i</sup> "In him was life, and the life was the light of men."—"That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." John i. 4, 9. "God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ." 2 Cor. iv. 6.

<sup>k</sup> "The Spirit giveth life." 2 Cor. iii. 6.

<sup>l</sup> "Who also declared unto us your love in the Spirit." Col. i. 8.

<sup>m</sup> "We through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness, by faith." Gal. v. 5.

<sup>n</sup> "If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit." Gal. v. 25.

<sup>o</sup> "If any fellowship of the Spirit." Phil. ii. 1.—"Have been all made to drink into one Spirit." 1 Cor. xii. 13.

<sup>p</sup> "The Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us," &c. Rom. viii. 26. "Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance." Eph. vi. 18.—"Praying in the Holy Ghost." Jude 20.

<sup>q</sup> "Through him we both have an access by one Spirit unto the Father." Eph. ii. 18.

<sup>r</sup> "Wo to the rebellious children—that cover with a covering, but not of my Spirit." Isa. xxx. 1.

<sup>s</sup> "When he the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all Truth." John xvi. 3.

<sup>t</sup> "If ye be led by the Spirit ye are not under the law." Gal. v. 18. "As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." Rom. viii. 14.

<sup>u</sup> "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth." John xiv. 16, 17.

<sup>v</sup> "God, who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts." 2 Cor. i. 22.—"In whom

the infelt earnest of an everlasting inheritance to them; and in sum, the all-effective power and virtue of the gospel ministration; all which the Scriptures here-under cited undeniably evidence.

7. In all these respects the Holy Spirit operated in common amongst the primitive believers. For the continuation of the same spiritual operations, it is that we plead, and not that of miraculous gifts; which were always extraordinary, and afforded but to few in comparison of the whole number of the primitives. Yet our examiner all along chooses, that we shall mean what he pleases, and what may best answer the end he so artificially labours to accomplish. Upon this ground, p. 122, &c., he proceeds against us, as though we disputed the conviction of the Christian converts through the preaching of the apostles; which we are as far from denying as any people upon earth. What I opposed him in was, the inference he appeared to make, that because it pleased God to teach them sometimes instrumentally, he never taught them immediately at any time; or, that none were ever converted or taught of God but through external means; which the very convictions of God's grace in every man's conscience disprove.

He allows, all men have the Spirit, but denies they have any more sense of it, than a vegetable of the sap that nourishes it. But his own repeated confession, that when he does right conscience approves, and when he does wrong it condemns him, shows the contrary. This is generally called conscience, because it is something of God appearing in the mind, and giving it a conscious sense of right and wrong respecting its own acts. No man could know that it makes these just distinctions without a sense of them. What is inward conviction for evil, but a sense of guilt? And, what is the genuine effect of guilt, but remorse? What does remorse lead to, but repentance? And what is repentance, but the doctrine of the gospel? Every rational creature under heaven, therefore, having this sensation, hath the gospel preached in him or her by this righteous Spirit, agreeable to Col. i. 3.

Our Lord showed his disciples, that the Spirit of Truth, the Comforter, should not only bring to their remembrance what he had told them, show them things to come, and lead them into all truth; but it should likewise, reprove the world of sin, of righteousness, and

also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise." Eph. i. 13. "Grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed, unto the day of redemption." Ibid. iv. 30.



of judgment.<sup>a</sup> Whether this divine Visiter appears to the mind of man, in words, or without words, by the sensations of compunction and remorse; whether in the sharpness of reproof, or the healing touches of consolation; whether it manifests itself as light, or sheds its life and love into the heart; whether it darts upon it as lightning, or settles it in a holy serenity; fills it with faith, or inflames it with zeal; in all these ways, seeing it proceeds not by messenger, but by its own immediate communication to the rational soul of man, it is properly styled internal immediate revelation.

This divine Spirit is a living source of truth and virtue in man, without which exterior laws and precepts would little avail; and when through faithfulness thereunto, it is enlarged and advanced over all in the soul, it is found to be a sure foundation, which neither the wisdom of the wise, the reasonings of the confident, the jugglings of the crafty, the derision of the reviler, the rage of the persecutor, nor even the gates of hell can prevail against.

8. S. Newton's repeated allegations that this Spirit is inexplicable and unintelligible, and calling for particular definitions of its peculiar essence, with his insulting conclusions thereupon, amount to nothing more than this argument. If you are really sensible of this Spirit, you can clearly define what it is; but you are not able thus to define it; therefore you have no sense of it. To show this reasoning proves nothing, take the following parallel. If you are really sensible there is a magnetic power in the loadstone, you can clearly define what that power is; but you are not able clearly to define it; therefore you have no sense of it. What experienced navigator would prefer this reasoning to the facts he has had ocular demonstration of; to the certain experience he has daily profited by? That a man must be able to define to others, the peculiar essence of whatever he sensibly knows to be true, is beyond the power of logic to prove. It is enough for us to know, that it is God that worketh in us, and to yield obedience to his operations; the truth of which is not at all affected by a want of nice and essential definitions of that which effects them. We plainly behold the astonishing natural virtue of the magnet, both respecting its attraction and polar adhesion. It is an undeniable power, yet undefinable by the wit of man. All the attempts that have been, or can be made to discover it, whether just or erroneous, cannot in the least affect the reality and verity of it; because a cloud of witnesses have found it to be true by a sensible evidence. So it is with the work and power of the Holy Spirit.

All the painful researches of the most ingenious and penetrating of mankind, demonstrate that the intimate essences, and intrinsic differences of natural things, are out of the reach of human discovery; much more so are those of a spiritual nature.

9. In his note p. 123, he suspects, I cannot conscientiously believe, what I cannot but conscientiously believe; which is, that to be fervent in spirit, relates to the fervency of a man's own spirit; and that to be fervent in the Spirit,<sup>a</sup> as expressed of Apollos, intends a fervency inspired by the Spirit. It is true, our translators have rendered the like phrase, Rom. xii. 11, fervent in spirit; but probably, what led them to that might be the contrasting expression preceding it, not slothful in business; yet I think unwarrantably.

Ibid. S. Newton saith, "Mr. Phipps also is for making a syllogism for me, that he might the more easily refute it." The syllogism I made for him is founded upon his own assertions; that "God had many people at Corinth, but he did not choose to teach them the gospel by immediate revelation. No," &c. His new substituted syllogism is founded upon a different position, to which I do not object; that is, "they were not taught the gospel by internal immediate revelation alone." By his addition of the word alone, he alters from his former doctrine to ours. What the Apologist asserts, is sufficiently proved; for I have shown, words, without divine influence, are not to be depended on for the true sense of ambiguous expressions, because they are so liable to be differently understood by different persons.

10. What S. Newton gives out as our terms of admission, p. 128, are not our terms of admission. We receive our members upon a better foundation than he appears to be acquainted with. Our terms of admission, are, a free and unforced conscientious acquiescence upon principle, with the essential doctrines of Truth and real Christianity, and the rules of the Society founded thereon, and not upon mere external appearances. The Holy Spirit itself is our bond of union, and the holy Scriptures are our articles. Christ once in the flesh, and always in Spirit, are fundamentals with us. We require no subscription to articles of human invention.

As to differences in opinion amongst us, whilst professors of the same faith differ in years and experience, in capacity and opportunity, in education and associates, in faithfulness or unfaithfulness to their principles, there must be different opinions and practices. When the believers and the primitive age of Chris-

<sup>a</sup> John xv. and xvi.

<sup>a</sup> Acts xviii. 25.



tianity grew numerous, it was the case amongst them, and in all societies ever since. What we assert is, that the one Holy Spirit leads all that faithfully follow it into sameness of doctrine and unity of love; and that all who profess to be followers of Christ, ought to be led by his Spirit; but that all, either of our own Society, or any other, are so led, we are far from asserting or believing.

The quotation made from Barclay, page 131, amounts to no more than this; that the Spirit of God is sufficient of itself, without anything else; but nothing else is sufficient without that. To infer from this undeniable truth, that we mean everything but the Holy Spirit is useless to man's salvation, whether the Spirit please to use them or not, is a mere perversion. Whatever the Spirit is pleased to use, it renders useful; what it uses not in the work of salvation, cannot be useful towards it; for salvation is of God, and there is no Saviour besides him.<sup>a</sup> To parallel this with such falsehoods as my opposer cites from the deistical author of "Christianity not Founded on Argument," is only a repetition of one of his customary abuses.

11. Page 135. He thinks "Barclay's time or day of visitation, which does not always continue through a man's life," a dangerous and melancholy opinion. "For," says he, "were a man properly affected with his miserable condition by sin, and once imagined his day of grace to be over, neither the light within him, nor the gospel without him, can give him any relief." For this reason men ought carefully to embrace the day of their visitation, and follow the advice of our Saviour, who saith, "While ye have the light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light."<sup>b</sup> This is the only way to escape the dreadful consequences of continuing in rebellion against it: and is it not a comfort to all men, that they are allowed this opportunity? If he think so unfavourably of this doctrine, what does he teach others to think of his favourite doctrine of preterition, which allows of no condition, or time of visitation at all, nor even one single chance for salvation, to the majority of mankind?

That there is such a time and opportunity as Barclay inculcates, and that it may be lost to apostatizers past redemption, is evident from that awful passage, Heb. vi. 4, 5, 6: "It is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good Word of God, and the powers of the world to come; if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto re-

pentance; seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame."

This passage evinces, 1st, that persons may become sensible partakers of the Holy Ghost, and taste of that divine power which is the eternal life of the blessed in the world to come. 2nd. That they may apostatize from this condition to such a degree, that repentance, and consequently salvation, shall become impossible to them. 3rd. That they bring this upon themselves, because they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame; they reject and rebel against the invitations of his Spirit in themselves, till they occasion it to forsake them, whereby the divine Witness is spiritually crucified and slain as to its life in them, and the Christian name openly reproached through their evil conduct and example. This is further illustrated by a simile in the two succeeding verses: "For the earth which drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom it is dressed, receiveth blessing from God. But that which beareth thorns and briars is rejected, and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned."<sup>a</sup> The rain that cometh oft upon the earth, denotes that the divine visitation is frequently renewed to the soul of man; and the earth which drinketh it up, and bringeth forth herbs, the soul that affectionately receives and faithfully retains it, so as to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit; whereby it inherits the blessing of God's salvation. By the earth which beareth thorns and briars, is pointed out the soul that so repeatedly continues to resist and backslide from the divine Visiter, as to bring forth and abide in wicked works, which occasions him to reject and forsake it; the consequence whereof must be its final condemnation and destruction.

This portion of Scripture thus demonstrates both the certainty of a day of divine visitation to the souls of men, and the possibility of its being discontinued, whilst they remain in the body.

12. S. Newton in his letter, page 29, having said, "Whether God would pardon my iniquities, my light could give me no information;" and afterwards expressing, "I am relieved by a notion, a report, a testimony, sentiments delivered by Jesus of Nazareth and his apostles in the New Testament." I queried page 58, "What does he read there that particularly concerns himself more than any other person? Where doth the New Testament declare, that \*'No matter who," is in a

<sup>a</sup> Ps. xxxvii. 39. Isa. lxiii. 11. <sup>b</sup> John xii. 36.

<sup>a</sup> Heb. vi. 7 and 8.

\* S. Newton's signature instead of his proper name.



state of divine acceptance and approbation?" Herein I had no intention to insinuate that he meant to exclude all others from an equal share with him, nor will my words bear such a construction. But apprehending, upon his predestinarian principles, that he flattered himself he was one of the personally elected, from something he had read in the New Testament, and willing he should not deceive himself, I enquired where he found himself particularly pointed out as one of the elect. Instead of a pertinent answer, he cites only the first part of the question, and in that leaves out the word "particularly;" which is unfair in both respects, and renders all the religious indignation he vents upon it for several pages, entirely pointless. What I intended was to put him upon consideration, that if what he read in the New Testament was a true relief to him, his comfort must arise either from an evidence that all men universally have, or that himself in particular hath certainly a share in the glad tidings of the gospel; and that, if he did not believe all men therein comprehended, this comfortable evidence to himself must spring either from the Holy Spirit bearing witness with his spirit that he is the Lord's, or from an especial mention of him in the Scripture; and as I found he denied the internal evidence of the Spirit, I queried with him, where he found himself particularly pointed out in the New Testament as in a state of divine acceptance; and I still think it worth his while to examine the grounds of his belief, that he may not be deceived by a mere notion.

13. He cites Barclay's definition of conscience in the abstract, and then improperly treats it as in the Concrete, to make it suit with the deistical notions of Tindal, and prove the Quakers deists: a point he as ardently as ineffectually labours. We always understand the natural conscience, and the light of God's Spirit appearing in the conscience, as different principles. The very essence of deism consists in a denial of revelation. A denial of all divine revelation is perfect deism. A denial of it in part is partial deism. The Quakers deny no part of divine revelation; therefore are in no respects to be styled deists. They believe both in the inspiration of the Scriptures, and that of the Holy Spirit. Those who disbelieve either the one or the other, are so far deistical. He who believes the Sacred Writings were penned by men inspired for that purpose, and yet holds that all immediate inspiration is now totally withheld, doth, in perusing the Scriptures, rest upon his own private interpretations, or that of his party, as the true sense intended by the Holy Ghost, and

is at best a semi-deist. Such a one has no right to reproach those with the name of deists, who believe the penmen of Scripture to have been inspired as well as he, and also acknowledge the continuance of inspiration, which he doth not. To pretend that the inspired records must be needless to, and therefore set aside by, those who believe the continuance of internal inspiration, is falsely inferred; for the Scriptures of the Old Testament were useful to, and used by the inspired apostles; and those who have at times experienced the renewals of inspiration, know that the Scriptures are often thereby brought to their remembrance, more clearly opened, and rendered more useful and comfortable to them, than it is possible for them to be without it. This is not the vain imagination of a private spirit, nor that wild enthusiasm so indiscriminately and untruly cast as an opprobrium upon all who profess the necessity of knowing the inspiring Spirit of Truth to lead into all truth to the end of the world.

#### CHAPTER XVI.

1. *S. Newton's pretended quotation from George Fox's Great Mystery, a false one. George Fox's true intention.*
2. *The essential gospel, and S. Newton's supposed cases answered. Barclay cleared of his charge, and himself shown to oppose the sense of the apostle.*
3. *Christ the light and life of men before his incarnation. These terms not to be confined to his corporeal appearance upon earth.*
4. *Nor to the Scriptures. What their proper use is.*
- 5 and 6. *The Greek word Erchomenon, John i. ix., more properly applicable to man, than either to Light, or Christ.*
7. *A material difference between Light afforded in order to salvation, and a real embracing of it so as to be saved by it. Christ as truly the Light of the souls of men, as the sun is to their bodies, whether they keep their eyes open to it, or shut them against it.*
8. *Christ as the divine Word, the creating, upholding, and saving power of God to mankind, the Elect, the gracious Administrator of life and salvation, through his external sacrifice, and by the communication of his Spirit. The true sense of unlearned writers not to be ascertained by the rules of grammar, or criticism.*
9. *Rom. x. 14, 15, equally concerns Jews and Gentiles. The improbability of the primitives preaching throughout the habitable world.*
10. *Not every individual man, but every regenerate person, is the temple of God.*
11. *The kingdom of God is within, Luke xv. ii.*
- S. New-*



ton's falsification of the original text, to make it appear otherwise. The true Christian is the temple of Christ, wherein he manifests himself by his Spirit. 12. What the kingdom of God is. The conclusion.

1. WHAT S. Newton pretends to cite, page 144, from George Fox's Great Mystery, is not there. It is nothing better than a perversion of expressions of a different meaning, made formerly by Thomas Hicks, from whom he has taken it at second hand, and who was one of the many unjust and violent adversaries of the Quakers in the last century; confuted by George Whitehead in the second part of the Christian Quaker, and by William Penn, in his Reason Against Railing, and his Counterfeit Christian detected.

What George Fox saith in his Great Mystery, page 68, is, "Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates," saith the apostle; and again, "God breathed into man the breath of life, and he became a living soul; for that which came out from God, was the cause that man became alive, a living soul, and is not this of God?—Is not that of God which came out from God?" This he did not intend of the soul itself, but of the inbreathing of divine life in the soul. Of this life it is that he saith, "It brings the soul that is faithful to it, up into God, from whence it came, whereby they come to be one soul;" meaning in unity, not identity. What he means, pages 29 and 91, by the soul's being infinite, is only immortal, or of infinite duration, not expansion. These terms he sometimes used one for another, as is common amongst unlettered persons. It is evident from his own words, page 91, that he did not mean the soul was a part of the divine Essence; for he there speaks of its being in a state of death whilst in transgression, which is not possible to the divine Essence, and afterwards adds, "Every man that cometh into the world, having a light from Christ Jesus—the way out of the fall, the second Adam—receiving the light, they receive redemption and sanctification, whereby their spirits, bodies, and souls are sanctified." Here he plainly distinguishes between the soul and that which it receives of the divine Nature which sanctifies it.

George Fox's Treatise was printed in 1659, and contains cursory answers to above an hundred different opposers, who in a manner mobbed him from the press at that contentious period; and as he had full employment for his time otherwise, and had not the benefit of that literature which is now common, infamous advantages then were, and have often since been taken by designing antagonists, of the inaccuracy of his expressions. But I

should think it beneath any person of a liberal education and character, to copy from those ill-intenders, or to follow them in such a disingenuous line. Neither the witticism of S. Newton's sensible writer, nor his own reflection upon it, has any foundation in our doctrine.

2. In answer to his efforts concerning the gospel, page 147, &c., without troubling myself with the unnecessary pedantry of etymologies, I shall say, we allow the word gospel, in an extended sense, may include both the mystery and the history, the inward and outward process of our Saviour; for the gospel comes not in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost.<sup>a</sup> We believe this power of the Holy Ghost to be the internal essential part, and the words the exterior declarative, and occasional expression of it. We admit the history, metonymically to a share in the title, but not to engross it; lest the power, which is the life and reality of it, should be excluded, and people be deceived into a belief that the gospel essentially consists of nothing but words.

The passages S. Newton cites, pages 148 and 150, from 1 Cor. xv. and Acts x. prove not that the gospel is totally comprehended in the historical part only. We are far from denying that Paul, Peter, or any other true minister or messenger of Christ, preached the gospel, when, by inspiration, they preached concerning the historical process of Christ; but we cannot allow that this comprehends the whole of the gospel they preached. For we read in their writings, that the gospel is the power of God unto salvation, and that it shines as a light in the heart, to give the knowledge of the glory of God.<sup>b</sup> The doctrines of the gospel are also called the gospel, and the preaching of them, is termed preaching the gospel; but it is evident, neither the history nor the doctrines are the essential gospel intended in Gal. i. For we find, after the apostle had said, "If any man preach any other gospel unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed;"<sup>c</sup> he shows what he meant by the gospel they had received, in 11th, 12th, 15th, and 16th verses. "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me, is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." "But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen, immediately, I conferred not with flesh and blood." The gospel here intended, is plainly

a 1 Thes. i. 5. b 2 Cor. 4. 6. c Gal. i. 9.



the immediate revelation of the Son of God within him, and neither an historical nor doctrinal relation of things without him. It is against the oppugners of this internal essential gospel which is not of man, nor by man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ within man, that the apostle twice pronounces anathema. S. Newton untruly charges us with a disregard of the context, though here he manifestly rejects it, and runs to 1 Cor. and Acts for an explanation, rather than use the real and true one of the apostle himself, in its due and proper place.

S. Newton allows, page 153, that the gospel was attended by the power of the Holy Ghost, but asserts, it was not that power. The apostle saith, it is the power.<sup>a</sup> Thus not we, but himself contradicts the apostle. In demonstration of this gospel spirit and power Paul preached, that the faith of his hearers might be fixed in this power of God, and not in the private interpretations of men's wisdom. His fellow-labourers preached under the influence of the same divine power, which pricked their hearers in their heart;<sup>b</sup> and so must all that ever truly preach the gospel. The apostle declares, he would know not the speech of them that are puffed up, but the power. For the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power.<sup>c</sup> This everlasting power is the spirit of the gospel, wherein it mainly and most essentially consists; as the essentiality of the man doth of the rational soul; and the words and matters preached or written, are as the body, or present outside. 2 Tim. iii. the apostle describes what kinds of men those would be, who, "having a form of godliness, would deny the power;" and directs from such to turn away.

Page 155, S. Newton supposes two cases, which are briefly these. First, if I and some of my brethren were confined for rebellion, without any prospect but that of death before us, and a royal messenger brought a proclamation to the gate for our pardon and enlargement; or, second, if we were actually brought to the place of execution, and the king's son, in his father's name, there declared a free and full pardon to us, on practical conditions; upon these suppositions he queries, whether these declarations would not be gospel, or glad tidings to us? I answer, Yes, if the real fulfilment of them certainly ensue; but if not, they would soon prove sad tidings, and depress us the more upon a disappointment. Will he say that the whole is done only by reading the proclamation? Is not the material part to follow? Are we deliver-

ed by hearing? Is it not necessary that we should fulfil the terms required, and then be unfettered and unbound, or the prison doors set open to us? And is not this the essential part? The words declare the kind offer and the good intent, but the executive power sets at liberty; and which is preferable if considered apart. Which would any man choose, to hear of liberty, or to enjoy it? To resolve the whole of the gospel into mere tidings, and to reduce it into bare report, is to exclude the powerful reality which gives deliverance, from any share in the title; as though the report was the Saviour, and the notion the salvation. This is what we cannot admit as an article in our creed. We know no Saviour but Christ, nor any salvation without his power.

S. Newton was too sanguine in asserting in his letter, page 34, and repeating it in his present publication, page 149, that Barclay's treating the gospel in like manner, was a distinction of his own devising. I showed him the contrary, from William Thorpe the Protestant martyr, John Smith, of Cambridge, and Dr. Smith; and I will now show him further, that Tertullian wrote to the same purpose fifteen hundred years ago. In his Apology, Cap. xvii., he saith, "surely the soul was before the letter, and the Word was before the book." And in his *Carminum Advers. Marion*. Lib. ii. he saith,

"—non Verba Libri, sed missus in Orbem  
Ipse Christus Evangelium est, si cernere vultis."

In English thus:

"If you are disposed to understand; not the words of the book, but Christ himself, who is sent into the world, is the gospel." We likewise read, 2 Cor. iv. 3, &c. "If our gospel be hid, it is hid (*in eos*) in them that are lost; in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them. For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus's sake. For God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." Here the apostle teaches, that the gospel they preached was Christ, showing his face, or manifesting himself as the image of God in their hearts; and that it was only hid, or obscured in the minds of those, who through unbelief therein, or unfaithfulness thereto, were become blinded towards it by him who is called the god of this world, because he is

<sup>a</sup> Rom. i. 16. 1 Cor. xii. 4, 5. <sup>b</sup> Acts ii. 37. <sup>c</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 19, 20.



obeyed by those who walk according to the course of this world.<sup>a</sup>

3. Page 162, S. Newton acknowledges that John the Evangelist asserts, the Logos, or Word, was God, the Creator of all things, the life and light of men; to which he adds, "It was the source of all the true knowledge of God, and a future state, that had ever been, or was then revealed to any of his people, for the life and happiness of their souls."

All this, understood of the Eternal Word, we readily acquiesce in; as it accords with the nature of truth and the prophecy of the gospel covenant: "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts." "For they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them."<sup>b</sup> This could not intend the knowledge of Christ incarnate; for that appearance was too exterior, and of too short duration. Nor could it mean the knowledge of the Scriptures; for a man may know them from beginning to end, believe them to be true, and frame his practice according to his apprehensions of the sense of them, and yet not know the Lord. The Jews had the law, the prophets, and the Scriptures extant in their time; yet the Almighty by the mouth of the same prophet, declares, "My people are foolish, they have not known me."<sup>c</sup> Nor was it possible they should without divine assistance; therefore he saith, "I will give them a heart to know me."<sup>d</sup> And in Ezekiel, "A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you." "I will put my Spirit within you."<sup>e</sup> Thus the true knowledge of God is to be received, by the internal writing of the divine Word in the heart, which puts the law of light and life within man, and thereby lighteth every man coming, or that cometh into the world.

4. To imagine the universal light and life of the immortal Word, is at all meant of the Scriptures, is absurd. For it appears to have been at least two thousand four hundred years after the creation, before any part of the Scriptures were written, and the several pieces that compose them were occasionally written at divers times, and by different penmen, taking up about sixteen hundred and thirty years more, from the publication of the first of them by Moses, to the last by John the divine; considering also, that the abundantly greater part of mankind in these latter ages, since they have appeared in Christendom, have never yet had them, and how many millions therein, have been wickedly debarred from the use of them in their own language, by an

interested and designing priesthood; it undeniably appears, that a vast majority of mankind never had the benefit of them. And amongst those who are favoured with them, the variety, and even contrariety of opinions and practices which have all along subsisted, especially among the high pretenders to, and possessors of literature, all contribute to demonstrate, that though the Sacred Records, opened by the spiritual key of David, are profitable and excellent above all other writings, yet a more adequate universal guide than themselves, ever hath been, and now is, absolutely necessary to the salvation of mankind.

5. Page 164, S. Newton understands the word Erchomenon rendered *coming*, or *that cometh*, as referring to the light, rather than to man.<sup>a</sup> But as Maldonatus observes, man being the next noun, may more properly challenge the participle *coming* to itself. Thus it is in the Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions; in the Latin, by Luther, Erasmus, Beza, Drusius, and others; also in the French, Spanish, Italian, German, Low Dutch, and Anglosaxonic translations. In the same sense it was understood by Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Lactantius, &c. Of all which, instances are produced in William Penn's Spirit of Truth Vindicated, published about a century ago, in answer to a learned Socinian. But apart from other authorities, the context appears sufficient to clear the point.

John i. 1. The Evangelist shows first, what the Word, Christ, was in himself, and asserts he was God; and next what he was in and to the world. First, he was the Creator of all things;<sup>b</sup> and second, the light of men; and both these he was in the beginning, or early part of time to this creation, four thousand years before his coming in the flesh. As he then began to be the light of men, he hath all along continued to be so. As he made the sun to be the light of our external world, whether people keep their eyes open, or shut them against its shining; so is he the true light of the spirit of men, whether they open to him or not. This he is by the inward manifestation of his Spirit in every man's conscience. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men."<sup>c</sup> This was in the beginning, and hath been from the beginning. It is the one living Eternal Word, or energetic Spirit, appearing in both modes, when truly believed in and properly received.

6. "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." "This," saith S. Newton, page 163, "may more particularly, as some think, refer to the Jews."

<sup>a</sup> Eph. ii. 2. <sup>b</sup> Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. <sup>c</sup> Ibid. iv. 22. <sup>d</sup> Jer. xiv. 7. <sup>e</sup> Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27.

<sup>a</sup> John i. 9. <sup>b</sup> Verse 3, 4. <sup>c</sup> Verse 4, 5.



But why so? Were the Gentiles less dark than the Jews? Or doth the term world, include the Jews only, who were but a handful compared with the Gentiles? How does that comport with verse 10? "He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not." Are not the Gentiles included in the world that was made by him, as well, and as much as the Jews? Or is he the God of the Jews only, and not of the Gentiles also?<sup>a</sup> I take the darkness to be the corrupt state of mankind; Gentiles as well as Jews.

He says, page 164, "The phrase *coming into the world*, seems plainly to denote a pre-existent state; but neither Scripture nor reason support any such notion concerning mankind in general." I agree with him in the latter part, but differ from him in the former; i. e., that coming into the world seems plainly to denote a pre-existent state, in any other sense than the pre-existence of all men in their mothers' womb, before they may properly be said to come forth into, or to make their appearance in the visible world.<sup>b</sup> I apprehend the phrase no more denotes any other pre-existence of mankind, than the coming of the great day, implies the pre-existence of that day. Nor do I see with what propriety this expression can be applied to Christ, more than to any one of the species. For he was always in the world, which was made and continually subsists by his power;<sup>c</sup> hence all that can be meant by his coming thereinto, is that he assumed a different manner of appearance, or mode of manifestation in it than he had done before.

7. Page 166; "Those who did not receive Him, and were not born of him, could not therefore be described as enlightened unto salvation." Those who did not receive Him, could never be born of Him; for he that is born of Him, is both enlightened and quickened by his Spirit. The Saviour as the light of the world, dispenseth of his light to every man that cometh into the world, to give him a sight of his captive condition; this sight producing that godly sorrow which worketh repentance,<sup>d</sup> salvation ensues. So, though the light of the Saviour ariseth upon all, in order that all may come to repentance and be saved, yet those who are so attached to their evil courses, that they love darkness rather than light, shut it out from them, and therefore do not come to the saving knowledge of him, who is the Author of eternal salvation to all that obey him.<sup>e</sup>

If my opposer intends by the phrases sav-

ingly enlightened, enlightened unto salvation, and such like, that we mean the saving power is nothing in the work but a mere illuminator, and that illumination is salvation; I must tell him we entertain no such ideas, for they are void of truth and reality. When we speak of the light being of a saving nature, we do not intend that salvation is effected merely by light abstractly considered, though it is the light of life. The eternal Word operates both as light and as life. It gives true discovery and discrimination, as light; and empowers to live and act suitably, as life. This light and life being the very nature of the Saviour, are properly said to be of a saving nature. Men may be so enlightened as to see the way of salvation, and yet refuse to walk in it; yea, they may be led into the way, yet not abide in it. Will their refusal or defection alter the nature of the light, or prove it is not saving? Would my shutting out the light, be a proof that it would not shine upon me; or of the contrary? Food is not such to him who refuses to eat it; but is it not food in its nature, because he refuses it? And might it not be food to him, if he would be wise enough to take it?

8. "In the beginning was the Word."<sup>a</sup> This divine Word had no beginning. It was no part of the creation. All created things were made by Him, and called from inexistence into being; but the Word is without beginning or end of days. The Word inexpressible by words, and incomprehensible by thoughts and imaginations. The *Orthos Logos*, infinite in wisdom, goodness and power; from the beginning issuing forth, and acting in the work of creation and Providence, and also from the time of the fall, in mediation and regeneration.

As man was the only part of this lower creation designed for immortality, the favours he then received were answerable to the high purpose of his Maker in creating him. The creating and converting Word immediately became his illuminator and quickener. "All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men."<sup>b</sup>

After man's transgression and defection from this divine light and life, this gracious Word astonishingly condescended to offer himself to repair the breach, by determining, in due time, to take the nature of man upon him, and to give it up to excruciating pains and the death of the cross, as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world. Hereby he showed the greatness of divine love and

<sup>a</sup> Rom. iii. 29. <sup>b</sup> Jer. xx. 18. <sup>c</sup> John i. 10. <sup>d</sup> 2 Cor. vii. 10. <sup>e</sup> Heb. v. 9.

<sup>a</sup> John i. 1. <sup>b</sup> Verse 3, 4.



mercy to poor helpless man, and also by then immediately renewing, and thenceforward continuing, to afford a manifestation of his light to man in his fallen estate. For before his incarnation, "He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not."<sup>a</sup> The generality, though they felt his inward convictions, the reproofs of instruction, distinguished them not to be his, but might flatter themselves, they were only the effects of tradition early instilled into their minds; and not having their habitation in the light, were become as darkness; yet the light shined in their darkness, though their darkness comprehended it not.<sup>b</sup> They thought too meanly of this light, had no just conception of it, knew it not to be the visitation of the Son of God, and though they were his own, Gentiles as well as Jews, by creation and intentional redemption, they received him not.\* "But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God."<sup>c</sup>

The evangelist having spoken of him as the universal, illuminating, effective Word, verse 14, he comes to speak of his incarnation, saying, "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." We are not here to understand, that the sovereign Word, or Spirit, was transubstantiated into flesh, but that for man's redemption he took the nature of man upon him, and appeared amongst men as a man, and undoubtedly in the eyes of most seemed not more than man; but saith his enlightened follower, "and we beheld his glory,"—had a sense of his divinity, as well as a sight of his humanity,—"the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father"—the only One of his own essence and eternity—"full of grace and truth—and of his fulness have all we received, and grace for grace."<sup>d</sup>

When persons read and presume to expound the Scriptures with school and college methods uppermost in their heads, it is no wonder they mistake them. The inspired writers observed no such rules, even those of them who might have a competent share of literature; which most of them had not. Learned or unlearned, the light and motion of the Holy Spirit was their guide; not the rules of rhetoric, logic, or grammar. Is not the apostle John's Greek as ordinary as George Fox's English; yet who had a deeper understanding given him in divine things than

John? Not school learning, but the light of the Holy Ghost gave them a right understanding, and the same is requisite to the right understanding of their writings. They spake not the wisdom of this world;<sup>a</sup> therefore are not to be understood by its wisdom, yet nothing is more busy to explain them. They often treat of things promiscuously; even as our Saviour himself spoke, intermixing the internal spiritual sense with the external, both respecting himself and the matters he touched upon. This John doth in his first chapter, sometimes speaking of Christ as the Word, which respects his divinity, sometimes as man, or as in the flesh, and sometimes comprehending both senses in the same words. For want of a right understanding properly to distinguish them, men are apt to jumble and mistake one for another. Hence arise disagreement, clashing and jangling, about the true sense of Scripture; and trying it by the notions of systems they have espoused, instead of trying them by the truth, it is no wonder there is so much controversy. The only way to put an end to it, is for all to come to the Spirit of Truth in their own hearts, that they may be led into all truth; which till they do, they never can be.

9. Page 171. S. Newton by a perversion, charges Barclay with perversion. He asserts, "Paul (in Rom. x. 14, 15,) is only speaking of the Israelites, as the scope of the chapter demonstrates." This appears to me a mistake. For though the apostle had been speaking particularly of them in divers of the preceding verses, in these he manifestly includes both Jews and Gentiles. His words are, "There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek; for the same Lord over all, is rich unto all that call upon him. For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?" &c.<sup>b</sup> The pronoun *they* bath evidently an equal reference to both Jews and Gentiles; as the preceding context demonstrates.

Accepting these words, "their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world,"<sup>c</sup> as intended only of the preaching of the apostles, and their companions in travel, and as being literally true when Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, S. Newton, page 172, asserts, "It is most likely it was by them and their adherents, propagated throughout the greatest part of the then habitable world." Upon which I ask, What probability is there, that any of them ever preached the gospel in China, Persia, Tartary, India, Russia, America, the numerous oriental and

<sup>a</sup> John i. 10. <sup>b</sup> Verse 5.

\* S. Newton might tell the Evangelist here, in like manner as he doth us, that he attributes not this saying Sonship to the grace or gift of God, but to a certain *virtuous openness* in themselves, which renders their salvation owing to themselves.

<sup>c</sup> John i. 11, 12. <sup>d</sup> Verse 16.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 6. <sup>b</sup> Rom. x. 12, 13, 14. <sup>c</sup> Verse 13.



occidental islands, or set legendary tales aside, in Britain, or in short, throughout the far greatest part of the then habitable world? The assertion appears grounded upon a vulgar error, though too current, and what is built upon it, is improbable conjecture.

10. P. 175, &c., S. Newton having cited 1 Cor. iii. 18, and xii. 7, saith, "These and such like passages are ascribed indiscriminately to mankind universally, and every individual man is declared to be the temple of God, and to have a manifestation of the Spirit to profit withal." That the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal, we verily believe, and do not depend upon this particular text only for it. We also believe, that if every man seeketh rightly to profit with it, every man may so grow in grace as in time to become the temple of God. But that every man so profits with it, as really to become God's temple, we no more believe than our accuser.

Great part of what follows, and indeed a large portion of his volume, is made up of repetitions from his letter, with additional suppositions, which are untruly fathered upon us; and which lay scattered in the confuted publications of Hicks, Faldo, Bugg, Lesly, Pickworth, and other party writers in the last century. These have become as magazines of sophistry and abuse, to furnish their warm successors in opposition, who to this day keep retailing them out against us.

11. P. 180, our examiner presumes entirely to refute every thing Barclay's defender has advanced upon Luke xvii. 20, 21. The passage is, "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation, neither shall they say, lo here, or lo there; for behold the kingdom of God is within you." To suit his purpose, S. Newton chose to read these last words, *is among you*. To this I replied, Observations, p. 74. "This reading destroys the antithesis evidently intended by our Saviour, who was here answering a question put to him by the pharisees, concerning the coming of an outward kingdom, by informing them, that the kingdom of God is an inward kingdom; and showing the difference between an outward and visible form, which men are capable to point out by their lo here, and lo there, and his own internal spiritual dominion."

To accomplish my entire refutation, he takes the word *entos*, out of the original Greek, the proper signification of which is within, as it stands in our translation. It is also rendered in Latin *intus* by Beza, and *intra* by Castalio, both which signify within. Instead of this my opponent substitutes *en*, which is usually rendered in or among. By the like practice the Scripture may be made

to teach any doctrine whatsoever. But to common understandings, the taking away an original word from the text, and putting another in its place different in signification, is a direct falsification of Scripture; which is the more notorious, as there does not appear to be any various reading in the Greek text to afford a pretence for it.\* The cause of Truth stands in need of no such artifices; nor can that system be according to truth, which is obliged to falsehood for its support.

When a writer who professes so high an esteem for the Holy Scriptures, takes such unwarrantable freedoms with them, as openly to falsify them to serve his purpose; his efforts, instead of accomplishing the refutation of others, must terminate in self confusion. For this, I refer to p. 239, where he vents himself in these opprobrious terms, "To adopt a religious scheme which is contrary to them (the Scriptures,) though we may borrow the phraseology and terms of Scripture to express it, must be impious daring insolence, and atrocious rebellion against the divine government. Were the most dreadful curses pronounced, by the Spirit, upon 'any who shall add to, or diminish from the prophecy of one book,' Rev. xxii. 18, 19, how unspeakably deplorable must their doom be, if they die without an alteration of mind, who pervert the main sense of the whole New Testament, and introduce another gospel." If this heavy charge and denunciation belong to those who add to, diminish from, or pervert the sense of Scripture, it behoves our opponent to look to himself; for he appears to be notoriously guilty.

P. 184, he teaches, that the apostolic expression, Christ in you the hope of glory,<sup>a</sup> only intends, "that Christ should be freely proclaimed among the Gentiles, to give them the hope of eternal glory." Which is very much like asserting, that the proclamation concerning Christ without them, is Christ in them, or at least, all that is meant by it. But presently after he acknowledges the truth in part, where he says,—"Christ, no doubt, dwelt and reigned in their hearts, by his Spirit, through its purifying influence." He afterwards expresses an apprehension, that I cannot think Paul meant, "Christ so dwelt in the hearts of all mankind universally." Certainly I cannot; but at the same time I must think, he appeared by his Spirit in the minds of all, either as a comforter, a purifier, or a convicter and reprover, in order that they might believe in, and obey him under this ap-

\* See the Greek Testament, printed at Oxford, 1765; to which are added various readings, collated from above one hundred manuscripts, and from the ancient versions.

See also *Mill's Greek Testament*.

a Col. i. 27.



pearance, through which they would find him to become the hope of glory in them.

In matters of such high concern as relate to our eternal state, it is incumbent upon all, to be more cautious than confident about the exclusion of their fellow-creatures from the grace and salvation of God; lest by asserting the non-existence of that experience in others, themselves have not yet known, they become of those to whom our Saviour declares, "Ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering, to go in."<sup>a</sup>

12. If any ask, What is the kingdom of heaven, or of God? I answer; Notwithstanding he is the Almighty Sovereign of the universe, yet that is more peculiarly styled his kingdom wherein he so completely governs as to be always cheerfully and perfectly obeyed; where he is the sole mover of all that is done; where he is glorified in all that is done, and where he communicates of his glory and felicity without mixture. This kingdom can neither be entered, nor at all seen into by man, but through the new birth of the Holy Spirit, whereby the soul experienceth a being born into it; a being delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of the dear Son of God.<sup>b</sup> Hereby alone the spirit of man enters it, and through faithfulness, is enabled to make advances therein whilst in

the body. This kingdom stands not in locality, not in any here, or there; therefore it is in vain to direct to it by lo here, or lo there. It stands in an infinite and heavenly Spirit, life, and nature, wherein nothing impure can live or enter. It is the internal dominion, or ruling power of the Holy Ghost in men and angels; that pure influence so beautifully and sublimely described in Wisdom vii., flowing from the glory of the Almighty, which in all ages entering into holy souls, maketh them friends of God, and prophets. In fine, this kingdom of God, is the dominion of the light and life of the Spirit of God. Whoever lives under the sensible influence and government of it, lives in this kingdom. This is the kingdom of the saints militant on earth, and of the saints triumphant in heaven, it being experienced by the sanctified in Christ Jesus, in part whilst in this world, and enjoyed in its fulness in the world to come.

What follows is chiefly a repetition of what our opponent published before in his letter, the tenor of which is already obviated in divers parts of this work, and therefore I shall now take my leave of him, passing by abundance of his illiberalties, and sincerely wishing, that himself, and all men, may come really to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, that they may experience life eternal.<sup>a</sup>

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A SHORT ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
LIFE AND SOME OF THE RELIGIOUS LABOURS  
OF  
PATIENCE BRAYTON;

A MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

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PATIENCE BRAYTON was the daughter of David and Mary Greene of North Kingston, in the state of Rhode Island, and was born there on the 18th of eleventh month, 1733.

In early life she was inclined to the follies and vanities incident to youth, for which, at times, she felt the powerful convictions of the Holy Spirit in her heart; but not yielding in obedience thereto, she introduced herself into

much suffering and many temptations, which led her further and further from the path of true peace. Yet the Lord, who, in great mercy, watched over her, did not wholly forsake her, nor give her up to follow the corrupt propensities of her fallen nature; but in his tender compassion continued to visit her by his grace, through the powerful operations whereof, she was at length made to bow down



before him. Being thus brought to true repentance, she was made willing to break off her sins, and with full purpose of heart to turn unto Him who had been smiting her, and follow him in the way of the daily cross. She found it to be her duty to forsake the company of those who had been her associates in mirth and folly; and surrendering herself wholly to the Lord's disposal, to run in the ways of his requiring, whereby she became as a fool in the eyes of her former companions, and the object of their derision and scorn.

Patiently enduring those fiery baptisms by which the chaffy nature is consumed and the soul cleansed from the defilements of sin, she became solid and weighty in her spirit, her deportment adorned by Christian gravity and meekness, evincing that her mind was clothed with a reverent sense of the divine omnipresence and an awful fear of offending him. As she abode under the forming hand of the Lord, she witnessed that preparation of heart which qualifies for the reception of his spiritual gifts; and believing herself divinely called to the ministry of the gospel, she acceptably appeared therein about the twenty-first year of her age. As she kept in her gift, waiting for, and singly following, the openings of the great Giver, in the exercise of it, she experienced an enlargement therein, and in religious experience; and at length became an able minister of the word; a scribe well instructed in the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom.

In the year 1758 she was married to Preserved Brayton, and in the relations of wife and mother, endeavoured to fulfil her duties with fidelity and affection. She was concerned not to allow the necessary cares of a young family to hinder her attendance at religious meetings; often pressing through bodily infirmities and other discouragements, for the performance of this solemn duty. Sensible of the necessity of daily partaking of heavenly bread, in order to preserve the soul alive unto God, she was not only diligent in publicly assembling for divine worship, but at times was concerned to collect her family together, and sit down in quiet retirement and waiting upon the Lord.

Being convinced that the enslaving of our fellow creatures is incompatible with the precepts of the gospel, she readily joined with her husband in setting at liberty those whom they held in bondage. Having been strengthened thus to clear her own hands of this crying evil, she became concerned to labour with others to induce them to do likewise; and had the satisfaction of living to see the Society cleansed from the sin of African slavery.

Endeavouring to fill up her religious and social duties at home and in its neighbourhood, and to yield herself in faith to the dis-

posal of her Lord and Master, she found her heart enlarged in gospel love toward her brethren and sisters in other places, and under the constraining sense of a divine call, she left her beloved husband and children, with the unity of her brethren, to pay a religious visit to the churches in the southern parts of the United States, in which service she was absent from home more than a year. Naturally of a diffident and retiring disposition, and often deeply humbled under a sense of her own unworthiness, she endured many close trials in this long separation from home and its endearments,—and passed through many painful baptisms on account of the states of those she visited; yet he who drew her forth, was pleased to be near her, and to support by his invisible and omnipotent arm; enabling from time to time, joyfully to set up her Ebenezer, and in commemoration of his all-sufficiency and goodness, to say, “hitherto the Lord hath helped me.”

#### *Her visit to Friends in the middle and southern Provinces.*

Having left home on the 9th day of the fifth month 1771, to visit Friends in the western provinces; on the 19th of sixth month, with my companion Jane Willis from Long Island, I crossed the river Delaware at Corryel's ferry into Bucks county, and the 20th we went nine miles to Plumstead, and had a satisfactory meeting there, as also at Buckingham and Wrightstown. In the following week, after visiting a sick Friend, not finding myself clear of Buckingham meeting, we returned on the 23rd, being first-day, and were at their meeting. From thence we attended Makefield meeting on the 25th, and were again at a meeting at Wrightstown, and a blessed season it proved, in which I was silent; also attended meetings at the Falls and Bristol, which, though trying seasons, it pleased the Father of all our mercies to be underneath to sustain me. After this we went to James Thornton's at Byberry, and lodged, and were at meeting there next day; and in the afternoon rode fifteen miles to Philadelphia, to John Pemberton's, and were kindly received. Here I experienced a distressing season; my friends perceived it, and were concerned to speak comfortably to me. The 30th, being first-day, I had an exercising meeting in the morning, but my good Master showed me, that I ought to look round the city, and view the walls thereof: in the afternoon the light and opening of divine favour was extended, to our comfort, and at the evening meeting the Lord's power gained the victory: may all be ascribed to his great name.

1st of seventh month attended the select



meeting, which was a favourable time; also visited a Friend in a distressed state of mind. Next day were at the Bank meeting, which was to me a good one. I had reason to be thankful for all the mercies that the Lord had bestowed upon me. On the 4th was at their week-day meeting, and was comforted therein. The next day attended the youths' meeting, which was a good one, and many lively testimonies were borne; but I thought it my place to be silent. On the 7th, being first-day, went to Frankford, five miles, and had a good meeting; after which returning to Philadelphia, went to the evening meeting, and had a good open time; I had reason to bless and praise my God, for all his favours. After this we had a satisfactory meeting at Merion, and also at Haverford; in the evening we had an open time in a Friend's family; and next day were at a meeting at Newtown, which was a good season, feeling the unity one with another. We also had a good open time at Middletown, the heavenly power arose over all, which made my heart to rejoice in the Lord alone, who hath made good all his promises to me. On the 12th, were at Providence meeting, which, for a while was trying; but the Lord's power arose over all; to him be the praise, who is worthy of all honour forever. The next day was spent at Mordecai Yarnall's, where I was indisposed, but kept about, and had cause of thankfulness for the favour. We had next day, being first of the week, a good meeting at Springfield, may the Lord have the praise; and in the afternoon, were at a large meeting at Darby, which was a good satisfactory time. On the 15th, we rode to Philadelphia, and attended the select meeting; thence we crossed over Delaware, and rode six miles to Haddonfield. Next day had a good meeting there; after which we visited Isaac Andrews, and were much comforted by him, he being a valuable Friend. Next day we went to Chester meeting, held at Moores-town, which was a favoured season, and I thought I should be content, though bread and water were my portion, if the honour of God might be in dominion. We then went to Evesham, where we had a favoured meeting. Oh! that my Lord and Master may have the praise of all his works, for he alone is worthy of all praise; might and dominion is with him forever. Thence to Mount Holly, and attended meetings fore and afternoon, the latter in silence; and had reason to bless my Master, for the enjoyment of silence was sweet to me, in that he gave me strength to know how to be abased and how to abound.

On the 20th we rode to Ancocus meeting, and a remarkable time it seemed to be. Next day, being the first of the week, were at meet-

ing at Burlington, where we had the company of Samuel Neal from Ireland. In the afternoon meeting I was silent, and in the evening visited several friends. We next attended meetings at Old Springfield, and at a school-house. Then at Upper Springfield, which was a good meeting; but I felt great poverty; may it be an encouragement to some, into whose hands this may fall, that they may know their sufficiency is of God. In the afternoon, we made a satisfactory visit to a sick man, and returned to Cleayton Newbold's, and lodged. On the 24th rode seven miles to Upper Freehold, and had a favoured meeting; after which, went to Nathan Wright's, in whose family we had a sweet opportunity. We next attended meetings at Crosswicks, and a select meeting for ministers and elders; and on the 26th we were at Mansfield, where the Lord's presence was witnessed like a gentle shower, to the comforting of the faithful followers of truth; may the praise be given him. We also had a meeting the same day at Dutch-neck, and the next day at Bordentown, where we visited John Sykes and wife, who are very aged and valuable friends. 28th, being first-day of the week, we attended two meetings at Trenton, to our comfort, and next day one at Stony-brook: here I parted with my dear companion Jane Willis, which was a trying circumstance to us both, from the mutual love we felt for one another, she returning home.

My dear friend Rebecca Wright, wife of Nathan Wright, accompanying me, we crossed the Delaware again into Bucks county, and went to Wrightstown, where we lodged, and taking meetings at Horsham and North-wales, Richland, Pottsgrove and Exeter, came to Maiden Creek, and attended two meetings there on the 4th of eighth month, being first-day of the week. I was favoured with divine openings, though exceedingly weak in my spirit; but the Lord's power went over all. Thence we went over the Blue Mountains to Brunswick, and had a meeting in a barn, and was favoured with a good season. On the 7th were at Reading; though poor in my spirit, yet was favoured with divine openings; may the Lord have the praise. On the 8th were at meeting at Robeson, and a hard trying time it was; but I had reason to praise my God for my poverty, being brought to know that my strength was in the Lord alone.

After attending Nantmill meeting, we went to Concord and were at the select quarterly meeting on seventh, and the public meeting there on first-day. Here we again met Samuel Neal and many other Friends, and on the 12th attended the quarterly meeting at Concord for Chester. I had a desire in my mind, that I



might be excused that day, from bearing a part in the ministry, but my Father had compassion on me, and drew me in tender love, that I could not forbear, finding a necessity to give up to do his will; and blessed be his name, we had a favoured meeting. Next day we were at the youths' meeting, held once a year at Darby, where many Friends from Philadelphia came, and we were favoured with divine openings at that time; may we ever look to the fountain of all our mercies. Thence going to the Valley meeting, we had a precious time, wherein I beheld the strength that is in weakness. At Plymouth and New-Providence we had also good meetings. On the 17th we had a trying meeting at Pikeland; but the power of the Holy One arose and gave the victory. We went home with Susannah Lightfoot, who came several miles to meet us; taking meetings at Uwchland, Goshen, Kennet, East and West Caln, some of which were large and much favoured, though at times in weakness of spirit, in which divine strength was often manifested; may the Lord have the praise thereof.

On the 23rd we were at Sadsbury meeting, which was silent, and I felt peace of mind; and on the 24th attended Lampeter meeting, where it seemed to me, that out of darkness arose a marvellous light, and we were comforted together; blessed be the Lord. On the 25th, being first-day, we had two good meetings at Lancaster, light breaking forth, and a comfortable time it was; but oh! how had I been buried in sorrow, in which I had for a time to travail. We had a little time with the ministers and elders, this being a general meeting, and were favoured with good and wholesome advice, that afforded me some strength; blessed be the name of the Lord who permiteth our trials, that we may know him to be our Redeemer. On the 26th were at two meetings more, which were favoured opportunities, and excited our thankfulness to the divine author of all our mercies.

On the 27th we left Lancaster and rode to Susquehanna river, and had a small meeting at a Friend's house, which was a good opportunity. Thence to Yorktown, and lodging at William Matthews', rode next day to Newbury, and had a satisfactory meeting; though poor in my spirit, yet I was comforted. After riding six miles further, I had a distressed night, with pain of body, and a fever; but next day went to Warrington meeting, and though I was weak, and fearful that I could not endure it, yet my gracious Master gave me strength in my weakness of body and mind, and we had a blessed meeting. I was neither weary nor faint; may the Lord have the praise! How he supports the poor travel-

lers, and enables them to submit to his holy will, to be made willing even to die where he may be pleased to lay us. In the afternoon riding seven miles to John Grist's, I was almost sunk in my mind; but going to bed I was favoured with a good night's rest, for which I was thankful; and in the morning, finding myself too unwell to pursue my journey, and being desirous of returning to Yorktown, my friends provided me a wagon, and putting me in a bed, took me eighteen miles to William Matthews', and that night I had a hard fit of the fever and ague; but my friends were very kind to me. I thought before this, that I had parted with all I had for the sake of my dear Master, but now I began to think that I had not, for the thoughts of my husband and children came so near me, that it was another trial; such seasons are permitted to prove us, whether we have parted with all or not, which we cannot tell before we are tried. 31st, being seventh-day of the week, I was very poorly, and on the 1st of ninth month, had a very sick and distressed day. The 2nd, felt more comfortable, but so weak that I could sit up but little; but having a good night's rest, the next day I felt better. We tarried at William Matthews' until sixth-day, then rode back to John Grist's, where I was concerned to have a little time in the family, wherein I found peace. The 7th we went to meeting at Huntington, where I was favoured in testimony, though I was so weak that I thought I should have fainted, and must have sat down; but strength was given me, and I was enabled to bless the good hand that was with me. The Lord is strength in weakness, he will sustain his depending children; but oh! I tremble for fear I should not be found faithful in his great cause. We have need of the prayers of the faithful, that we may not miss the prize at last. The 8th we were at meeting at Monalton, and had a favoured time there, through the mercy of God. I cannot speak sufficiently of his bounties, oh! that my spirit may bow down and exalt his great name! After meeting we rode back three miles to William Delap's, who, with our other guide, after dinner, rode with us twenty-three miles that night to William Matthews'.

The Lord alone can preserve me, who is pleased to bestow his favours upon me, renewing my strength, in confirming his promises to me, my cup runs over with the Lord's goodness. It was hard to give up to go back into the country again, after my illness; but I was brought to resign to his will, in which I rejoice, that he made me willing to go on his errand; if I had not gone, I should have been doing my own will, and not my heavenly Master's; I long to do his will, and not my own. On



the 9th I went with some Friends to visit the prisoners in Yorktown, and had a favourable time in the prison; the Lord helpeth me to be faithful in submitting to the cross; my nature was disposed to flinch; but I can say, that the Lord will not leave his children, until he enables them to be faithful, if they only yield obedience to his requirings. Returning to our lodgings I felt much heaviness of heart, exciting an enquiry what I had done to occasion it; yet desires were preserved, that the Lord would make me contented wherever my lot might be cast.

The 10th, attended meeting at Yorktown to satisfaction, then returned again to William Matthews'. 11th, we crossed the Susquehanna river, and rode twelve miles, and next day fifteen further, to Sadsbury meeting again, which was a highly favoured time; oh! that the Lord may ever be obeyed, for then we shall receive the wages of peace. On the 13th, we were at a monthly meeting at Kennet, where the faithful were comforted in a good degree: an ancient Friend who was ninety-four years of age, walked two miles to meeting that day, her name was Deborah Clark. After dinner we rode to Thomas Carlton's and lodged, and next day he accompanied us to Okesson, where I may say, I was favoured with divine assistance. After visiting a sick Friend, we went to Isaac Jackson's and lodged. Next day being the 16th, and seventh of the week, towards night we went to Joshua Pusey's, where I was in much distress; which brought me to look into my own heart, to see if I had not come in my own will and strength, that I could not be more contented. But it pleased the Lord to bring to my mind what wonders he had wrought for me, and why should I despair; for I was mostly concerned at present, that I should never see my home again, of which my great Lord and Master had given me some encouragement before I left my home, but I thought I might be mistaken, which caused my mind to overflow with sorrow. I was brought to see that his arm was made bare for my stay and comfort; and I was enabled to say, blessed be his holy name for ever. We went to bed, and my mind was brought into a dependence upon the Lord alone, and the winds and seas were laid, and I felt thankfulness to Almighty God. I hope this may prove a comfort to some poor travelling soul, to know that other feet have trodden this distressed path, that brings to peace, for through judgments we are redeemed from the world and all the enjoyments thereof.

On the 17th we were at London Grove meeting, where the overflowings of divine love were known, to the support and refreshment of us all. Next day attended Bradford meet-

ing, which was large, and we were favoured therein; though many hard things were delivered, yet the divine hand was near and supported me. I was unwell while here, and became much discouraged, lest I should not be able to go through this journey; but being encouraged by some of my friends, and the goodness of God being graciously afforded, it looked as nothing before me; blessed be his holy name. On the 19th we went to Birmingham meeting, where it pleased divine goodness to open of his mysteries; may my heart ever be thankful to him, who opens the springs in the wilderness. We went after meeting to Charles Dilworth's, and I being much spent, laid down and was revived again, and we had a favoured time in the family. We then rode to Micajah Speakman's and lodged. Next day we went to Concord meeting, which was to me a good one, and being favoured to have the love of my brethren, it was a great comfort to me in my trying journey: this was a blessing I have often prayed for, from my great Lord and rewarder of all those who diligently seek him, who can say they sought it not in vain. We then went to Philadelphia to attend the yearly meeting which began the 21st, for ministers and elders, and was a blessed meeting. On first-day I attended meeting in the fore and afternoon, also in the evening, which were mostly favoured seasons, as were the several sittings of the yearly meeting, all which I was favoured to attend, much to my comfort and encouragement.

Having been confined several days in Philadelphia with a bad cold, on second-day, the 30th of ninth month, I attended the select meeting, where we were comforted together, and on the 1st of tenth month my esteemed friend Hannah Foster from New Jersey, accompanying me, we left Philadelphia, and taking Chester meeting, were favoured with divine assistance therein; then came to Wilmington and lodged at David Ferris', who was gone to New England with Samuel Neal, on a religious visit; but oh! the discouragement I was under at times, which made me cry in my heart to God, that he would strengthen me, more and more to give up to his will. I was low in bodily health, and my spirits seemed to sink within me; notwithstanding I have been strengthened day by day, that I have reason to bless my God, and say in truth, it is marvellous, he is the Lord and will do all things for them that put their trust in him. He weans from husband and children, house and land, for his name's sake, and these shall receive an hundred fold: nothing less than the love of God and his peace in our minds, enables us to submit; and when I behold the goodness of the Almighty, I am encouraged to



invite all, to come taste and see how good the Lord is. On the 4th we went to John Churchman's at Nottingham, and attended monthly meeting; and the sixth and seventh-days following, the yearly meeting, which was to our comfort.

On the 8th of tenth month we rode eighteen miles to the house of one not belonging to Friends, and many people coming, I was comforted in an opportunity with them, and thought the Lord heard my prayers, and I hope it will prove of service to some of the company. Taking Sassafras meeting, we came to the meeting of ministers and elders at Cecil; but I felt so poor, that I thought, if my Master would only let me return home; pleading that there were many better qualified for that work than I was, for I feared I should dishonour God, and bring grief on all my friends. But in this trial I endeavoured after stillness, and was inwardly comforted, and brought to say as Peter did, "not only wash my feet, but my hands and my head also." Next day, being the first of the week, we went to meeting again, which was a good time, and the day following light broke forth in the meeting, in a wonderful manner, to our comfort. On third-day the 15th, we attended the select meeting, and I was silent until the men withdrew, and the women's meeting came on; then my mouth was opened, and it pleased the Lord still to cause the light more and more to break forth. Oh! how I felt the love of God to this people, if they would be faithful to what is made known to them.

In our way to the yearly meeting at Choptank, we took meetings at Chester in Maryland, Queen Ann, and Tuckahoe, and on the 19th the meeting began at Choptank, where I met with Benjamin Sharpless of Philadelphia, who had shown me much kindness. The meetings were large, and some good testimonies were borne; but my lot was mostly in suffering and oppression: at the conclusion of the business, the men's and women's meetings being requested to come together, the labours of John Churchman and Thomas Carlton were reviving, and the meeting broke up in a solid manner. Then the meeting for ministers and elders sat, which ended this meeting well, and made my heart rejoice, for I had some fears lest it should not be performed to the honour of God; how often does he crown our assemblies to his own honour. At times, when I view the service I am engaged in, my heart is heavy and even sinks within me. The 24th, we went to the bay, twenty miles from Choptank; it was a heavy day, but my friends endeavoured to comfort me. On the 25th we crossed the great bay of Chesapeak which made us sick. Robert Pleasants of

Virginia was with us; we landed at Thomas Norris's, where we were received kindly, and after dinner crossed the river in a little row-boat and landed at Hannah Thomas', a widow, where I had reason to be thankful to the Lord for his many favours; but my spirit was much oppressed, perhaps on my own account.

On first-day of the week we attended meeting at West river, which was a trying time; but it pleased the Lord to cause his love to be felt. We went from thence about thirteen miles, and had a meeting, wherein the love of God seemed to own us; we then took our leave of Patuxent river, and rode twelve miles to the head of White-hall. On the 29th went to Indian Spring, where such were my exercises that I was ready to say, "oh that mine head was water and mine eyes a fountain of tears," that I might mourn for myself; seeing none of the Lord's servants so wanting as I was; but it pleased the Father of all our mercies to own us, and it proved a good time. We then went to the house of an aged widow woman, who appearing in costly attire, and seeing her poor black servants about her, caused me many serious reflections. Here we took leave of Robert Pleasants, who had been with us almost a week. Thence we rode eleven miles to a Friend's house, where, although they were very kind to us, I was grieved to see their poor black servants fare so hard. The 30th we rode two miles and had a meeting, which though a low time to both myself and companion, yet it pleased the Lord to open a door of light, so far, that we were enabled to open our mouths, and some of the people seemed to be affected. Oh! that God may always have the praise, for I had no other to put my trust in, and being a stranger in these parts, my mind was led into sympathy with my fellow travellers, for what they often have to pass through. On the 31st we had a meeting at Elkridge, nineteen miles, which proved a comfortable time, wherein I had reason to bow my spirit to the God of all our mercies, who was pleased to own so poor a child as I was; my voice was lifted up to supplicate his name, in that he had not forgotten his children, who are often panting for his favour.

After this we went to Baltimore, and the 1st of eleventh month rode sixteen miles to a meeting of ministers and elders, wherein some good testimonies were borne, with which I had good unity. On the 2nd we went to Gunpowder meeting, and although the dragon laboured to destroy the young child, yet it pleased the Lord to cause his light and power to break through all, and a blessed meeting it proved, wherein we had reason to bless the name of the great Lord and Master of assem-



blies: I felt my spirit helped in this conflict with the enemy, by a worthy Friend, Ann Moore. Though we may praise the Lord for his eminent goodness; yet I hardly dare rejoice, seeing the battle is his, and may my soul ever remember humbly to acknowledge, that he is all in all to his depending children. In the evening we had a comfortable time in the family of our friend Oliver Matthews, where we lodged. The 3rd, being the first of the week, we went again to Gunpowder meeting, and it pleased the Lord to open the springs of life, and favour us with his presence; but satan endeavoured to suggest to me, that I had wounded my brethren; and I grieved in spirit until it pleased the Father of mercies to arise, and give strength to say, let all things praise the Lord, let sun, moon, and stars, praise the Lord, for his mercy endureth forever. Next day had a precious meeting at Patapsco, wherein I was thankful to the Lord. On our journey in the afternoon, we were some time lost in the woods; but finding a house in the field, they sent a man to show us the way to Benkid Wilson's. It being night, I apprehended we should have to lodge in the woods; but I enjoyed more peace of mind upon that reflection, than I should in some houses that were filled with slaves, for that wounds me more than many other evils, to see a large number of them kept in bondage, making them work hard, and paying them no wages. Oh! the cruelty these poor creatures are used with, it often excites my compassion.

On the 5th we went seven miles to meeting at Little Falls, where most present had slaves, and darkness seemed to cover the whole meeting for a time, my companion sitting under the same weight and feeling sense of Egyptian darkness with myself. At last it pleased the great Lord and Master to open her mouth in a few words, which opened a door for my exercised mind, in the love of the gospel, to labour with my fellow-creatures, and especially with my brethren in profession, that had some enlightenings of the Spirit of God, and my companion concluded the meeting in powerful supplication. After dinner, we rode eight miles to Isaac Webster's and lodged; after I retired to bed my mind was turned to the Lord in heavenly sweetness, and all on earth was drawn out of sight, and there was nothing interrupted this precious favour for a time, and my companion being engaged in conversation with a Friend, my silence was so sweet, I chose rather to enjoy that spring which makes glad the whole city of God.

On the 6th we rode to Bush river, where my companion bore a sweet testimony, and I was silent; after meeting, dining in a Friend's house, we had an opportunity in the family,

and though it was a trying time to me, my companion was favoured in supplication. We then rode seven miles to William Cox's and lodged. On the 7th we went to Deer creek meeting. In the afternoon being overtaken by a storm, as we rode in the rain, I thought if I brought no dishonour to God and his Truth, there was no hardship but what I could endure. In the rain and darkness of the night, we at length reached a Friend's house; but oh! the black people, how does their slavery wound my spirit within me.—Oh! that people were wise, that they would consider their latter end. Next day being a hard rain storm, we rode three miles to a little meeting at Deer creek barrens; the people were glad to see us, and I felt comforted in being with them. Thence we went in a snow storm over the mountain, and passed two rivers, where our horses almost swam; we had reason to believe the Almighty hand was with us and supported us; we lodged at William Smith's, who was not a Friend, he received us very kindly, and in the morning, on our offering to pay for our kind entertainment, he refused, and desired if we travelled any where near him again, not to miss his house; I acknowledged his kindness. We rode on to Gunpowder and lodged at Walter Moore's, who is husband to Ann Moore. On first-day the 10th, attended meeting, wherein I felt the love of God towards the people, which sprung up and spread itself in my heart to that degree, that I was humbled under the consideration of his enabling me to become as a sounding trumpet in his hand, who trieth the heart and reins of his children,—suffers them to be cast down, and raises them up again, that they may know his strength and power, and return honour to his name, who is worthy of all praise, might and dominion forever.

After this, we continued our journey, taking meetings at Patapsco, Forrest, and Bush creek, and one at a Friend's house, to good satisfaction; and on first-day the 17th, were at meeting at Fairfax, where divine goodness spread over the assembly to our comfort. The next day we crossed the Potomac river, and had a precious meeting at the Gap, and another at Goose creek, wherein the springs of life were graciously opened, and the divine power shook the earthly minds, and my dear companion closed the meeting in supplication, to our mutual comfort. Then taking meetings at South Fork and Crooked run, accompanied by John Hough, we came to Elizabeth Jolliff's, where I received a letter from my dear husband, giving an account of the death of one of our children, also one from John Pember-ton, which was a comfort to me in my trial. On the 24th, being first of the week, we had



a good meeting at Hopewell. Next day we parted with John Hough, who had been very kind to us, and went to Mill creek meeting, where we were favoured with a good time, for I thought the good hand was at work with the people, and I wish their minds may be drawn into true inward silence. We rode back to Elizabeth Jolliff's and lodged, where my mind was very closely tried, as it was also next day at Back creek meeting; but being comforted in the labours of my companion, and enabled [to labour] myself, though in much weakness of spirit, the power of Truth arose, to the shaking of the earthly minds, and to the comforting of the true seed. On the 26th, after an open satisfactory meeting at John Fawcett's, I parted with my dear companion Hannah Foster, and being joined by my dear friend Sidney Wright, we rode thirty-six miles to a meeting, on the 28th, at Jackson Allen's, which was to our comfort; after which, riding twenty miles, we lodged at an inn, where was a rude company, and we got but little sleep. Next day rode forty-five miles and lodged at another inn, kept by a widow, who was very kind to us.

The 1st of twelfth month, and first of the week, we rode ten miles to John Douglass's, at the south-west mountain, and had a good meeting at his house, where it pleased the Lord to favour us poor travellers, to the praise of his great name. Then taking meetings at Camp creek, Fork creek, and Genito, crossed James river, after cutting the ice; and on the 7th reached John Johnson's, much weary, having had a cold snow storm. After taking some refreshment we rested well; may my spirit be humbled, under that supporting hand that hath preserved us through so many dangers. First-day, being the 8th, we went to Emato meeting, where was a rude company; but it pleased God to cause his power to spread over them, to the praise of his name. On the 9th and 10th we rode seventy miles to M. Terrell's, at Bedford, where we met with Zachariah Dicks and John Carter, who had been sick at this house. On the 12th I arose with much fear and trembling of heart, which caused my spirit to bow in a silent travail as I went to meeting at Bedford, where we were highly favoured; may my spirit humbly bow in acknowledgment to the Master of our assemblies. Then taking two or three meetings in the way, came into North Carolina, and on the 17th had a meeting at Eno, where were a few people; but it pleased the Almighty to favour us together. On the 21st we went to the Spring meeting, where I was so tried in mind, that I was ready to say, what did I come here for? but as I sat in poverty of spirit, I felt love to spread over the meeting,

and the Lord favoured us, to our comfort and peace. 22nd, being first-day, we rode seven miles to Cane creek meeting, where the merciful hand bore us up. Next day rode thirty miles and ferried over Deep river, which was the most dangerous I thought I had ever crossed. On the 24th we crossed the river again, and attended meeting, where I was brought low in my mind, but light broke through and I was comforted: after meeting we rode twelve miles to Mary Dixon's and lodged: in the evening we were comforted in a religious opportunity in the family. Next morning went twelve miles to Rocky river meeting, and a powerful meeting it was; may my spirit bow to the God of all our mercies, and return unto him thanksgiving and praise, which are due to him alone. Taking meetings at Holly Spring and Polecat, we came to New Garden monthly meeting, on the 28th; and next day, being first of the week, we had a precious meeting there; wherein I was much concerned that our precious Master might crown our assemblies; then can we rightly return thanks to his great and worthy name. Calling to dine with Sarah Hunt, wife of William Hunt, now gone on a religious visit to Friends in Europe, we came on the 30th to Center meeting, which was a feeling time. Next day were at Mordecai's meeting, where I sat under poverty of spirit, and my companion was much favoured in testimony, and feeling a little to deliver myself, we had a pleasant time.

First month 1st, 1772, attended Deep river meeting, which was silent to us. Next day set out for South Carolina, rode forty miles to Salisbury, and the day following forty more to Charlotte-town, where there was a rude company collected for a dance at the court-house, who had bespoken all the lodgings; but being furnished with a chaff bed by the fire, I rested well, and my heart was thankful, to see all things made easy to me. Next day, after riding thirty-three miles, we had only the floor to lie upon, where we gained some rest. On the 5th we rode thirty miles to Broad river, and crossing the ferry, rode to Martha Hollingsworth's, a Friend who kindly entertained us. Next day we attended Broad river meeting, and the day following at Tigo river, which river we crossed in a canoe; and on the 8th had a meeting at Paget's Creek, which was a time of refreshment; thanks to the Lord for his favours. On the 9th we set off for Bush river, and riding down to Water-ree river, it was very high, but we ventured in, and found it so deep that we wet our feet in crossing; then rode to Indian Creek, which proved still deeper, but the men felling three trees across, led us over, and swam the horses



through; riding a little further, we came to another river, which looked more dangerous than any we had passed; but venturing in, our horses almost swam, but we got well over, though with wet feet, and also wetting all our clothes in the saddle bags; this day we crossed four rivers and rode thirty miles. On the 12th, being the first-day of the week, rode to Bush river meeting, in much poverty of spirit, being bowed to the honour of God; and it pleased him to open a living testimony, to the refreshment of my drooping soul.

About this time I was under a deep exercise of mind, to go as far as Georgia, and laid it before my dear companion Sidney Wright, also our kind assistant Andrew M'Ray, he having been with me nearly two months, and showed much kindness to us; but coming near the place from which we were to set out for Georgia, he told me after weighing the matter, he could not then see he could go. I told him he had been very kind to us, and I was thankful to him for his assistance, but having parted with all I had near and dear to me, for the sake of inward peace, I must also part with him, if I found it my duty still to go. Oh, how I did pour out my spirit before the Lord, with desires to be excused; but the more I laboured therefor, the more clearly I saw it my duty to stand resigned to the service, and I found if I was not faithful therein, I should sustain a great loss; which brought my spirit to bow to him, that he might please to open a door and make way for me in this pinching time, and then the Lord's will should be my will. But withal it arose in my mind, why should I go where no other Friends had gone before me? It was said to me, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? follow thou me;" which raised my drooping spirits to resign all to his will, if the Lord would only make me like his beloved disciple, to lean upon his breast. When I discovered my mind to Andrew again, he was willing to go, and endeavoured to encourage me to set out cheerfully, which we did, accompanied by Mary Babb, Francis James and William Thatcher. On the 13th we rode twenty miles to Joseph Hollingsworth's, and had a precious meeting in the dwelling house, feeling the Father's love in this remote part of the earth: thence seven miles and lodged at Joseph Ball's. On the 14th rode ten miles to Robbins' Creek, and had another meeting, and in returning to Joseph Ball's lost our way, and rode through many dangerous places; but reached our lodgings about eight o'clock. On the 15th parting with my companion Sidney Wright, who concluded to tarry with her relations, we rode nineteen miles to Saluda river, and crossed at Cannon's ferry, and going twelve miles further, were

kindly entertained at an inn. Next day we rode forty-four miles to Savannah, and on the 17th crossing the river, landed in Georgia: then rode twelve miles to Isaac Loe's, where we procured some refreshment, and they refusing our money therefor, we acknowledged their kindness, and my heart was made thankful to the Almighty, that he should open the hearts of strangers, to receive so poor and unworthy a creature as I was. Going ten miles further came to John Sill's, a Friend's house, where we lodged; and on the 18th went to meeting in Georgia, and had highly favoured opportunities. I thought this was the very place I had long seen, even when I was at home; may my soul bow down, as it were with my face to the earth, and give honour to the Lord alone, who giveth to man an understanding. He made me to feel the exercises of my brethren—my spirit often breathed to them before I left home, and it seemed to me, that it was in the furthestmost parts of my journey, and it proved so. Oh! with humble joy do I return thanks to my God! Can I regret any pains I have taken for so great a reward? I could add much more of the goodness of the Lord to me at this time; but I desire caution, lest I should go too far in revealing the many mercies that God bestowed upon so unworthy a servant as at times I feel myself. After meeting we went to Joseph Maddock's and lodged.

On the 19th, and first of the week, we attended another meeting in this place, and a most precious time it was; I thought the Lord opened a door and also comforted my drooping spirit, and showed me this was the place I saw before I left home, and Friends there thought so too, for they had been in much grief in this place. May my soul continually bow in humility, and return to my God seven-fold of praise, who revealed his will to me, and encouraged and rewarded me; for he alone preserved me from all dangers. The 20th we set off to leave Georgia with much peace of mind and joy of heart. Oh! what it is to be faithful to the manifestation of divine openings, it is what will give the answer of "Well done good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." Riding thirty-five miles, crossed Savannah river, at Hammon's ferry, and stopped at a small house without a floor, where they gave us some husks to lay upon, and with my saddle for a pillow I was favoured to go to sleep, and rested well. Next day, after stopping at an inn for some refreshment, we rode on till feeling very sleepy we stopped and laid down upon the ground, and I soon fell asleep and felt refreshed: then came to an inn, where we were civilly entertained, and obtained a bed and blanket to lodge upon.



On the 22nd rode thirty-nine miles, and 23rd twelve miles further, to the ferry at Saluda river, where I parted with my friend Mary Babb, she returning home; we then came to Thomas Pugh's, twelve miles, and lodged. Next day attended the preparative meeting at Bush river, which was an open time, the sense of the meeting being sensibly felt to our comfort; may the Almighty Protector of his depending children, have the honour of his own works; who alone is worthy of all. 25th, we rode towards Wateree, thirty miles, and crossed two rivers. Next morning rising before day, rode eight miles before sun-rise, and in the course of our journey through this wilderness, being weary I lay down upon the ground and slept a little; and after travelling forty-six miles this day, came to John Colley's, a Friend's house, and lodged, where we were kindly received. 26th, being the first of the week, we went to Limetree, crossing the river Wateree, and attended two meetings. Next day being stormy we rested, and being invited to breakfast with one not a Friend, who had been at meeting the afternoon before, we went and were very kindly treated by him. The two following days we rode seventy-eight miles, and crossed Pedee river, and lodged at William Heily's, and had a meeting next day at his house. 31st, my mind was much turned home, with desires that the Lord would protect them, and my heart was moved towards my dear husband and children; but I was comforted with these words, "I will tend them for thee:" so I was willing that my gracious Master should take care of them, for so poor an instrument as I was in his hand, for in much poverty of spirit I travailed many times, in which I was brought to say, Oh! Lord I am afraid I shall deny thee.

On the 1st of second month we set off for Coar's creek, and rode forty miles, and lodged at a poor little cabin as they call them; the next day, though I was poorly with a dizziness in my head, we rode twenty-seven miles; and on first-day had a meeting at Campbelltown in the court-house; but religion is very low in this place. Next day set out for Cape Fear: having no guide through the wilderness, we passed several rivers with some danger, and in a hard rain, and my companion was much unwell; but on the 5th we reached Richard Cox's after a fatiguing journey. The Lord was underneath, so that I could say, great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised is his holy name: for it was he alone who cared for us through so many dangers, both inwardly and outwardly. Oh my soul! mayest thou be faithful to the inward revelation [of his will,] for that brings peace of mind. How often would my nature have flinched; but the hand of God

would draw near, and cause me to tremble, so that I was enabled to say, thy will O Lord shall be my will and my guide, if thou wilt give me strength to perform thy work to thine honour, if I have only bread to eat, water to drink, and raiment to put on, so that I return in peace to my family and friends, whom I love in the Lord. He knoweth that my spirit is humbled in desires that I may bring no stain upon the blessed Truth. It is thou, O Lord! that hast made the Truth near to me as my life; thou art a husband indeed, and a gracious Father, to support in all trials thy poor depending children, who are under thy preparing hand, that they may say in their hearts, in sincerity and truth, thy will be done.

On the 7th we had a meeting at Joshua Davis's, and going thirteen miles further, lodged at the house of one not in profession with us; where we were kindly entertained. I have often thought it was the Lord, that gave us favour among the people, and may he have the honour of all his works, who causeth my cup to overflow by his power at this time. 8th, we rode thirty-one miles to Tar river, which we crossed in a canoe, swimming our horses over. How often does the dread of the Father of mercies influence my mind, to write in much trembling of my secret exercises. I am at times afraid to write, and afraid to omit it, but I find my mind easy in writing what I have here inserted. We lodged at Henry Horn's, and next day being first of the week, had a good meeting in his house; here my horse failing me, in a short time died, and being provided with another, we set out for Northampton, and crossed Roanoke, and one other river that appeared dangerous. We reached in the evening Thomas Knox's, where my companion was taken so ill, that though much straitened in mind at the thought of leaving her, I went to meeting at Rich-square without her, in much poverty of spirit, but it pleased the Lord to open the spring of life, to the comfort of my drooping mind. 12th, leaving my companion still weak, and being accompanied by Thomas Wright and wife, we went five miles to Thomas Cope-land's, and feeling a concern to have a religious opportunity in the family, we were much favoured together. Next day, going thirty-five miles, had a precious meeting at Piney woods; the Lord still confirming his signs to my poor soul, before I left home, that I might have that feeling sense of the unity of my brethren, when I was so far separated from them, that runs from vessel to vessel, and unites in the oneness, to the one God and Father of us all. First-day, 16th, were at meeting at Wells, where it pleased the Lord to open the springs of life, to the relief of my



mind. 17th, went to Old Neck meeting, where was a funeral of a Friend and her child. Here we met with Timothy Davis and Benjamin Jones, and had a favoured meeting together; taking leave of them, we were at Little river, at Symon's creek meeting, where it pleased God to feed us with heavenly food, to the comforting of my soul. I have reason to be thankful to the Lord who bringeth down and setteth up again, to his own glory. After meeting, I received a satisfactory letter from my dear husband.

Taking meetings at Newbegun creek and one at the house of Abel Trueblood, we came to Thomas Newby's, where I was comforted in meeting with my companion, and 23rd, being first of the week, attended Piney Woods meeting. The 24th, set off for Virginia, being accompanied by Josiah Gordon and Josiah White. We attended meetings at Summerton, Western branch, and also at the house of Elizabeth Denison. Oh! the sorrow I felt at times, my spirit being much oppressed, seeing none in such want as myself. Oh, thought I, why was so poor a mortal as I am, sent on so great a work! I am indeed a worm and no man; great are the sufferings now-a-days, for the seed lies low, and the Lord's children must go low to feel it. Taking meetings at Black Creek, James Stanton's, Black water, Burleigh and Gravelly Run; lodged at Edward Stabler's; and 5th of third month he and his wife accompanied us on our way to Curles, in Virginia, and meeting again with T. Davis and B. Jones, attended two meetings at White Oak swamp. On the 9th, being the second day after parting with them, came to Black creek meeting, which was a most powerful time, to the shaking of the earthly mind in many present. Then taking meetings at the Swamp and Cedar creek, on the 13th we came to Robert Painter's, where I parted with Andrew M'Ray, who had been nearly four months with us, in much kindness and attention, and suffered much with us, on account of the poor black servants, with whom many parts of this country abound. Here I also parted with my dear friend Sidney Wright, in much love, who had also been with me nearly four months.

On the 14th, being first of the week, we were favoured with a precious meeting at Suffolk, in the afternoon, and next day rode sixty-five miles, to Mahlon Janney's; and 16th set off for Philadelphia, which city I reached on the 20th, where I met with many friends, who seemed glad to see me again. Next day I went to the meeting for ministers and elders, where many good testimonies were borne; but I was silent, with desires to wait the Lord's time. 22nd, being first of the week, I attended three

meetings in High street meeting-house; and 23rd the half year's meeting of ministers and elders, and next day at the Bank meeting, in all which I was silent and deeply pained in mind. 24th, I went to the select meeting, and the Lord made way for me, and eased my pained mind, and we had a precious time. I was also at meeting on the 26th, and their monthly meeting on the 27th, which was a good meeting; and 29th, being first of the week, I went to High street meeting three times, which were all good meetings.

I tarried in the city, until the 13th of the fourth month, attending meetings as they came in course, many times under deep tryings and provings, and in great fear and tremblings. My faith seemed almost ready to fail me; but blessed be the name of the Lord, his hand was near to preserve my trust in him through all the buffetings of satan; and at times he gave me a little of the balm of Gilead, that comforted my drooping spirit. On the 24th, I attended Woodbury meeting in much poverty of spirit; but we were favoured together; may my heart be thankful to the Lord for all his mercies, blessed be his holy name. That night I lodged at William Kay's, a kinsman of mine. Then taking meetings at Greenwich, Piles-Grove, Alloway's creek; my mind was under deep exercise, and at times I thought that all good was separated from me; but I was enabled to cry to the Lord, that he would once more give strength to overcome the world, and all the fears of it; that so, I may praise his great name.

18th, being first of the week, was at Salem meeting, which was exercising, but the Lord made way for me, and on the 20th had an open time at Lower Greenwich meeting. I found the Lord to be my helper, in all my trials, blessed be his name. I then parted with Stephen Comfort and James Moore, who had been with us a week. Next day went on for Cape May, rode forty-three miles and lodged at J. Townsend's, where my exercise was very great. I saw no other way for me, but that I must return to Philadelphia again, which was no small trial; but being desirous to be given up to the requirings of the Lord, the prayers of my heart were to him, for strength to perform all things he should require of so poor unworthy a creature as I was. I went to meeting, which was a laborious time; I often said in my heart, by whom shall Jacob arise, for he is small: at length my companion arose with a few words, which were lively; and then I felt strength to arise, and an open time we had; which I hope will prove of service to all that were present. May it be remembered, how the Lord supported me through all my trials; my heart is



filled with his goodness, and I know he will not be wanting on his part, so that if we miss our way, it must be our own fault. His gracious hand hath been with me all my life long, and I see he is still with me; blessed be the name of my God, I rejoice that he liveth in me, and that I am made to praise him, who alone is worthy of all praise.

23rd, we went to the lower meeting at Great Egg Harbour, and had an open time; it pleased the Lord more and more to confirm me, that I was in the way of my duty, and that I must return to some places where I had not been enough faithful. Oh! the fears I passed through are inexpressible: but the Lord is true, he will raise his power higher and higher, until he maketh it to reign over us, if we are given up to cry for strength, even to laying down our lives if required. These are great sayings; but there are some of his children brought to know peace of mind with him, which is all we want: and what is my life, if it be in disobedience, compared with eternity and the love we owe to him, who loved us, before we loved him, and hath done so much for us, and is complete in himself without us: Oh! my spirit can indeed say, what is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him? thou hast placed him a little lower than the angels, and made us to see thy wondrous works, which are past finding out by us, as men and creatures, in our own abilities. 24th, we were at Upper Egg Harbour meeting, where the Truth gained the victory. 26th, first-day of the week, we went to meeting at Little Egg Harbour, which was a very good opportunity, may my spirit bow down to him who opened the way for me. Next day went to Barrington meeting, eleven miles, and divine favour seemed to be like a shower upon us; blessed be his name who was thus merciful to us. 28th, we set out for Philadelphia, and rode forty-four miles to Josiah White's, in whose instructive company I was comforted in the trial I was in, on account of my going back to the city; may the Lord remember me, and supply me with patience and resignation to his will, then all will be well with me, here and hereafter. Next day was at their week-day meeting, and was thankful in feeling the condescension of God. 20th, had an open satisfactory meeting at Burlington; oh may my spirit and all that is within me, bow low as in the dust, and acknowledge the many mercies of God: my cup overfloweth in him alone, who hath shown forth his strength, once more to my distressed heart, that has at times been filled with fears, lest I had lost sight of him. Afternoon, parting with my dear companion Rebecca Wright, to whom

my spirit was made near, George Dillwyn took me in a chaise to Philadelphia, to John Pemberton's, where I lodged; but oh the fears that attended my mind—Oh Lord once more support me, for I have only thee to please. When I was here before, I delivered up my body but not my heart fully to thee; but now I see I must deliver up all into thine hand, for obedience is better than sacrifice, and to hearken to thy voice, than the fat of all the land; therefore, I pray thee give me ability to serve thee with a sincere heart, and an upright mind.

2nd of fifth month I went to the select meeting in the city, and the Lord gave me some strength to perform his will. The wrath of man never wrought the righteousness of God, but the will of God, is the righteousness of our poor souls. Next day being first-day, I went to Pine street meeting, wherein a degree of light broke forth, and I felt love still to increase in me, to the cause of Truth. In the afternoon went to the Bank meeting, where I sat under much exercise, thinking with the apostle, oh wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death? but trusting in the Lord for strength, I arose in much love, and was carried through to my relief. In the evening meeting I still felt a concern to be inwardly cleansed; knowing without that my preaching would be in vain, and under a weight of spirit I arose, without a word in my mouth, and after standing a while in much poverty, my mouth was opened with these words; "Lord help all those weak ones, who are bowed before thee;" and it pleased the God and Father of all our mercies to own me, a poor drooping and unworthy child, and the meeting ended in a solid manner, my heart being filled with praise to him alone, who at times worketh miracles in his poor depending children. The next day was their quarterly meeting, in which I was silent; but many good testimonies were borne, which were sweet to my taste. After meeting my mind felt deeply oppressed, and I often cried in secret, Lord give me strength; and I went to bed with this language, and rose with the same, Lord give me strength, and enable me to do thy will, be it in ever so broken a manner. I also attended the youths' meeting, and was much favoured in supplication, and after another Friend had spoken, I was favoured to ease my mind, and my heart was filled with joy and gladness, to the ever blessed God, who had in divers manners, spoken to my poor soul: living praises to the God and Father of all our mercies, may thou my soul, humble thyself before him.

On the 10th I went to Germantown meeting; accompanied by Margaret Norton, who is



a sweet spirited woman, and could bear a part with me in my exercises; but the Lord is our dependance. After meeting, dined at John Jones', and had a sweet time in the family. Next day going to Abington meeting, as I came near the house, I was made to remember what the inward voice said to me many years past; What is thy petition or request, and it shall be given thee? To serve thee in the valley of humiliation of mind, even to serve thee, the Lord: and I thought if the Lord would but grant me this to day, I would ask no more; and it was a most precious season indeed. We then took meetings at Fairhill, Chester, Wilmington, and Concord, which were all favoured opportunities, and returned to Philadelphia. 12th and 13th attended the meeting held once a quarter for the black people. Next day went fifteen miles to Radnor meeting, in much poverty of spirit; but the Lord caused a morsel of bread to be given us, and my heart was made thankful and joyful to the Lord, that he had given me strength day by day, to go through so great a service without more sorrow to the outward. On the 15th we left Philadelphia, went to Wilmington, and lodged at David Ferris', and were at their meeting the first-day following, and then went on for Choptank, where we had a precious meeting, as likewise another on Bay side, wherein I was much favoured in supplication. May my spirit bow down under a sense of the goodness of the Lord, and sit in the gate of humiliation for renewed strength, to bring up memorials as out of the bottom of Jordan. Oh thou, who wast as a pillar of a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, suffer not my poor fainting soul to fall by the way; but heal all my infirmities, and build me up to thyself, that I may once more know that thou art a God hearing prayer; that my service may be accepted by thee, and leave a sweet savour behind me, when thou releasest me to return home; that the honour of thy truth may have the victory, in going home as well as coming out, for there is nothing can prevail against thee. How did the mountains melt down to thy honour; it was marvellous in my sight, and I was brought upon the banks of deliverance: now Lord, I pray thee, remember me for thy Truth's sake, and let me return in like manner, that I may be enabled to say, thou wast my Alpha and Omega, my first and my last, the Lord blessed forever and ever.

We then took meetings at Third Haven, Marshy Creek, Cold Spring, Three Runs, Motherkill, Little Creek, and Duck Creek, mostly favoured opportunities. In the last meeting, while I was speaking, I found it my duty to observe, there were those present who disdained what I said, and that among the young wo-

men. After meeting, I found my companion had seen a woman laugh, and thought I had seen her, which occasioned my remark; but I had not seen any such conduct, and was glad that I had been made faithful to the openings in my mind; for when it first appeared I put it from me, thinking I had stood long enough; but I was not clear without mentioning it, which was to my comfort and peace of mind. The 30th, went to George's Creek meeting, which was a precious feeling time; blessed be my gracious Master, who having called me from my home, to labour in his vineyard, now gave me to feel that my service in this journey was nearly accomplished.

We then returned to Wilmington, with my esteemed friend Ziba Ferris, he having been with me two weeks; and after taking their two meetings on first-day, returned to Philadelphia; and having been much favoured in my last visit in this city, I left it on the same day; but afterwards felt some fears that I had given back in the day of battle, lest the Truth should lose ground. Lodging at James Thornton's, I went next day to Nathan Wright's, and the day following was at Chesterfield meeting, which was a most favoured season. 7th of sixth month, being first of the week, we went to a meeting a Squancum, held in a barn; rode fifteen miles, and lodged at Elihu Williams'. Still my concern remained respecting Philadelphia, fearing I should not be clear and feel peace of mind, without going back again, but I feel desirous to be given up to his will in all things. Finding myself now weak, as I have been at some other times, I feel a fear to attend, lest I should be found denying my Lord, to my great grief, who has vouchsafed his help for my deliverance so many times. Oh may those into whose hands this may fall, be more careful and faithful to the moving of divine goodness; that their prayer may be to him alone for strength. I almost faint at times, because of my unfaithfulness, giving way to the fear of great men, great in the knowledge of divine things, looking upon them to know more than I do, whereby I neglected my Master's work, to my sorrow, but I know he is a merciful God, yet how could I disobey so gracious a being, and neglect to do his work: I am wounded within me for so doing. After writing the foregoing and acknowledging my remissness to his requirings, I found my mind at liberty to proceed homewards. Taking Shrewsbury meeting, came to New York and lodged at Henry Haydock's, and next day attended their meeting, and was favoured to feel the love of the heavenly Father. Then attended Purchase and Shappaqua meetings, and though exceedingly weak, the Lord appeared to my comfort; praises to him, who giveth



strength in weakness. Having often had reason to remember the goodness of God in this journey, how I was brought to go and cast my body to the earth, and lay my face to the dust, and cry, Lord thy honour I crave more than any other thing, and let my honour be laid in the dust forever. Oh that it may so remain with me, to the end of my days. I then proceeded to Amawalk and Peachpond, and had two favoured meetings, and attended meetings also at the house of Mary Shearman, and at Oswego, Nine Partners and Oblong, and the first-day following was again at Oblong meeting; after which I was taken very ill, having had an ague fit the day before. While here, two Friends from Smithfield having accompanied John Sleeper to this place, concluded to wait a day for me, and being a little recruited I set off with them, accompanied by Penelope Hull, and though I rode in much weakness of body, we reached my brother-in-law Ezekiel Comstock's in Smithfield, having rode one hundred and twenty-eight miles in three days. Hearing that my youngest child lay very sick, next morning being 27th of sixth month 1772, I set off, and reached my habitation, twenty-four miles, and found my husband very poorly, and the child in some hopes of recovery, but it proved otherwise next day, and twelve days after I got home, it died.

Oh the various exercises my spirit travailed through in this weighty work, yet the Lord delivered me through them all, and I received the answer of peace; praises to him alone: in his own wisdom he overthrew the horse and his rider, that proud rider that sought to overthrow Israel of old, and labours to destroy in all ages. The many sufferings I went through in this journey are more than I can relate; how often did I tremble until my joints were ready to smite together, and many times when alone I laid my body upon the earth, with my face to the ground, and cried to the Lord, to make me as low in all things relating to self, as I lay then before him; but he was pleased to carry me through, and I safely returned to my husband and children, with the reward of peace for a season. Oh the peace I received, when I lay down on my pillow, and when I arose therefrom: may I never grow forgetful how this peace was purchased.

About ten years after her return from this journey, she believed herself called of the Lord to visit the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland; and being liberated by her friends for this weighty engagement, she embarked at Philadelphia in the twelfth month, 1783, in company with Rebecca Wright, of Chesterfield in New Jersey, who was under a similar concern. She was favoured to accomplish

this service to her own peace, and on her return produced testimonials of the unity of her friends abroad, with her deportment and religious labours.

Of this journey she gives the following account:

*Her visit to Friends in Great Britain and Ireland.*

Having for a considerable time had it on my mind to make a religious visit to Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, after receiving the concurrence of my friends, and their certificates, on the 29th of the eighth month, 1783, I took leave of my dear husband and children, being made willing to part with every near tie, to follow the Lamb whithersoever he leads. With much reverence of heart I left home, begging that the Lord's presence might stay with them, and also go with me. I first went to New London and crossed over to Long Island, having meetings until the ninth month; then parted with my companions Deborah and Stephen Slead, and the same day met with David Sands, which was a comfort to me. I was enabled to visit all the meetings on the island, and then proceeded to New York, and was at meeting there. From thence I went to Rahway, and staid from sixth to second-day morning, and thence to Shrewsbury, where I was unwell. Went from thence to Squan, and along the shore to Haddonfield, to their quarterly meeting; and to Philadelphia yearly meeting; after which I went down to Great Egg Harbour, James Cresson and Ann Emlen being with me. We returned to Philadelphia, spent a little time in having meetings in the neighbourhood of the city, and returned, where I met with my friend Rebecca Wright, of Crosswicks, who was likewise under a concern to pay a religious visit to Europe. We embarked together on the 14th of the twelfth month on board the brig Ellwood, William Hodgson, master, bound for Dublin; but the wind being unfavourable we did not sail until the 18th. Our companions in the cabin were only two, John Hayworth and Martha Mooney, who with the captain, were all of our Society. The weather was dark and cloudy, so that our prospect was rather gloomy, under the weight whereof my mind was bowed with reverent awe, with the thoughts of launching out on the mighty ocean; but believing the Lord's providential care is over all his works, the same by sea as by land, with great solemnity I was enabled vocally to supplicate for preservation, both on my own behalf and those around me. I was soon sea sick, but was able to walk about; the captain and others were very kind to us, but still my mind was low, by the thoughts of my own unfitness and



great poverty to undertake such a journey as this before us. Indeed, the prospect of service seemed to disappear, and no strength to be left in me to open my mouth any more. In the night, soon after our coming to sea, the wind arose high, at which I got up and went to my companion; and my mind was in a short time melted down by the efficacious power of Truth, into resignation; and a fresh resolution formed to be more faithful, and submit to the holy requirings of my Master, be it in ever so simple or broken a manner. The sense hereof caused me to kneel down by Rebecca's bedside, and call aloud on the great name for preservation, begging for thankfulness for the continuation of his mercies and long forbearance to me a poor unworthy creature. But when we get a little ease, nature is apt to flinch and get back again to the centre of indulgence; until a greater storm and contrary wind arose, the victory was not sufficiently gained over my own stubborn will; however it brought me to search the foundation of my coming and to look back to the ground I had been building upon. Glad would the enemy of my happiness have been to open his mouth and swallow me up; but the Lord did not suffer him so to prevail, but stilled my mind. Then I had to remember that my being there, was not in my own will, but it was in the fear and dread of the living God; with strong cries that I may in future trust, love and fear him above the friendship of men. Oh how did my spirit long to be like one of the two sons formerly; not the one that said he would go and went not. I wish to become more passive than ever, even to be nailed to the cross for Christ's sake.

We often had meetings in the cabin, where some of the ship's company would come and sit with us. Rebecca was sometimes engaged in testimony as well as myself, hers was attended with power and a life-giving evidence, that it came from the right spring. Before we got on shore, I felt a concern to have an opportunity in the ship with the men more at large than we had done before; it was I trust a season of favour to all; however, the result was peace to my mind.

Through the course of our voyage, we were often alarmed with dangers, as the weather was frequently rough and stormy; yet amidst all, we felt the best support near to comfort and mercifully to preserve us to land safely in Waterford, 27th of first month, 1784. As the wind was not fair for us to reach Dublin, our friend William Penrose soon brought down a carriage to the passage, which is six miles from the city, and took us to his house, where we were hospitably entertained by him and wife. Both my companion and myself were

so unwell, that we made a little stop before we proceeded on our journey; so visited some Friends and the meetings in that place. We have thankfully to acknowledge that our good Master was not forgetful of us, graciously affording ability to labour in his cause, for which let my soul and all that is within me, bow in humble reverence.

7th of second month, we left Waterford accompanied by John Davis, his brother Samuel and some others, and proceeded for Clonmell, the distance being about twenty-five miles, and put up at the house of our friend Benjamin Grubb. The next day, being first of the week, we attended their two meetings, which were pretty large; it was a time of favour and humiliation for the Lord's goodness, which endureth for ever! how matchless is his kindness to the revolting children, striving to arouse them from their beds of ease, for he willeth not the death of a sinner, but that all should return, repent and live. On the 10th, went in the evening to Garryrone, twelve miles and attended their week-day meeting; I was silent, and as to myself, could feel but little true life of religion. We returned again to Clonmell, and staid over their province six weeks meeting, held the 14th and 15th instants. Here we met with our dear friend William Matthews, from America, on a religious visit.

From Clonmell we proceeded towards Cork, but took Garryrone meeting again in our way, which was more open than before. We arrived at our worthy friend Samuel Neal's, the 19th, about a mile from Cork: my companion being unwell, did not go with me; it was a comfortable silent meeting. The 22nd, being first-day, we both attended meeting, and I trust, were enabled to labour honestly according to our measure. In the evening we had a season of retirement at our before mentioned friend's house: it was the usual practice on those days, in his family, where many young people resorted, instead of spending their time unprofitably. The next day I felt a draft to go to Bandon, about twelve miles; and as my companion continued unwell, Mary Davis, a young woman from England on a visit to her friends, went with me, and many other Friends; public notice was given to the town's people, and the meeting began towards evening, and was pretty large, but a hard time of labour, the minds of the people seeming unsettled. We got back to Cork next day seasonably for meeting.

Second month 26th, proceeded for Youghall, about twenty-four miles, and had a meeting there the day following; it was to me a precious time, but I desire ever to esteem myself as poor and empty, giving the praise to the Lord, to whom it is due, and not to man. We



got back again to Cork, and spent first-day pretty much as the former. Second-day being the first of the third month, called on a few Friends in the city who were confined to their houses; Samuel Neal accompanied and was a strength to us. The next morning we went to meeting, where I was desirous of doing no harm, and through fear sat the meeting silent; but after the men and women separated, it being their three-weeks meeting for discipline, I was largely engaged in testimony, and the Lord was pleased to water his heritage, to the comfort of my drooping spirit. We dined at Richard Able's and had a little sitting in the family, and then came back to our lodgings. The next day we spent at Samuel Neal's, where some Friends came in the evening, and we had a comfortable time together.

The next morning we took leave of our kind friends, and attended by our guide, rode twenty-eight miles and lodged at Charleville. The day following, got to Thomas Marks', and had a little sitting that evening in the family. On the 7th of third month, made an agreeable visit to a young woman who was sick, but in a comfortable frame of mind. Being the first of the week, attended both meetings, which for the most part were laborious, although the best help was mercifully near, and gave fresh ability to discharge what lay on my mind, which together with a favoured open opportunity in the family that evening, I hope will not soon be forgotten. At this city we parted with Joseph Hatton, who accompanied us to every meeting in the province of Munster, except Waterford; he returned home to Cork, and we proceeded towards Roscrea, and rode thirty-four miles to the house of John Pim.

Third month 9th, had a meeting at Roscrea; my companion was much favoured, and the meeting ended well. 10th we went to the house of John Wily, about eight miles distant, and had a religious opportunity in the family. It is pleasant to be faithful, and I rejoice when there is no cause of reproof; but had rather there may be a singing of praises for the many deliverances afforded us, for had not the Lord taken some of us as by the hand, what would have been our portion?

Third month 11th, we had a meeting at Rullinellmore and Birr. On the 14th attended a meeting at Knockballymaher, and went to Elizabeth Warpool's and had a comfortable time in the family. After I got to bed, the enemy of my soul's happiness was ready to overwhelm me, but my good Master did marvelously show me, that in his word of truth there is safety forever; blessed be his holy name! The next day being first of the week, we went to Mountrath, where Truth owned us. Thence

we went to Mount Melick, had a meeting, and a sitting in a family. Then to Tullamore, had a meeting at Joseph Manlip's, and lodged at Moat. I was unwell, but the Lord was good, and comforted me beyond what I can relate, with such peace of mind and resignation of will, that it made all things easy, as David said, "the Lord made my bed in sickness." 21st, we went to meeting at Moat, both morning and afternoon, it was trying, and religion low; but I hope Truth is gaining ground. Thence to Ballymurphy, had a meeting, and returned to Moat on the 23rd, where I was much unwell, and brought to a close searching of heart, which made me more willing to give up to Truth's openings: I believe it was for the confirmation of my faith, being in a doubtful state, ready to sink below hope; the hand of affliction is often turned upon us for good. We attended the week-day meeting at Moat, and some openness appeared; yet for the most part darkness so covered the meeting, that it was hard to get down to the spring of life.

My health getting better, we went to meeting at Edenderry, and a precious watering season it proved, to the comforting of the weary souls, and I hope to the awakening of the lukewarm, and stirring up the youth; I desire to be humbly thankful and give the Lord the glory. We went to Sarah Neal's, and had a good meeting; my companion was much favoured: we had also a comfortable sitting in the widow S. Neal's family. From thence to Ballitore to the house of Richard Shackleton, and had a meeting in this place; then to Athy, Castle Dermot, Carlow, New Rox, and had meetings.

Fourth month 4th, was at a first-day meeting at Horetown, from thence to Wexford and Randall's Mills, where we had a meeting, and a good time, mostly silent; in which my mind was comforted. We got to Cooladine, and had a meeting; I was silent, but inwardly comforted in believing the Lord would teach his people himself. Then to Ballington, where I thought Truth reigned and gained the victory; but I was favoured to see the danger of being lifted up. At our first landing, the spring of the gospel flowed freely, and desires were raised that I might know the proper time of stopping, and be preserved from running before my guide, and kindling a false fire among the people. 11th was at meeting at Ballincane; 13th got to the house of Joseph Williams, in Dublin. 14th went to meeting there, and met with William Matthews to our comfort. 15th employed our time in writing and visiting some sick Friends. 16th attended meeting: I saw my unfitness for so great a work as promoting the glorious cause of Truth on earth; but the



divine Arm was underneath for my support. Staid to their first-day meetings. On the 19th and 20th went to Stramore, where we tarried until the 25th, attending divers meetings, also their quarterly meeting, in some of which Truth prevailed, to the tendering many minds; here we met with John Pemberton, who had felt a concern to have some meetings with those not of our Society; myself and companion felt a liberty to go with him, and a precious season it was, and the people were civil. We went to the jail, and found a considerable number of prisoners, three of whom were under sentence of death. In the evening had a meeting with the Presbyterians in their house, and returned to lodge at Deborah Christy's.

After attending several meetings, we returned to Dublin, and were at their week-day meeting, and at the meeting of ministers and elders, preceding their half-year's meeting. After which had an open time at a Friend's house, and returned to our lodgings at Joseph Williams's house, where we had a comfortable opportunity. 4th and 5th were meetings for discipline, wherein I desired to dwell near to that which would preserve me from doing any harm to the least babe in the flock or family. I thought the last a solid meeting, and ended well. After continuing in this city and attending divers meetings adjacent, wherein, though often tried and deeply exercised, which caused me to go mourning on my way, yet at seasons, the Shepherd of Israel was pleased to arise for our help, to turn the water into wine. Oh! the many blessings that are bestowed upon me, for such was my peace that neither storms within nor without, could affect me, as my dependence was upon the Lord alone, who through every difficult path makes way for his little ones.

We embarked on board the *Prince of Orange*, captain Posen, for Liverpool, where we landed the 22nd of the fifth month, after a pleasant passage, having the company of a considerable number of Friends bound to London yearly meeting. Attended their first-day meeting on the 23rd, and on second-day set out in a stage coach for London, having William Matthews with us; and arriving there on the 27th, lodged at John Lister's. Went to Gracechurch street meeting, which was very large; after which heard that our dear friends Thomas Ross, Samuel Emlen, Mehetabel Jenkins, Rebecca Jones, George Dillwyn and wife had arrived. Attended the meeting of ministers and elders, and was again at Gracechurch street; but sorrow of heart was my portion, and such was my heaviness, that I kept no account from the last day of the 5th month until the 10th of sixth month; but I hope to learn

patience. Attended Tottenham meeting, and returned to the city, from whence I went with our friend M. Jenkins, on the 13th, to Wellingborough, and staid to two meetings there, which were open uniting seasons. From thence to Leicester, Lassborough and Nottingham, where I lodged at John Storer's, who has been twice in our land. Thence to Mansfield, Chesterfield and Sheffield, most of which were seasons of refreshment. 21st set out for Ackworth, and lodged there. From thence to York, and lodged at William Tuke's; here we met with Nicholas Waln, and attended their quarterly meeting, wherein many truths were opened to our satisfaction; Nicholas was much favoured in testimony, which was cause of thankfulness to our great Master. Oh! may we be kept in a watchful state, humbly dependent on him. Attended a marriage at Thornton in the Clay, and was at their first-day meetings, the first an open favoured time; returned to York, attended one meeting, and from thence went to Thirsk, Northallerton, Darlington, and to a quarterly meeting at Durham, which proved satisfactory to me. From thence to Sunderland and North Shields. My spirit became much exercised to go to London, and I desire to be faithful to divine requirings.

The 11th of seventh month attended a meeting at Newcastle upon Tyne, to satisfaction. Next morning parted with my companion Mehetabel Jenkins. I returned to York, and attended a meeting there, wherein I was desirous to be made as clay in the hand of the potter, willing to be fashioned as the great Master would have me to be. From this place, in company with Ann Awmack, I took coach for London, and arrived there the 17th, where I continued until the 22nd of the eighth month, attending the several meetings in that city; but mostly that of Gracechurch street, where I was made willing to bow the knee in reverent supplication, and could say, that for the spirit of heaviness I had the garment of praise, and the oil of joy for mourning. Then I returned to my lodgings, rejoicing and healed: oh, what care there needs on every hand, to keep an eye single to the pointings of Truth, that we may know the right place to stop, as well as that of going forth. For the many deliverances and preservations I have experienced, I desire to give God the glory, and may he be graciously pleased to arise for my help, to make bare his arm for my support, for I desire to trust in no other helper but him, on whom my salvation depends. Oh, that I may bring no dishonour on the precious cause of Truth, for I can say, without deception, this is what I long for—for the life is more than meat, and the body more than raiment; may



I patiently endure the cross, and not call it grievous, but delight in baptisms, for they humble the soul, and keep it low by the still waters, where I may hear the Lord's voice intelligibly speak, "do this and live;" I can say the Lord is good to all them that seek him, blessed be his name. I desire to serve him in all his requirings, for indeed it is worth coming over the ocean for; they that forsake all, are to receive in this world an hundred fold, and in that which is to come, eternal life; may I therefore keep a steady eye to the Great Helper, for it is of his mercy that we are preserved.

On the 22nd of eighth month, in company with several Friends, set out for Uxbridge, and had a precious meeting there, my poor soul being greatly comforted in beholding the condescension of the Lord to so poor and unworthy a creature; may I be truly given up to do his will without reserve, labouring in the ability afforded, in remembrance of his mercy to my soul; to persuade mankind to turn to the Great Healer of men, and be healed of their infirmities. My mind was much affected this afternoon, at parting with our friend John Townsend, who has been with us, and as a tender father to me. We visited two Friends who had been unwell, and had a comfortable opportunity. The day ended to my satisfaction; blessed be his name who still continues to be the help of his people. From thence we went to Rickmansworth, where the meeting is held at a widow's house, and we were mercifully supported, and carried through well: oh, that I may dwell near that good hand that is able to deliver and help in every needful time. From thence to Staines, Windsor, Maidenhead, Amersham, Chesham, Wickham, Hinby, Shillingford, Aylesbury, Hogsty, Sherington, Narsh, Jackmore, Sibford, Hooknorton, Adderbury, South Newtown, Banbury and Skipton; most of which were open tendering meetings, for which I hope to be humbly thankful to the Lord. It has been a close baptizing season, which dipped my soul into great doubts and suspicions of my commission; the jealousy I felt, lest any thing of self should be suffered to arise, and the solicitude that I might be healed from all my infirmities, and be preserved on every hand, neither giving way to the discouragements which my enemy is often presenting, to prevent me from doing my duty, or to be exalted, when favoured to perform acceptably to my fellow creatures, what is required; the praise of man, as well as the fear, having a snare with it. My cup overflows in seeing the care of the Lord to me at this time, more than I can express. When I began I felt so low that I could scarcely write the account of the meetings,

but I am brought once more to speak of his goodness.

Ninth month 12th, went to Skipton, and attended a select meeting in the afternoon, and a circular meeting held at that place; my soul was bowed in humble thankfulness, as at the gate of Divine Wisdom, for his great condescension, having been favoured once more to praise his excellent name, as on the banks of deliverance, after a season of trial. From thence attended meetings at Beccles, Radway, Warwick, Hartshill, Polesworth and Hinckley; some of which were favoured seasons, with divers opportunities we had in Friends' families. 23rd, rode fourteen miles to Leicester, and was so overcome that I apprehended I should be sick, but so far recovered as to attend the select meeting, and the next day their quarterly meeting. 25th, returned to London, attended the morning meeting, and met my beloved friends Thomas Ross, Samuel Emlen and George Dillwyn, greatly to my comfort, having divers refreshing seasons with them in this place.

26th, first-day of the week, attended a meeting at Coventry, which was a profitable season to me. Went in the evening to a select meeting at Warwick, and the next day to their quarterly meeting, which proved a tendering opportunity; after which went to Skipton, Long Compton, and Chippington, and visited some families in this town, wherein I thought the little streams increased to broad rivers, and I retired to bed with an humbling sense of my own weaknesses, and the manifold mercies of him who knows best how to deal with his poor creatures, and has showed me, that my dipping and proving seasons are only to prepare me for his own blessed work; may I therefore bow in humble submission, to every dispensation he may be pleased to allot, though the floods of discouragement may at seasons rise high. From thence went to Campden and Evesham, attended the select quarterly meeting, and I hope Truth did not lose ground. I felt a necessity to make a stop in this place, and visit the families, which though much in the cross, I submitted to, and found great peace. Tenth month 10th, attended meeting again at this place; and feeling at liberty, went to Cirencester, and on the 12th had a meeting. From thence to Cheltenham, Painswick, Nailsworth, Sedbury, Thornbury, Ovelston, Frenchay and Bristol, and 23rd visited a few families of Friends. Some of the above named meetings were favoured seasons, and my soul was often solaced with the sweet incomes of divine love, for obedience to his requirings, though the enemy was suffered to buffet and cast down, which I believed was to keep me humble, that no self-



exaltation might arise, and frustrate the work which Infinite Wisdom hath seen meet to appoint. O! that all those who are travelling in the same way, may put their whole trust and confidence in him, the never failing helper of his people; not giving way on the right hand, or on the left; but watch with all diligence, that so they may be preserved in an humble dependence upon the Lord alone, who can make a way for his ransomed ones, where no way appears; for surely, I should have sunk had not he many times made bare his arm for my help; blessed and magnified be his adorable name. Staid several meetings at Bristol, from thence went to Kingsweston, returned to Bristol, and on the 31st went to Clarum meeting, and had a precious parting opportunity with divers dear friends, who gave us their company from Bristol; staid at their monthly meeting the next day, then went to Sidcot, Bridgewater, Taunton, Milverton and Minehead; the last is a solitary spot, but two members of our Society in the place, except Robert Davis's family; I felt much concern for them, but hope both meetings were favoured with divine aid, and next morning had a comfortable opportunity at parting.

Eleventh month 19th, attended a meeting at Willinton. From thence to Uffculme, Col-lumpton, Exeter, Newtown and Kingsbridge, and visited about twelve families of Friends. First of the week, 21st, went to meeting at Plymouth, and to one that evening at Loe; from thence to Germaines, Liskeard, Austill, Mavagissy, Penryn, Falmouth, Handsent, Marion, and Redruth. Here we rested one day with our kind friends William and Catharine Phillips; and then proceeded to Truro and Woodbridge, and after two days journey, reached Willinton, 12th of twelfth month, and had a precious meeting in silence, I thought as much so as ever I was sensible of. Proceeded to Taunton monthly meeting; from thence to Bridgewater quarterly meeting, and to Ilminster, Yeovil, Petherton, Grenton, Glastonbury, Hallfrow, Chewmagna, Peterhead and Bristol.

First month 2nd, 1785, was too unwell to attend their first-day meeting, and was confined several days; but was greatly favoured with a contented mind, witnessing hard things to be made easy, and bitter things sweet. 9th; Being pretty well recovered, attended divers meetings in that place, one of which was among the prisoners. The priest seemed kindly disposed towards us, and thanked us for our visit to those confined people, that had broken the law both of God and man. He dined with us and conversed on religious subjects, by which we found he was concerned to have a school for the education of poor

children; believing that if there was more labour that way, it would be a means of preserving many from gross evils, by which they were often brought to an untimely end. Desires were raised in my heart for this man, that the Lord might make him a good shepherd over his flock; for if righteousness does but prevail, if we can but find the marks of true discipleship, and feel that there is an interest in the kingdom of heaven, it matters not what the name to religion may be, with him who has promised, "that he will gather all nations, and they shall come to see his glory." We also went to see the poor people at the work-house, which was a favoured season. The next day attended meeting, which proved a good time, for all which favours I desire to be humbly thankful, and to lay as with my mouth in the dust, acknowledging that it is the Lord's doings and marvellous in mine eyes, who has not been wanting to perform his gracious promises to me, in a strange land.

First-day of the week, 16th, went to Ulverstone meeting and Thornbury, in the afternoon; from thence to Tewkesbury, Worcester, Alcester, Birmingham, Dudley, Stourbridge, Tamworth, Uttoxeter, Stafford, Leek, Macclesfield, Stockport, Morley, Middlewich, Frandly, Newton, Sutton, Chester, Nampwich, and New-dale.

[From Nampwich she wrote the following letter:]

#### TO HER DAUGHTER.

Nampwich, Old England, 25th of  
Second month, 1785.

Dear child, Hannah Brayton,

I have had thee in my mind for many days, with fresh remembrance what a dutiful child thou hast been in the outward concerns of life. O my dear, I trust there is a blessing for thee in store, and I hope thou wilt labour for that blessing that fadeeth not away; that the dew of heaven may rest upon thee in all thy undertakings; and if the Lord becomes thy director, thou wilt be directed aright, both in divine and outward things. I long to be more and more given up to the Lord's requirings, whether I ever see thee more or not; although thou feelest nearer to me than I can relate with pen, the favours of heaven I feel so near at times, surmount all other considerations; when that abates I long to see thee again, but I hope more and more to learn patience, in all my steppings along in this life, for I see the want of it more now than ever, in order to keep me low and humble: if I am exalted at any of these favours, then I shall be in great danger—I am ready to tremble, seeing the work so great. Oh, my child, though nature brings thee into my mind with nearness, yet



believing there is one rich rewarder to them that hold out to the end; so my dear, be kind to the poor, and desire the Lord to open thine ear to their cry, and tender thy heart towards them; for those that do not hear the cry of those that stand in need, may cry themselves and not be heard. I remain thy affectionate mother,

PATIENCE BRAYTON.

On the first of the week, 27th, were at Old-Dale, and lodged at Samuel Darby's, Abia Darby, their ancient mother was poorly; she is a valuable woman. Many of the above named meetings were open favoured seasons, though deep baptisms and poverty were often allotted; yet I have abundant cause to bow low, in thankful acknowledgment unto him, who hath indeed dealt bountifully with me, though I have, at times, feared I should take my flight as on the sabbath-day. Tarried at Dale several days, attending meetings, and visiting some who were sick and advanced in age; it was hard parting with some in this place, for whom I felt very desirous that they might be gathered to the Fountain and Source of eternal excellency; that so they may witness preservation through the tribulated path, which the righteous in all generations have had to walk in. Went from thence to Shrewsbury, where we had a precious season, and after the meeting a uniting opportunity: then parted with Deborah Darby, a sweet spirited woman, to whom my heart was nearly united. Went to Leominster, and on the first-day of the week, 13th of third month, attended meeting, and it proved a laborious day. From thence to Almely, Broomyard, Ross, Pontypool, and Cardiff, at which last there were but two members; but a number of people came in, and we had a good meeting. We had the company of Joseph Coal with us, who having a gift in the ministry, was a true helper to me. Was at a meeting at Swansea, which was an open season. At dinner my mouth was opened in supplication; for yielding obedience thereunto, though often greatly in the cross, my mind was replenished with inward joy, rewarding me for leaving all to follow him. After attending a meeting at Neath, set off for Haverford West, were at their first-day meeting 27th, and resting one day rode to Carmarthen, and had a meeting in the evening, which was very large, and I enjoyed great peace of mind: as my trials were great, so was my peace, for it flowed like a river. From thence to New-house, Pales, Lanidloes; at this last place I was much exercised about having a public meeting, and gave up so far as to impart it to my companion, who manifested her unity, and we had one with Friends in the forenoon, and

another in the evening in the town-hall; after which went to Escargoch, and from thence rode over the high mountain, lodged at an inn, and was much exercised on account of having a meeting here. The people not understanding English, I left the place heavily, and went to Tydny-Garreg, and lodged at Dorothy Owen's, a valuable Friend, and sat with the few Friends there. Then rested one day, wherein my mind was deeply affected with an apprehension that I must submit to have some meetings with those not of our Society; and I felt the woe, if I gave not up thereto, and was brought into a great strait, as I could not speak their language, and had no interpreter. While sitting under this exercise, a person knocked at the door, and it sprang in my heart there is one come for my relief, and so it proved to my surprise, it being John Lewis; thus again the Almighty made way for me, to my humbling admiration, praised be his name.

Attended a meeting at Tydny-Garreg in the forenoon, and one in the afternoon at Dollygelly; next day at Llwyndu: from thence to Barmouth and Bola. In going to some of those places we rode by the sea-side on one hand, and a mountain on the other, which looked awful, for had our horses taken fright, we should have been in great danger; but the Lord was our preserver and we got well through, which caused me to rejoice in fear, and to be glad with trembling. Returned to Dollygelly, where we visited the prisoners; one man was under condemnation to be executed in about two weeks. O, that mankind would take warning by such affecting instances, and turn from the evil of their ways. We went to Mahunluth, where was a quarterly meeting to be held at an inn, there being no Friends at that place; we had a public meeting in the town-hall. From thence went to Aberhurst, to the Welch yearly meeting, which was large, and an exercise was again revived in my mind, to have some meetings with those of other societies; accordingly we had one appointed at Mahunluth in the town-hall, at Kennys, Dinamouthy, and Llondre-main, all held in the street, and proved good open opportunities. Lodged at an inn where the people were very tender and loving. We also had meetings at Rayador, Baile, Landoverly, Brecknock, Lanelly, Pontypool and Abergavenny; most of which were held at inns or in public buildings, and were to satisfaction.

Fifth month 8th, were at their meetings at Ross, it being first-day, from thence rode thirty miles to Cirencester; the next day forty miles to Shillingford, and fourteen next morning to a meeting at Hinby. Got to Staines



that evening, and heard that our friends Samuel Emlen, George Dillwyn, and Catharine Phillips were got to town. The next day attended meeting at Staines; after which rode eighteen miles to London, and went to our old lodgings at John Townsend's. Attended Gracechurch street meeting; and on the day following, which was seventh-day, was the select yearly meeting, and there I met our American friends Thomas Ross, John Pemberton, Mehetable Jenkins, William Matthews, Rebecca Jones and Rebecca Wright. Attended the several sittings of the first yearly meeting of women Friends held in this nation, some of which were favoured seasons. 22nd, I attended the first-day meetings; but was under a great weight of spirit, my tongue is not able to express it to the full; but the Lord is good, in that he laid not upon me more than he will enable me to go through, although I had almost given out, and thought I could go no longer; but he has been sufficient for the day of my trials; through good report and evil report, he has upheld me. Oh, how I desire to dwell near that good hand, that has been so kind to me, who has not cut me off in his anger, but has dealt as a tender Father, in watching my steps, and when I have gone too fast, how he has humbled my soul, and caused me to stand still to seek renewed strength. After attending the morning meeting of ministers and elders, to much comfort, I was at a mid-week meeting, when my mouth was opened in a few words, but I was soon dipped into deep baptisms, which made me look well to my ways, and had strong desires that the Lord would keep my body under subjection, lest while I was speaking to others, I myself should become a castaway. Attended divers meetings whilst in the city, and one at the work-house, where were our dear friends Thomas Ross and Rebecca Jones, which was to mutual comfort, and we had a tendering season together; may the Lord have the praise of his own works.

Sixth month 2nd, we left London for Ipswich, and on the 5th attended their first-day meeting; from thence to a quarterly meeting held at Woodbridge: I thought them favoured seasons, and that the good wine was handed to the refreshment of our drooping minds, and sweet was the reward of peace that flowed into my heart. Had a public meeting at this place, where I felt my spirit largely opened in the love of our heavenly Father, extended towards all his creatures, and went away rejoicing, may the praise and the honour be ascribed to him, unto whom alone it is due. After this, attended meetings at Needham, Diss and Norwich, at which place was a yearly and quarterly meeting held, which I

thought much favoured: here I met Nicholas Waln and Rebecca Wright. I was concerned to visit the prisoners, and hope not to forget the tendering effect it had on my mind, to see so many of our fellow creatures under sentence of death for murder and robbery.

13th, left Norwich, and parted with my companion Margaret Shillito, who had shown me great kindness, as had Edmund Peckover and his wife and children. Elizabeth Candler took her place, and we had meetings at Swaffham, Wisbeach, Gidray and also a precious meeting with but about five persons, two of whom were members. Went to Spalding, Gainsborough and Thorn: here I met with Thomas Ross and John Pemberton, and had an evening meeting, which was to satisfaction, as were most of the others; may my soul bow in humble acknowledgment to the Father of all our mercies, and give him the praise unto whom it is due. Next day went to York, attended their quarterly meeting, and went to the prison with John Pemberton; it was an humbling sight, to see so many men in chains; there were some who looked to be under twenty years of age. We speaking of their youth, one answered us cheerfully, there were some executed much younger than they were; how sorrowful to behold such a state of hardness, whereby they could make so light of death: they thanked us for our visit, and I returned with peace of mind. From thence we went to Darlington and Durham quarterly meeting, and had a public meeting one evening in this place for the town's people and soldiers; all which were to our satisfaction; may the Lord have the praise of his own works, and our honour be laid as in the dust. From thence attended meetings at Stockton, Sunderland, North Shields, Tinmouth, New Castle, Beltingham, and one in a barn at Ovington. They were tendering seasons, and my heart was filled with peace; it is the Lord alone that can help me, he made me willing to take up the cross, and appoint a meeting where there were no Friends, and mercifully supported and carried me through, I hope to his own honour. At Sunderland we lodged at Elizabeth Ogden's, who had lately buried a very desirable daughter. I had a little knowledge of her, and was much affected when I heard of her death, she was about twenty-three years of age, had a precious gift in the ministry, and was the only one in the public line that belonged to that meeting, in which she was much missed: but her heavenly Father knew what was best for her, and she has undoubtedly gone well, and is taken from a scene of conflict and trial.

17th of seventh month, attended New Castle meetings, both of which were favoured seasons, but the pure life is exceedingly low. I



desire not to complain, though my leanness is great, but to learn in all situations to be content, to rejoice in fear, and to come before the Lord with trembling; for when he is pleased to arise he can make a way where there appears to be no way, even through the deeps; blessed be his name! Here I was taken ill, and continued so for about ten days, that I knew but little; after which, I gradually recovered, my mind at seasons enjoyed sweet quietude and resignation to the divine will. Eighth month 9th, I was so far recovered as to ride out, and my physician and friends advised my going into the country, for the benefit of the air, which I complied with, though I felt some reluctance to it, and went to William and Ann King's, who were kind and loving to me: and was again taken ill, and continued so for two weeks, that I was doubtful of my recovery, but was mercifully supported in this season of trial. I was confined, except riding out to take the air, from the 17th of seventh month to the 11th of ninth month, when I was favoured to be so far restored as to attend meeting, and felt something to arise in my mind, and stood up to communicate it, but feeling unable, I again took my seat. My dear companion arose soon with the subject, and the very same expressions that I had felt revived; I thought her much favoured, and mention it as a matter worthy of commemoration, as it shows not only the near connexion there is, with the true labourers, but the all-sufficiency of him, who puts them forth and goes before them: after which I parted with my dear friends, they having been made very near to me, divers of whom had been very kind in visiting and caring for me, during my confinement: may the Lord reward them, for it was his doings, and my spirit is overcome with his goodness and mercy to so poor a creature.

We now began to think of moving forward, and my friends proposed our taking short stages, considering my weakness; but it was marvellous how fast I was favoured to recover, and how my good Master increased my outward strength. We accordingly attended their week-day meeting at Shields, which was a favoured season, and on the 19th, it being first-day, were at two meetings at Sunderland. From thence to Durham, Bishop Auckland, Stainthorp, Lartington and Darlington. I have been three times at this place, and have heretofore been much shut up, but have felt the goodness of God to my soul this day; may I still live to praise and adore him. Visited a man who was low in mind, and found him in a lamb-like state, also divers individuals who were confined by sickness, and had refreshing opportunities with them, to the

comforting of our souls. From thence went to Thirsk, lodged at Mary Allerby's, who was not at home, but has hopeful children; we had a precious opportunity with our friends, who came in to see us. Next day reached York, and attended their select quarterly meeting, where many things were opened and spoken to, and it would be well if they were put in practice, for it is the doing of the law that will render us acceptable: I was favoured with peace after the meeting was over. Attended their first-day meeting at York, and sat with the scholars in the evening at William Tuke's; went to our kind friend Lindley Murray's to lodge, who went with us the next day nine miles to Tadcaster; his conversation was reviving to my spirits, and the parting with him and his wife was trying to us. We had a precious meeting at Thomas Clifford's. Next day spent the morning in writing, after which attended a meeting at Leeds, and was there on first-day, 9th of tenth month; after which I felt peaceful, and that is better than the praise of men. From thence to Wakefield, Burton, Warmsworth, Ackworth, and on first-day, 16th, attended Pontefract meeting, and returned to Ackworth. Visited the school which is kept for Friends' children; they had upwards of three hundred boys and girls, the teachers appeared to be solid, and religiously engaged. I thought it a favoured visit, and my heart was made glad in the leadings forth of the Lord. We returned to Leeds, and lodged at John Jewitt's; where we remained several days, my companion being poorly. I attended their week-day and first-day meetings, one burial, and spent part of my time in writing home; and have thought there was no cause to complain, but to be thankful, for if my companion had not been detained on account of her health, we might probably, by travelling pretty constantly, have gone further than my strength would have borne, not being quite recovered from my illness. Our friends here were very kind; we had many tendering seasons in families; but fear often attended me, lest I should go too fast or tarry too long behind, and herein is the kindness of my good Master manifested, by reviving these things often in my mind, to keep me in an humble watchful state, where alone is true safety. My dear companion thinking herself able to travel from Leeds, we attended a meeting at Brighouse, and she bore it better than I expected; had a comfortable sitting in the family, and the next afternoon some Friends coming to see us, we had a tendering season together.

First of the week, 30th, rode four miles to Paddock meeting; our good Master was near, and remembered the low estate of his hand-



maid. And so to Highflats and Lumbroyd; from thence to Huddersfield, Rushworth, Halifax, Bradford and Gildersome, and returned to Leeds. My companion having a child at school in this place, it seemed most suitable for us to refresh ourselves a little, and she having some thoughts of leaving me, it was a great trial, for our spirits were united together, and we drew as in one yoke; she however went with me to Knaresborough, on the 13th of the eleventh month. I also attended Dargre meeting, she being too unwell to go with me, and for a season I sat in great poverty of spirit; but a little matter revived in my mind, and we had a tendering season; after which I thought best to return to Leeds, my companion continuing poorly, and here we parted in gospel love. The Lord looked down upon me, and engaged the heart of another dear Friend to go with me, whose name was Phebe Blakes. We rode eight miles, and stopped at an inn, where I was enabled to open my mouth in supplication at the table, which was very striking to the landlady; I went away in peace. The next day attended a meeting at Selby, and had cause to believe that our Master had joined us together, blessed our undertaking, and favoured us with a good meeting.

From Selby went to Bottingworth, and had a meeting, where we lodged; and at Skipton, at our friend John Raleigh's: here I was favoured to see the need of continual watchfulness, for having obtained relief from the deep weight that attended my mind on my first coming into this country, I was desirous that I might be preserved from errors, for I saw the danger both on the right and left hand. These seasons of proving, keep the mind low and in a situation to receive divine impressions, but of late I have felt as a spring shut up, a fountain sealed; yet hope patiently to wait the Lord's time, who when he pleases will water his heritage, and cause it to grow and bring forth fruit to the honour of his name. My prayer is at times raised, that he may not leave me, one of the least of his labourers, but that he who hath been with me, may continue to be my helper, that I through him may overcome the world. From Skipton went to North Cave, which was at first trying, but my companion soon kneeled and desired the cloud might be dispersed: so nearly were our spirits united together, that we had great cause to be encouraged in the service of our good Master, may the praise be ascribed unto whom it is due.

We went to John Dickinson's, and the next day visited several families, and returned to Robert Proud's, at Hull. My companion and I visited some of her acquaintance, amongst

whom we had favoured religious opportunities. I desire to be kept low, and my mind inward, where safety is, relying upon that Arm that never fails to help his rightly dependent children; but oh! the feelings of the mind when fears take hold. The next day we attended the monthly meeting, and I thought it ended well. Then went to a meeting at Willick, and although the fore part was overshadowed with darkness, towards the close light sprang up. We lodged at Peter Herd's. I now began to think myself released from these parts. The 4th of twelfth month went to Ostwich meeting, then to Hornsea, and the good Master was near to us, opening our minds in pure love towards the people. From thence to Bridlington, and at the widow Stevens's had a family sitting. On our way to Scarborough, we met with some danger by quicksands; but my heart was filled with peace, the fruits of obedience; may the Lord be ever obeyed in all things; by his rod and staff hath he upheld me in this journey. At this place we met with our kind friend Robert Proud; the meeting I believe ended pretty well; my spirit was closely baptized. The next day was refreshed, went to Whitby, rode over the moors, which are dangerous, but all was made pleasant to me, for by doing the will of my heavenly Father, hard things are made easy. We went to Castleton, Gisborough and Ayton; the state of the latter meeting was much spoken to. After which rode to Kawknest, Rounton, Bisdale, Helmesly, Kirby and Hutton: at times the fountain was unsealed, and many comforted. I think it worthy of observation for others encouragement, that at one of these meetings, a Friend aged ninety-two years, had walked six miles to attend it; he was an approved elder.

At Pickering we lodged at Roger Hart's, my spirit was depressed, and fears surrounded me; but I hoped my faith would be again strengthened to perform the labour which I believed I was called to, for the sake of my own peace; and my desire is, that the Lord will reward all his children, whom he hath made willing to leave all that is near and dear, to follow him in the way of his holy requirings. The state of the above meeting was opened to many minds. From thence to Malton; the Friends of this place were very kind to me, and I trust we parted in love. Thence we went to Huby, and this being the last meeting, and the extent of the present journey, I was desirous it might be like the others, for the best aid had been graciously near us in this visit, and it was so on the present occasion, to our comfort. From that place we returned to Leeds, to their quarterly meeting, where I met many of my beloved friends; among whom



were Mehetabel Jenkins, Rebecca Jones and John Pemberton. The meeting continued three days, and was much favoured; after which we went to Undercliffs and Bradford meeting; and on the first-day following, being the 8th of first month, were at Rawdon, which was a season of favour, and my companion was enabled vocally to supplicate the Father of our mercies. Next to Otley, Fairfield, Skipton and Lothersale. I have been desirous to be wholly given up to the will and direction of my heavenly Father; he requires no more of us than he graciously enables to perform; and although much weakness was mine, and at seasons when nearly ready to give out, I may say that Jordan was driven back, and my feet stood firm when all her banks were overflowed; may my soul ever adore its God, he holds the winds, and by his word governs sea and land. Having a cold, I travelled through bodily indisposition; but have cause to be thankful that I was enabled to continue my journey; may the Lord carry me through to his honour, and to the satisfaction of my friends, without wounding the least babe in Christ; and it will not matter what I undergo, if favoured at last with the reward of peace. Had a religious opportunity with the Friend of the house, who was sick.

First month 15th, 1786, we were at a first-day meeting at Sisterforth, and after a satisfactory religious opportunity in a family, set out on our journey, were at Airtton and Starbolton, these were pretty open meetings: here we left our carriage and took saddles, and rode up a steep mountain, and so to Aysgarth, Leybourn and Marsham, being first of the week and 22nd of the month. In going to one of these meetings we were overturned, and my companion a little bruised, but not so much as we both were once before by a similar accident. Went to Richmond, Swaledale, and on first-day 29th, at Counterside: next to Grisdale, in Westmoreland, Briggflatt's meeting, and Layest; much of the time it had been rainy. Some of these meetings were tendering seasons, and through mercy at times, obtained the blessing. Oh, may my spirit bow at the feet of divine Wisdom, and give the glory to the Lord, from whom our strength cometh: I have great cause to trust in his never failing Arm, that has thus helped me through, and I may say, I rejoice in fear, and stand before him with trembling; it is good for me that he has dealt with me in this manner.

5th of second month, and first of the week, having met George Dillwyn and wife at Kendal, we attended their forenoon meeting; that in the afternoon was put off to the fifth hour, at the request of George Dillwyn, for the inhabitants of the town, which

proved a favoured season, and I sincerely craved that the seed which is sowed in this land may bring forth fruit and multiply in the hearts of the sons and daughters of men. Next day we had a very large public meeting in a school house at Sedbergh, where many excellent truths were declared. I trust the Lord will make up all to me if I wait patiently his time, yea, seven fold of reward for all our labours: we returned to Rachel Wilson's with peace. I spent the remainder of the week there, taking their week-day meeting, and visiting the sick and aged, in which I found peace of mind, praised be the Lord therefor. The first-day following were at Wyndermere in the forenoon, and Kendal in the afternoon, seven miles distant: then we took meetings at Crook, Grayrig, Preston, Yeland, and Wethersdale, in which my mind was strengthened in silence, as I was favoured to seek for and look to the Lord, knowing it to be very profitable for the renewal of my strength. We thence returned to Lancaster, and were at their first-day meeting, 19th. Thence attended meetings at Wray, Field, Proud, Preston, Longbridge, Standish, Langtree, Ashton, &c., and coming to Liverpool, was several days confined there, being much indisposed, but it pleased Infinite Goodness to raise me up again. After taking their meeting, first-day, 12th of third month, were at meeting at Penketh in the forenoon, and in the afternoon at Warrington, wherein I was made willing to submit my life and all that is within me, to the wise Disposer of all things; my faith was strengthened, and the meeting ended well, and we had a favoured sitting in the evening in a Friend's family, and the day following two others in different families of the town; and then went to Manchester, and lodged at John Routh's, where I met with Sarah Taylor, his sister, who has a valuable gift in the ministry; we had a favoured meeting there, and my companion concluded it in supplication. Thence going to Oldham, we were at their meeting, but it being a heavy snow storm, the snow was so deep we could not travel for two days. Then going to Longfield, my companion thought of leaving me, which was a trial, for though I had parted with my near connexions, yet I find a united companion in a strange place, to be near; she went with me to first-day meeting at Todmorden, where we had a good parting season. I remember when Jonathan and David parted they wept until David exceeded, for they loved each other, and we parted in love, and not because we were tired of each other's company, for the longer we were together the more I loved her, for she was a helpmate to me both within and without. On the 20th, this my



valuable friend and companion, Phœbe Blakes, left me; she had been near four months with me, and it would have been very pleasing if our good Master had engaged her to continue with me during my stay in this land, but his will be done, and all will be well.

Sarah Sutcliffe, a young woman, accompanying me, we set off on horseback, and found some difficulty in getting through the snow-banks, but were preserved through dangers, and had a blessed open season at Crawshaw-booth; I hope reverently to bow my spirit at the feet of my Lord, and ascribe all honour to him, to whom alone it is due. After taking the meeting at Bolton, I met with Sarah Reynolds, who concluded to accompany me. We took meetings at Edgworth and Blackbourne, which were acceptable seasons, and came to Marsden much wearied; and on first-day the 26th, had a favoured meeting not to be forgotten. Thence took meetings at Trawden and Newtown, wherein we experienced favour: my mind is at times possessed with fear, lest I should become a cast-away in this land, but my good Master knoweth what is best for me, which is to be truly humble, and I hope not to lack in that great and necessary thing, for it is the humble that are favoured of the Lord. Oh, that I may be led in the meek path of righteousness, all the days of my appointed time here. After meeting rode twelve miles to Bank, where my spirit felt closely tried, but I was desirous to be made quite willing to submit to every dispensation. The tossing seas were made still and I rested, and was comforted in beholding the good hand, which was near to so poor a creature as I am: but when I reflect on the many favours I have received from his bountiful hand, for indeed I may say that I lacked nothing from him, how fearful I am lest I should not go through this great undertaking to the honour of the Lord, and the satisfaction of my friends. First-day, 2nd of fourth month, was at a meeting at Settle; next day at Bentham, and third-day at Kendal; and so to the monthly meeting at Penrith, which was an humbling season. After these we took meetings at Mordell, Terrel, Mossdale, Colebeck, Bolton and Wigton, some of which were cause of much thankfulness, and I hope to be duly humbled under a sense of my good Master's care to me in a foreign land.

Having been under some exercise on account of a concern I felt to go into Scotland, and being desirous that some exercised brother might be concerned to accompany us, to bear part in the work, we went to Carlisle, and there I received a letter from John Hall, whose mother Alice Hall, being on a religious visit, died in our land, kindly offering his com-

pany to go there; and he being a valuable Friend in the ministry, his offer was very acceptable. The next day we had a precious open meeting at Carlisle, the day following we attended meeting at Scotby, and next morning set out for Scotland, rode thirty-three miles, and lodged at an inn: my companion and self had a season of deep searching of heart, and I became renewed in mind to put my trust in the never-failing arm of power, and I hope to be more and more faithful thereto. Next day, riding thirty-two miles, reached Kelso; and the day following, being first-day, 16th of fourth month, 1786, were at two meetings there, being the first in Scotland; they proved open seasons. Second-day rode forty miles to Edinburgh, and had a meeting there next day, and my heart was brought to rejoice in much weakness, and in the fear of the Lord. During my stay I felt fear on every hand, and I found it hard work to be truly faithful to what was required of me; but my good Master renewed my strength day by day, suitable to the labour I have to go through. We rode fourteen miles to Perth, and next day thirty-eight miles to Stonehaven, where we had a meeting; a few old people attended, and the Master favoured us together: after meeting went fourteen miles to Aberdeen, and lodged at an inn, and first-day 23rd, had two meetings there. Then rode eighteen miles to meeting at Old Meldrum, which was a tendering season, and returned to Aberdeen, where my companion was much unwell, as she has been mostly since we came into Scotland; but she is a pattern of patience under affliction, and her company very instructive to me, in this time of travelling, being subjected to inconvenience by long stages and lodging at inns. Next day we attended their yearly meeting, and my companion held out better than I expected. It was a hard trying time with us, but we were helped through, with the oppressed seed, to feel with them in their burthens. My companion continues so poorly and we are so far from her husband and children, that I am almost discouraged at times, but the great Physician is able to heal, and carry us through all; it is he alone who is able to help us in all our trials.

From Aberdeen we went to Montrose, thirty-seven miles, and taking a small meeting there, went to Dundas, twenty-eight miles, and had two public meetings, being first-day, 30th. Second-day went twenty-two miles to Perth, and had a public meeting in the town-hall; my concern about this last meeting was great, but my good Master was near to my help, and I was favoured with peace of mind, which covered my soul as a garment, so that all things were made easy. The next



day we had a cold wet ride over the mountain. I felt concerned on account of my companion, but was favoured with such peace of mind myself, that the weather could not make me unhappy; blessed be the Lord, for he alone made way for me, and gave me strength to bear every trial. One dear Friend of that country, John Wigham, bore up my arms with my dear companion's; I hope not to forget his kindness in this journey; I do not recollect to have met with a more feeling and sympathizing friend in Europe. We rode forty miles to Edinburgh yearly meeting, held for Scotland, where I met with John Pemberton, whom I was glad to see, as also many others of my dear friends; it held two days, I was silent in all the public meetings, but felt them to be favoured opportunities. There are a few promising young people in this place, with whom my spirit travailed, in hope that they will look to the never-failing arm of power, in all their steppings along through time. We attended a public meeting at Leith, where there are no Friends, and returned to Edinburgh, and were at two meetings there on first-day, 7th of fifth month, in company with John Pemberton, which proved to our comfort. Next day we set off for England, rode thirty-six miles, and lodged at an inn, where my dear companion was so unwell that we sent for a physician, and I being very weary with riding, rested poorly; but it was cause of great thankfulness, that I was favoured with health, indeed I have cause to speak of the abundant mercies bestowed on us, in our steppings along in this journey. Next morning setting off, and my dear companion recruiting, rode thirty-two miles and lodged again at an inn; and next day rose early, and rode sixteen miles to Sikeside, and lodged at a Friend's house, and the day following went to meeting at Kirklington, which was a tendering season. But oh, my spirit was in great trembling, and fear surrounded me, lest I had done more harm than good; and these things kept me low, which is like help to the soul, that it might not be lifted up, but centre in the low valley of humiliation, there to be filled again with a renewal of divine goodness. Then taking meeting at Solport, came through Carlisle, and on first-day, 14th, were at meeting at Morehouse in the forenoon, and the afternoon at Kirkbride, six miles further; both meetings were tendering seasons; it was a time of poverty with me. Came that night ten miles, to Holm, and next day were at meeting there, where I was silent; but my dear companion had some service to satisfaction; and in the afternoon went four miles to Allonby, and had an open favoured meeting: after which we went to see a young

man, who came from America in the vessel with me, and is now in a poor state of health. I also visited our captain's brothers and sister, their mother was from home, but I saw her some days before; I did not see his wife, she being also from home. Leaving them, we took meeting at Maryport, and came to Whitehaven. Many are the baptisms we poor travellers have to go through, but we have found the grace of God to be sufficient to carry us through in much weakness and fear, so that we can speak well of his gracious never-failing name, that he has never suffered us to sink below hope, but has done much for us, and afforded us day by day a crumb from his bountiful table. After meeting we rode ten miles to Graysouthen, and lodged at Jane Pearson's. Next day rode three miles to Pardshaw-hall meeting, where we had to speak well of our good Master: here I saw Hannah Harris, who has been in America on a religious visit, and we were mutually glad to see each other. We lodged again at Jane Pearson's, and next day rode eleven miles to meeting at Broughton, and in the afternoon to Cockermouth, which finished my visit in this county, in which I am favoured with peace of mind.

21st, Being first-day, was at meeting at Highwray, where my companion was so unwell as to sit the meeting with difficulty; and returning to Hannah Wilson's, she went to bed, and meetings being already appointed, it was no small trial to part with her. Hannah Wilson accompanying me, we took meetings at Ulverstone, and then at Height, where I met my companion again, yet very poorly; but next day set off with us, and rode twenty-four miles to Lancaster, and lodged at William Dilworth's. Next day fifty-two miles to Warrington; my companion's fever abating, I left her, and went about six miles to the general meeting, and my mind was made peaceful in being obedient to my heavenly Father, although in much weakness; yet the sun broke out of the cloud sometimes, to the refreshing of my poor drooping soul.

Being accompanied by E. Jollay, a kind young woman, we took meetings at Middlewich and Coventry; the last being particularly owned by the great Master, my cup overflowed and the tender plants were watered with the shedding abroad of the Father's love. We then proceeded for London, where we arrived on the 30th, and met my dear friend and former companion, Rebecca Wright; we were mutually pleased to see each other. Here I also met Mehetabel Jenkins, and all our American friends now in this land, except John Pemberton. The next week the yearly meeting coming on, I was enabled to attend



it, the sittings of which were all favoured, to the praise of the great Name.

17th of sixth month, went to Rochester, and next day attended their first-day meetings, which were favoured seasons; but my poor spirit was deeply baptized, in which I hope to submit to the sufferings allotted me, until the Lord shall say it is enough. Accompanied by Mary Horsenail, I went to Canterbury, Drapers and Dover, where the meetings were much favoured with divine light, particularly at Drapers, much tenderness appeared; may the Lord be praised, for ever. From Dover we went to Folkstone, took meeting there, visited some sick Friends, and returned to Dover monthly meeting. Oh, my dearest Lord, I pray thee to uphold me with thy right hand, for thou only knowest all my trials and the dangers that I have to pass through in this life; thou hast mercifully delivered my poor soul from destruction in time past; I pray thee, holy Father, be near to me and support me by thy free Spirit, in every needful time.

26th, meeting with Mehetabel Jenkins and Sarah Stephenson at Dover, we staid meetings there, being first-day, and was at a silent meeting in the morning, and a sitting with our friends in the evening, to my great comfort. Next day attended the meeting for business and for ministers and elders; it was an open time, and the last a precious season. The next day going to Ashford, I was under great concern of mind to have a meeting at a place where I was informed there were no Friends, though the largest meeting-house among those of our Society in that county: the next day went to meeting, and it was a most favoured season. We rode twenty miles to Cranbrook, and had a meeting appointed that evening; I understood the people were well satisfied with the opportunity, there were two ministers of Dover who attended. I could say that the good Master made way for me; oh, may my soul bow as to the dust, and give glory to his most powerful name, which is worthy to be served and obeyed in all things. Lodged at an inn, and next day rode twenty-two miles to Hilly-Park; and next day taking Gardener street meeting, we came to Lewes. On first-day, 2nd of seventh month, attended meeting there; and in the afternoon a public meeting being appointed, my spirit sunk into discouragement, but I could honestly say, oh Lord thou knowest I had thy honour in view: we were favoured with a good open season; oh, may my soul bow down to the dust and give all glory to the Lord, who is worthy of all praise. We then took meetings at Bright-helmston, Highfield, Horsham, Shipley, Arundel and Chichester, which were mostly precious

seasons; at the last three priests attended, who I understood were well satisfied, and desired notice might be given them whenever Friends came there again.

9th, being first-day of the week, we were at meeting at Godalming, and I felt my spirits begin to sink again, for I wanted daily washing in the laver of regeneration. Oh, this great and arduous work seems as if it would be too heavy for me to go through to the honour of Truth, which is made as near to me as my own life. I long for truth and righteousness to reign in the hearts of the sons of men, and to rule over all nations: in the morning it was laborious work, but in the afternoon it was a refreshing shower; my heart was made humbly thankful, and I hope it will not be forgotten by me a poor worm. I long daily to be laid as in the dust, so that I might be truly favoured of the Lord, and enabled of him to work in his vineyard. Thence we went to Cappell and Dorking, which were favoured opportunities; at the latter meeting a priest attended, who expressed to me his hope that the Lord would bless my undertaking, and told a Friend he was glad he was there. After meeting at Croydon, I parted with my dear friend Mary Horsenail, whom I dearly loved. Next day Ann Robinson went with me to Wandsworth, where we had a satisfactory meeting. Thence to Kingston, and had an evening meeting. After taking meeting on first-day 16th, we came to Guilford, where I felt a concern to appoint a public meeting, but it was a greater cross to appoint such a one than my tongue can express. Sometimes I was ready to flinch and draw back, so that I was often afraid the Lord would cast me out of his favour; then he made me willing to comply with any thing that he required of so poor a creature as I often see myself, and my God knoweth that I have need of a large share of poverty to keep down my aspiring mind. Oh, that the Lord may bring me down in what manner he pleases, that I may never lack humility, saith my soul: meeting ended to satisfaction. Taking a meeting at Frail, we came to Alton, and after a favoured meeting there, my friend Ann Robinson parted with me, and Deborah Merryweather accompanying me, we attended meetings at Basingstoke and Whitechurch; the latter was a tendering season, and I trust some drooping souls were comforted and united in fresh remembrance of the heavenly Father's love, extended to the humbling of our spirits together. Oh, gracious Father, how oft hast thou helped me in times past! Mayest thou not leave me in a foreign land, but open my way, and cause me to stand boldly for thy honour, thou who art able to do all things;



pour down thy pity once more upon me, and renew thy promise to me, that thou would direct me what to say. Thou art worthy to be served and obeyed by me; all the remainder of my days, and may I be devoted to thee, for truly hast thou rewarded with great wages for my little labour, yea even four fold for giving up the prime of my days to follow thee through various trials. Sometimes I was ready to give out, and then he would arise for my encouragement, and make me willing to undergo any thing, if he would but be with me in the forest, and as it were in the lion's den: his presence is sufficient to reward me; for all my afflictions became as a rich garment, so that I could say that all things worked together for my good; oh, that I may still trust in his never-failing arm of power.

We took meetings at Andover, Ramsey and Fordingbridge, and the good hand was near: oh, that my good Master may keep me on every hand, that my conversation may be a seal to my testimony, that I may dwell in the deeps, so as to receive the savour of life unto life, and to bring up memorials as from the bottom of Jordan, to suit the states of those who are daily mourning, for religion is at a very low ebb in this land. I find a few inquirers, who want help, not being willing to take up the cross, and deny themselves of the glittering things of this world, for they appear very pleasing to the outward eye. There are four meeting-houses shut up in this county, and others where meetings are seldom held; and in the last counties I have visited, there are several other houses shut up, and those that are kept open have very small gatherings; and unless there is a returning back to the Fountain of all good, I believe it will be the case with more soon. Oh, that the Lord may pour out his good Spirit upon the sons and daughters of men, that the waste places may be rebuilt, that Zion may shine again in her ancient beauty, saith my spirit. After taking meeting at Ringwood, I came to Shaftsbury, and met with Sarah Stephenson, to my great comfort; she concluding to take some meetings with me, it was a great relief to my mind, for although I had a very kind young woman with me, yet my drooping spirit was very low, feeling the want of one to help me in weightier matters. I had often prayed the Father of mercies, that he would please to concern some weighty Friend to come to my assistance, and I think I may say that my cup overflowed in the remembrance of his abundant mercies and kindness to so poor a creature as I am. We were at Ringwood on the 30th, and had a pretty good meeting, but their holding the monthly meeting the same day, being first-day, did not seem pleasant to me. We then visited the meet-

ings of Marnhull, Sherborne and Longsutton, the two last monthly meetings; then to Chard and Bridport. After the meeting at Bridport I was brought to remember that our dear Lord and Saviour, after he had fed the multitude, and also taught the people, retired to the seaside; and if we have been favoured, we must be immediately humbled again, for that is our safety; to wear his holy yoke and learn to be meek and lowly in heart: my spirit trembleth, and none can tell the deep wading of my poor soul; yet I live and get along, for according to my trials hath my strength been, blessed be the name of my God, who anointed me for his work, day by day.

First-day, 6th of eighth month, were at two meetings at Pool, and feeling a concern to go to the Isle of Wight, Moses Neave, the Friend at whose house we lodged, his daughter, Morris Birkbeck, and several other Friends accompanying me, we went to Newport, and had a large meeting, wherein some were tendered: there is here a meeting-house belonging to Friends, but no Friends reside here at present. The place where we first landed being a considerable town, I had a mind to have a meeting, and after some difficulty in procuring a place, a warehouse was provided; the notice being short, not many people came in, but we had a favoured opportunity, though religion seems low on this island. We then set sail for Pool, and passed by a small town which I hardly knew how to get clear of, but said nothing about it. We landed at Pool, and lodged again at Moses Neave's; he was a kind father and brother to me. After my return, I felt afraid I had lost the penny, in not calling at the other place, not feeling that sweetness of mind I did before; for obedience in every small act bringeth peace, so doth every small act of disobedience obstruct it. I have great cause to cry out against myself and say, that though it seemed there never was a more unfaithful servant laboured in his vineyard, yet the Lord's mercies are great towards me.

After taking a meeting at Ashmore, we came to Shaftsbury, and on first-day, 13th, were at their meeting, which was a tendering season: here Morris Birkbeck parted with us. Attended monthly meeting at Melksham, where our spirits were refreshed together, as they were also next day at their week-day meeting. I then visited some families, and the meetings at Devizes, Lavington and Marlborough; lodged and rested next day at Caln, and first-day, 20th, attended the meeting at Charlecot, eight miles; and returning to Caln, I parted with my dear friend Sarah Stephenson, she hearing her aged mother was sick; it was no small trial to me, but I could not discourage



her. After the meeting at Caln, we attended meetings at Chippenham, Pickwick, Hallington, Bromham; and on first-day, 27th, two at Bradford, and though there are only a few members of our Society, the meeting was large in the afternoon; they were profitable seasons. Then visiting a small number of Friends at Westbury, we came to the quarterly meeting at Devizes, where I was glad to meet William Matthews; the meeting proved a heavy season to me, but at their week-day meeting next day, I had an open time, and was glad I was there. Here I parted with Esther Moxham: then going to Farmington, Mary Powell, a tender Friend, went with me, taking meeting there on first-day; 3rd of ninth month were at meeting at Abington, which, though small and poor, I thought our Master owned us. Thence to Witney, Charlbury and Milton, where my dear Master caused me to taste of his remembrance in a strange land: I had missed these meetings when in this county before, on account of the Circular meetings. Then parted with my dear friend Mary Powell, who is a sweet spirited woman, and weighty in mind. I had a precious meeting at Burford, it pleased the Lord to open the springs of life, so that my spirit was tendered; oh, may he have the honour of his own works, and my mouth be laid in the dust before him, and seek for an abased state day by day, so that I may experience a rising with the seed, for it seems almost famished in some parts of this land.

First-day, 10th, at Gloucester we had a low season, with Friends only, but in the afternoon I hope there was some good gathered. My friend Sarah Squires, of Charlbury, went with me to Bicester, where I thought Truth gained the victory, although the fore part was disturbed. First-day, 17th, rode twelve miles to meeting at Shatford, which proved a tender season; I was made glad I came there, having some thoughts of omitting it, but I had the reward of peace. At Easington my companion parted with me, and I went six miles to the monthly meeting of Brails, where I met with many dear friends, whom I had before been acquainted with, and we were glad to see each other. I had indeed no cause to regret my coming, but have abundant reason to speak well of my good Master; oh, that I may dwell low, in an humble frame of mind, and give all the honour to his glorious name. We went also to Berkswell, to sit with a few Friends who attended, they were advanced in years, and I feared they were a discouragement to others; I had an open meeting with them.

[From Gloucester she wrote the following letter:]

## LETTER TO A FRIEND.

Gloucester, Old England, 10th of  
Ninth month, 1786.

To D. S. Swansey, New England.

Beloved friend,

I long to see the time come, that I may be clear of this land; but I desire patiently to wait the Lord's time, for I am so dry and barren, that it seems as if I could do no good; my baptisms have been greater than my tongue can express; yet the Lord my God has borne me up, and enabled me to step along in fear and trembling, and has been my meat and my drink. The inward cry of my heart has been, that I may be kept from doing any thing that would cause the Truth to be evilly spoken of.

I trust thou canst read and taste with me, for I believe we have been dipped into the same river; so that we have felt the breathings of each other, when far separated one from another.

I believe the Lord is about to shake the dry bones in the valley, and bring them together, bone to its bone, and breathe the breath of life on them.

There are many of the youth of this land, who look promising; but it is hard to arouse those who are at ease, which makes hard work for faithful labourers, who long to see all undue liberties removed. I find the scattered flock up and down as I travel along, that groan to be delivered; and I have been made glad to sit and feel with them here, as I often did feel with the lonely, when at home.

It has been a comfort to me, that the Father of all sure mercies puts us in mind of each other, with strong desires for the preservation of his breathing seed; they are made near to my life all the world over; and I trust the good Shepherd will gather many from the barren mountains and desolate hills of an empty profession, unto himself.

I do remember the many pleasant seasons we have had together, and indeed with all my friends there; how our spirits have been refreshed together in love, and the blessed showers have descended, to the watering of the very hindmost of the flock and family. Those times are brought fresh to my remembrance while I am writing; but oh the stripping seasons I often feel; however, my Lord and Master works for me, and enables me to trust in him, who hath so many times revived my fainting soul, so that I may call him a good Master; and I believe that in his time the lily of the valley will bud and blossom as the rose, to bring about his glorious purpose, to raise the low and cast down the exalted; that they may know that the Most High



rules in the dominions of men. In love, I conclude thy affectionate friend,

PATIENCE BRAYTON.

First-day, 24th, I was at meeting in Coventry: thence took the quarterly meeting at Warwick, which proved a favourable season; William Matthews and Rebecca Jones were also there. Returning to Coventry, Mary Brinsdon joined me as a companion, and we went to Hinkley, and lodged in a Friend's family, with whom I have been somewhat acquainted. My spirit was much exercised about them, thinking them in a dangerous place, as I often feel myself, and often find need to seek unto the Lord, to protect me from the many snares of this vain world; for there are many things that dull the brightness of truth and righteousness, that otherwise might shine through his faithful servants, so that they would be way-marks to inquirers after salvation. How many do I see in this land, that seem quite on the other hand, which I remark with sorrow, yet I find some that long to come up to that mark of pious example, in the way that leads to righteousness and salvation. Thence taking meetings at Leicester, Castle Donnington and Loughborough, which were all precious seasons, came to Nottingham to John Storer's, who is gone to America on a religious visit. Here I rested a day, feeling very low in mind: R. Grubb called to see me, and my spirit was much revived, so that I experienced the saying, as iron sharpeneth iron, so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend.

First-day, 1st of tenth month, I went to meeting at Nottingham, and visited the family of John Leaver, whose wife Mary Leaver, was once in our land; she was now absent on a religious visit. The meetings at Furness and Monyash, were favoured seasons: oh, may my spirit humbly bow to the Lord, for all his many favours which he hath bestowed upon my poor soul, in this foreign land; he is pleased to strip and to clothe us as he sees fit; blessed be his holy name, he has somewhat filled my empty cup again, but I dare not joy but with trembling, lest my joy should be turned into mourning: oh Lord, cause me to stand firm, and give me an equal mind.

First-day, 8th, were at Sheffield meetings, which were blessed to us. Thence to Chesterfield, Mansfield, Broomhouse, Blith, and Retford; some of which were precious meetings. I was told there were several meeting-houses belonging to Friends in this county where there are now no meetings kept up; these are melancholy accounts, but the cross is very much shunned, so true religion withers away, which is very painful, but I believe the

Lord will be clear, and I hope his servants will be clear, in warning and inviting the people to turn to the Lord. We called to see a Friend whose husband had removed eight miles from Friends' meeting, it was thought, to keep her from going to it; my spirit felt with her, and I thought the Lord would make way for her, if she would be faithful, but her work must be hard, standing so alone; yet the Lord can make hard things easy.

First-day, 15th, were at meeting at Broughton, which was a tendering season; I saw what a blessed thing it was to stand on holy ground. After meeting my mind was exercised to visit all the families belonging thereto, which I performed and felt peace for my labour. After taking meetings at Waddington, where it pleased my good Master to open the springs of life, I felt a concern to have a meeting appointed in the city of Lincoln, where there is a meeting-house but no Friends; it was no small cross to give up to it. I tried to make excuses, but found that would not do, and I asked for strength to submit to the Lord's commandment, and that his righteous will might be done, that being the only place of safety. I had rode through the place about a year before, and felt a like concern on my mind: the meeting was appointed, and although not large, we were favoured with a good season, and I had peace of mind in obeying the divine manifestation. Oh, that I may ever serve him with a willing mind, and if but one soul can receive a little barley-bread, through so poor an instrument as I am, it will be a great reward to me. My heart felt truly grateful to my kind Master, who calling me from my outward habitation, to visit this land, sustained me through many sorrowful nights and lonely days, under deep travail of spirit; he alone knoweth them; yet when he pleaseth to open his blessed stores to me, I am richly rewarded and count them but small.

22nd, was at two meetings at Brigg, where we were much favoured, particularly in the afternoon, when many not of our Society came, and were quiet and attentive. We also had a precious meeting at Wainfleet, and another at Leek, then one at Boston, where only one member attends the meeting, but others came in, and we had a good open time. Then going to Spalding, I received some accounts from my dear husband and children that they were well, which is a great relief to my mind, as the accounts before, left him so very poorly, that my children doubted his recovery.

First-day, 29th, were at two meetings at Spalding, both weighty seasons. Going to Gedney, my mind was much exercised in sorrow, to see how the mighty have fallen, and how the people have turned into bye



paths, and but few who lay it sufficiently to heart; yet I have no doubt there is a living seed, although the number appears small; oh, that they may be enlarged, but they are much borne upon by the libertines. I pray the Lord to endue them with double strength, that they may not be turned either to the right hand or to the left, but be favoured to make their paths straight through the wilderness of this world, before the Lord, so as to be as bright and shining stars as in former times, when the Lord was pleased to raise us up to be a people, to stand boldly for his honour, and the cross was made their delight in the Lord, although it led to prisons and the stocks; but now it is shunned and trampled upon in the streets. We attended meetings at Gedney, thence to Wisbeach and Wareham, several of them I had visited before, but falling in my way desired to take them again, being small meetings and not so often visited as larger; they were favoured seasons, and my soul was humbled in desires, that the Most High would abase it more and more, until he brings me where I ought to be, so that I might obtain his blessed notice, and be carried through this visit to the honour of his great name, to the peace of my own soul, and to the comfort of my dear friends, who are deeply bowed for me. After attending two meetings at Lynn, I visited two aged women, to the strengthening of my drooping spirit. Thence to Fakenham, where my mind was much drawn to the people, and this meeting was exercising to me, as I was very jealous of myself; but we had a most favoured season, and my mind was humbly thankful therefor. I was led to treat upon the subject of people doing violence to their own life, that the Lord had delivered my soul from such a temptation, and that he is able to deliver every soul therefrom, that put their trust and confidence in him: one of the Friends present told me afterwards, he was under a strong temptation of that sort.

We then went to the meetings of Wells, Holt and North-Waltham, which were favoured seasons; and first-day, eleventh month 12th, were at meeting at Yarmouth, and in the afternoon attended a funeral, which, with an opportunity with the mourners, were precious seasons. Thence going to Norwich, met with Mehetabel Jenkins and Ann Aumack, whom I was rejoiced to see in health. Attended meeting there, and then taking meetings at Tasburgh, Tivitshall and Diss, returned back to Norwich, where I was so much indisposed as mostly to keep my bed; but on first-day 19th, attended their two meetings, which were both silent; rested and wrote to my dear husband, and then attended the monthly meet-

ing there, which was a blessed season. We had also a refreshing meeting at Wymondham, where my companion was much favoured in testimony. Thence took a meeting at Attleborough, and returned to Norwich, and on first-day 26th, had two satisfactory meetings there, and next day Mehetabel Jenkins joined me, and we united as companions. I hope our heavenly Father will join our hearts and souls together as David and Jonathan's were, that our ways may please him in going out and coming in before the Lord and his people, and find favour in his sight. Taking meetings at Wells, Holt, and Lammas, returned to Norwich again, and had a weighty season in the family of Edmund Peckover, several Friends coming in. After attending two meetings on first-day, to satisfaction, at Yarmouth, and visiting a sick Friend, we took meetings at Pakefield, Builes and Leiston: oh, that the Lord would shake the dry bones, and breathe the breath of life upon them, that the blessed Truth may not be so much denied as to fall in the streets.

First-day, 10th of twelfth month, we went to meeting at Woodbridge: thence the meetings of Ipswich, Minsom, and the first-day following, were at two meetings at Needham; we were also at the quarterly meeting there, where was abundance of preaching, but myself and companion were silent in the public meeting. We afterwards visited the meetings of Rittersdon, Edmundsbury, Bardwell, Thetford, Brandon, Mildenhall, Haverhill, Sudbury, and so to Holstead, in Esex; thence to Coln, and on first-day, 31st, at two meetings at Colchester; most of which meetings were favoured opportunities, and my dear companion had good service in many of them. Thence we took the meetings of Manningtree, Copford, Coggeshall, Kelvedon, Witham, Chelmsford, and going to Stonehall, lodged at William Knight's, who has a cancer in his face; we had a blessed opportunity with him, to our mutual comfort. Next day rode to London, and lodged at J. Beavan's, 6th of first month, 1787. We staid in London some time, attended the quarterly and other meetings as they came in course; some of which were feeling seasons; but oh, the need of dwelling low; great were my exercises in this place, and though silence has been frequently my lot, I have sometimes had a little to say, and found peace, and I have thought my companion has been favoured.

Twenty-first of first month, being first-day, we were at two meetings at Chelmsford, which were favoured seasons, calling for humble acknowledgment. Thence went to Dunmow; the fore part of the meeting seemed a dull time, but in the latter part my com-



panion was greatly favoured in supplication, and had some service, and the meeting ended quiet and well, I hope to the honour of Truth. We had a blessed meeting also at Stebbing: I think I never knew my companion more favoured, and after meeting my mind was sweetly clothed with the remembrance of God's love to me from my youth until this time; may I live more and more under a humble sense of the many mercies he hath extended to me a poor worm. Thence we took meetings at Felsted, Thaxted and Bardside, which were favoured seasons. We then went to Walden, and staid their meetings on first-day, 24th, and lodged at George Gibson's, whose wife was once in our land; we also staid their monthly meeting, and then took the meetings of Walden, Bishoptorford, Stansted, Hodson, Ware, and so to Hartford meetings on first-day, taking our lodgings at John Prior's; we also staid their monthly meeting, which was a tendering season. Thence to the meetings of Buntingford, Royston, Ashwell, Baldock, Stratford, and to Hitchin on first-day, 11th of second month, where we met William Matthews and Rebecca Wright, and I received information that my dear husband was thought to be nearly gone in a decline; it was very trying to me, but may the will of the Lord be done, for he truly knoweth what is best for me: oh Lord, if thou wilt but be with me, so that I may not bring dishonour upon thy holy name, it is all that I require at thy bountiful hand, and that will make all hard things easy.

William Matthews and Rebecca Wright going for London, we took the meetings of Luton, Ampthill, Huntingdon, Swansey, Ives, Ramsay, Warboys, Chatteris, Sutton, Littleport, and on first-day, 25th, to Earleigh; most of which were favoured seasons. Next day had a public meeting at Eves, which was very large, some supposed there were nearly one thousand people gathered. We then went to Huntington and had a public meeting, wherein we were both favoured; and then proceeded to Oakham, took the meeting there, also meetings at Raunds, Wellingborough, and on first-day, 4th of third month, at Thendon. Thence to the monthly meeting at Geddington, where my heart was humbled under a sense of the Lord's goodness to me during my stay in this land. We then proceeded to take meetings at Kettering, Northampton and Bugbrook, and my companion being unwell, we staid over first-day, 11th, and she received a letter from her husband, informing of the death of her eldest son, which was no small exercise to her; but the good hand is near, opening our way day by day, through many dry sea-

sons. We then took the meeting at Sherrington, which seemed to be a cloudy time, but light broke forth, and it was a tendering season; may my soul bow down to the God of my life, and give the honour and praise to him alone, who hath heard my prayers out of the deeps, and healeth my wounds; may I always obey him with a willing mind. Thence attended meetings at Hogstyend, Layton, Buckingham, Aylesbury, Tring, Chesham, Amersham, Highwycomb, Jourdans, Charlywood, Hemelhemsted, Albans, and so to London; many of which meetings were favoured seasons; blessed be my good Master for his favours manifested many ways on this journey.

In London we met with Zachariah Dicks and Rebecca Wright, whom I was glad to see, my spirit being very low. We then took meetings in the neighbourhood of London, at Barking, Plaistow, Epping, two at Tottenham, Winchmorehill, Enfield, and Waltham Abbey. May my heart be truly humbled to return suitable acknowledgment to the Lord Jehovah, in whom is everlasting strength, and who carries us through all he requires of us. Oh, the many baptizing searching seasons my spirit felt, yet had to rejoice in the Lord's dealing with my poor soul, to wash and fit me for every day's work, with renewed remembrance of his mercies, who worketh many ways for my safety; great and wonderful are all his glorious works. Oh Lord, never forget me, but uphold me by thy free spirit through time, and conduct me safely to the end, so that I may be lifted up to praise thee among thy saints and angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect, entering into true rest in that enclosure where nothing can hurt or harm me any more.

During my late absence from London, I heard of the death of John Dollin, a very valuable, sober man; he hath left a wife and three children; he will be much missed in the city of London: I received a letter from him some time since, which is as follows:

"London, Second month 2nd, 1787.

"Dear friend,

"PATIENCE BRAYTON,

"THOU and thy dear companion have been frequently and affectionately brought to my remembrance since parting with you, with an increasing desire that I might be found faithful, coming up in the footsteps of the flock of the companions of Christ, and be made truly willing to be their companion in suffering as well as in rejoicing. In this tribulated path I have desired in my small measure to be enabled to sympathize with thee, my dear friend, whose lot hath been to be deeply baptized, and to go down as unto the bottom of Jordan



again and again. Blessed be his name whose wisdom is unsearchable, and his ways past finding out; how is he graciously pleased to lead about and instruct his depending children, bringing them through a variety of states, whereby they are enabled to speak comfortably unto others; and having themselves brought up from the very bottom of Jordan, stones of memorial to the mercy and goodness of their God, they are at times qualified to say unto the weak in faith, be strong, and to those who have no might of their own, put on strength. I feel that love to flow towards thee, thou dear mother in Israel, which is better felt than expressed, and I am made to rejoice in the sensible feeling thereof, wherein the living are bound up together in the covenant of love and of life, and their cups made to overflow in reverent thanksgiving; and they enabled to rejoice even in tribulation; to rejoice that they are not only counted worthy to believe in, but also to suffer for, his blessed Name and the Seed's sake. And now, dear friend, be encouraged to cast thy care on the Almighty, and he will sustain thee, who hath promised to be as a husband to the widow, and as a father to the fatherless children, who put their trust in him. May his blessed presence go along with thee, and be thy companion, not only in thy going out, but in thy coming in and returning home, be thy stay and thy staff, and thy exceeding great reward; giving thee largely to partake of the sheaves of sweet peace, which is the portion of the obedient soul. I fully believe, dear friend, that there is a further arduous service for thee to perform in this great city; but be not dismayed, although it may be given thee to thresh the mountains, seeing the mountain of the Lord's house shall be exalted on the top of all the mountains, and the place of his feet shall be glorious. He that hath called, is faithful to administer strength to his truly depending children, proportioned to the work of the day; he maketh his little ones as Davids, and his Davids as the angels of his presence; he causeth the mountains to flee before them like rams, and the little hills like lambs, at the glory of his majesty and the brightness of his arising: even one, through his mighty power, is to chase a thousand, and two to put ten thousand to flight, before whom the nations of men are made but as grasshoppers.

"Accept, dear friend, with thy companion, my most cordial love, whose earnest desire is, that I may be made meet to be, not only your truly affectionate friend, but according to my small measure, your faithful fellow-labourer in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ.

"JOHN DOLLIN."

After the quarterly meeting I went to see the widow Dollin and her children, and felt greatly with her in her trouble.

Tenth of fourth month, I went with my dear companion on board ship, to see if it suited her to take passage home; we had a favoured time, and I felt my faith strengthened and confirmed, that the time was not yet come for my departure; yet I was afraid lest I should be mistaken in my prospect, for I longed to get home, and I had visited all but a few meetings in this land, but the will of the Lord be done and not mine.

First of the week, 11th of fourth month, we went to Horslydown meeting in the forenoon, and in the afternoon went to the burying of dear John Dollin: a large number of people attended at Grace-church meeting on the occasion. I remained in and about London until the yearly meeting, taking meetings as they came in course in the city, and also the meetings of Brentford, Kingston, Esher, Guilford, Godalming, Capal, Dorking, Ryegate, Croydon, and Deptford. I was glad in taking these meetings again, believing it was my place, and several Friends expressed to me they were comforted by our visit, and strengthened by our sitting together. My heart's desire is to be humbly thankful to the God of my life, who has been my helper to this day; he has carried me through step by step, in trembling and great fear; may his glorious aid be with me through time. I now long to see my way open to return home, it seems to me to be drawing near, but I do not yet see the time. I lately heard my dear husband was recruiting in his health; this was unexpected from the last accounts I had from him, and it filled my heart with humble thankfulness to my heavenly Master, who called me to leave him, and who has done so much for me, and continues still to do more than I am worthy of, or dare ask; for he hath spared my own life and the life of my dear husband, and I may say I have lacked nothing, in my journey, from the Lord.

Twenty-sixth of fifth month the yearly meeting began, and second-day afternoon the women's meeting opened, and I thought the Father of light was there, and the glory of the Lord and his love filled the house; I attended all the meetings, and many of them were favoured seasons. After this I changed my lodgings on account of the small-pox, and went to Simon Bailey's, where Rebecca Wright has her lodgings; we came together again unexpectedly before we take shipping. I now feel my mind nearly ready to take my leave of this land. Next day we went on board a ship we thought of taking passage in, and while there I felt very peaceful in mind. Af-



ter which I accompanied George Dillwyn and Rebecca Jones to a meeting of the young men and women servants, who are Friends, in this city.

Although I had been thoughtful of returning home, an exercise about going to France arose, so that I was obliged to lay it before my dear friends of the morning meeting, to feel with me in so weighty a matter, about the 10th of sixth month, and found two other Friends were under a like concern, and my joy was great in my obedience; may the Lord be praised and obeyed in all things, saith my soul. I attended meetings in course in and about London, until the morning meeting, 1st of seventh month, when after weighing our prospects, our friends could not see their way clear to set us at liberty to go to France. Then continuing attending meetings in course, in and around the city, my mind was made peaceful about returning home. 22nd, Attended the morning meeting of ministers and elders, and rode seven miles out of London; had a favoured meeting and returned, feeling peace to run in my soul as a river, rewarding for performing what was required of me in this land, although it was in a stammering broken manner.

[About this time it appears she was under an exercise of mind to visit the king, but the way not opening for a personal interview at that time, she sent him an address, viz:]

*Address to George the Third, King of Great Britain, &c. A native of New England, in North America, and one of the people called Quakers, begs leave to present the following Address and Petition.*

MAY the Almighty God save the king, and establish thee and thy seed after thee on thy throne here, and enable thee so to walk, as that when thou hast done with all things on this side the grave, admittance may be obtained into the kingdom of everlasting rest and peace! I have often thought of thee in my native land, and since my residence here have had to behold how the Lord on high hath blessed thy kingdom beyond other kingdoms of the earth; and earnest desires have been raised in my heart for thee, that thou mayest be the chosen of the God of heaven, to show kindness unto those who are in distress; particularly by stopping the progress of slavery; and promoting the freedom of the enslaved negroes in thy dominions as far as lies in thy power; so that thy righteous acts may never be erased from remembrance as long as the world endures—that he by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, may delight to establish the kingdom over which

thou presidest, in righteousness, and that a door may be opened for other nations concerned in that unrighteous traffic, to follow so laudable an example. The hearts of all men are in the power of God, and he by thy means may turn the hearts of other princes to feel for those highly injured and deeply distressed people, so as to rise up and unite in the same benevolent design. And it is my faith, that the first of them who shall publicly assert their cause [the enslaved negroes] and open a door for their deliverance, the Lord of the whole earth will distinguish by his peculiar favour, and give to rejoice in the experience, that it is indeed righteousness alone that truly exalteth a nation. I had to believe several years before I left my native country, that the Lord would give thee an offer to take the lead; but that if thou refused, he would choose another to set up the standard of righteousness on this occasion, wherein so large a part of the inhabitants of the earth are concerned; many of whom are now groaning in thy dominions under oppression sufficiently grievous, as I have thought, to affect the hearts even of the most obdurate. Mayest thou, O king, be earnest in supplication as one formerly was, whom the Lord Most High called his servant, who said, "Take from me a stony heart and give me a heart of flesh;" that as Christ has declared, "They that ask shall receive," thine may be tendered and enlarged to desire and promote the good, not only of thy own people, but of the nations around thee; and that thou mayest be enabled in the time of extremity, to which we are all approaching, to appeal to the Searcher of the heart as good King Hezekiah did, "Thou knowest how I have walked before thee, with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight." To be thus conscious that thou hast not turned a deaf ear to the cry of the poor and distressed, will then be an experience far more enriching than any which the splendor of a temporal crown can afford; because He, the King of kings and Lord of lords, hath said, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." O king, thou art entrusted with great ability to do good under Him, who of one blood created all nations, not to oppress and destroy one another, but to lend a hand of assistance where it is needed in our several stations; that looking down on the mutual kindness and endeavours of his children to promote each other's happiness, He may delight to open the windows of heaven, and add to the temperate enjoyment of his temporal gifts, the blessing of his divine favour. Under the influence of this, as I have been sometimes led to pray for thy prosperity, hath been opened to my understanding, that



the Lord did love thee, and that if thou wert faithful in the promotion of righteousness, he would bless thee as he did king Solomon, with both spiritual and temporal riches, the dew of heaven and fatness of the earth; for the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and he giveth it unto whomsoever it pleaseth him. It is the righteous who are to enjoy it as an inheritance from him, and delight themselves in abundance of peace. And mayest thou be of the number, by promoting an extension of mercy to the injured and oppressed Africans. In the hours of solid retirement I have been often and much affected in viewing their distresses, and since I have been in this nation, have believed it required of me as a duty to lay their deplorable case before thee, entreating thy interposition on their behalf; that in the day of inquisition for blood thou mayest stand clear in the sight of God, by whom not the sayers but the doers of the law will be justified. Those who obey his injunctions will partake of his promises, and such as sow plentifully in faith, will reap accordingly in peace and joy. So wisheth my heart for thee, O king! Be pleased to accept favourably this disinterested petition; and remember that the Almighty Ruler of the universe, though heaven is his throne and the earth his footstool, is not unmindful of the poorest among men, but graciously condescends to hear and answer their petitions, having declared, that "for the cry of the poor and the sighing of the needy he will arise."

PATIENCE BRAYTON.

London, 22nd of Seventh month, 1787.

We rode twenty-two miles to Gravesend, accompanied by many Friends, and meeting many there, had a precious meeting. On the 26th we went on board the ship *Pigou*, Woolman Sutton, commander; many Friends went with us, and we had a pleasant opportunity again before we parted. Our company were, William Matthews, Zachariah Dicks, Rebecca Wright, Ann Jessop and Martha Mooney, a young woman from Ireland. After seven or eight days contrary winds and feeling poorly, the wind came fair, and we all began to grow better, but I felt low in spirit. Lord, make me contented, and sweeten every bitter cup; for what are my sufferings, accommodated as we are on ship board, compared with those of the poor Africans in their transportation to slavery; how my heart feels with them. On first-day, though sick, I was filled with joy and peace that the world could not give, nor princes clothe my soul with, neither can they take it from me; my cup overflowed in the Lord's goodness, his light shining through all, to the healing of my poor soul:

after many deep baptizing seasons, how sweet it is to receive the joyful sound, *Well done*: Oh, that I might be faithful to the Lord, the remaining part of my days.

First-day, 2nd of ninth month, we had a heavy storm; but my mind was sweetly clothed with peace and thanksgiving to the Lord, though the violence of the sea was such as to cause the vessel to roll so as to cast me out of an armed chair, and Zachariah Dicks out of his seat, and tossed us to the other side of the cabin, and put out my wrist. But though at first I felt some discouragement, a secret thought soon ran through me, that the Lord might favour me with the help of those around to set it again in its place, and Zachariah Dicks and another took hold of my wrist, and as I told them to pull, it was set in its place. The weather was so rough as to prevent our having a meeting this day; but on fifth-day following we were favoured to sit together.

First-day, 9th, we had a meeting on board, saw the land, and took a pilot on board; and on the 10th landed at Philadelphia: our dear friends were very glad to see us, and I was made thankful to my Lord and Master who had called out, sent home, and preserved my life both outward and inward: surely it was the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in mine eyes. My arm being some inflamed, and having some fever, I was under the doctor's hands while in Philadelphia, so that I could not attend all the sittings of the yearly meeting, which began the 22nd, and ended the 29th.

On the 3rd of tenth month I set out with a number of Friends returning from the yearly meeting, and considering the weakness of my wrist, bore the journey as well as I could expect, and reached Rahway on the 5th, where my friends received me very kindly; I stayed meetings on first-day, the 7th, and both fore and afternoon were favoured meetings. I then proceeded to New York, was kindly received by Friends, and tarried meeting there, and on sixth-day, the 12th, went on board of a vessel, and landed the 13th at night in Newport. The 14th, I rode to Portsmouth meeting, which was a tendering season; and hearing my dear husband was very sick, made me press forward, and through the kindness of Friends, I was favoured to get home that night, and found my husband on the recovery, and my children well.

Oh how great are the manifold favours I have received on this journey; may my spirit be truly melted under a sense of his blessings, who hath performed all his gracious promises to me, a poor unworthy creature. By sea and by land, the Lord has been my helper; he



hath removed mountains and made me paths in the deeps to walk in, praised be his name; may my soul be ever humbly bowed to him for his continuance with me, all the remainder of my days; may I serve and obey him in all his commands, however hard to my natural disposition to submit to. From my other dear friends, I met with much love and rejoicing at seeing each other again; and I have received the wages of peace.

[After this she travelled but little; feeling the infirmities of declining years; but continued fervent in spirit, and lively in the exercise of her gift, showing forth the truth of that saying of the Psalmist, "They that be planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the courts of our God—they shall still bring forth fruit in old age, they shall be fat and flourishing." As long as she was able she continued to attend religious meetings at and about home; visiting the sick and afflicted, with whom she tenderly sympathized, and was often made the instrument of imparting instruction and comfort to them. Thus, standing as a faithful and wise servant, with her loins girded and her light burning, the solemn summons of death did not surprise or alarm her, but through the power of Him who conquered death, she was enabled to meet it with calmness and composure, humbly trusting in his merits and mercy, and we believe is entered into the joy of her Lord.]

During her stay in England, the following correspondence took place, viz:

LETTER RECEIVED BY PATIENCE BRAYTON  
WHILE IN ENGLAND.

Friend,

That love that thinketh no evil and rejoiceth in the truth, constraineth me to say, that your exhortation on Wednesday evening was suited to my case or state. I am humbly thankful, God hath not left me without his witness in my heart, and also that he hath inclined you to point me out. May I humbly and patiently wait his time of deliverance, and follow by faith, his fiery and cloudy pillar, all through this howling wilderness.

I have, I humbly hope, preached Jesus Christ, but not in your societies, and I hope in a good measure with a single eye to the glory of God. But, having lately been exercised with many and severe trials, from the professing church, have been led to retire more inward, to commune with my own heart and be still. I see my own ignorance, my will-worship, my forms and modes, and gos-

pel schemes, my unfeeling prayers, and often unseasonable preaching without spirit and life, as only rising from a carnal mind, which is enmity against God, and the imagination exalting itself against him. From six years of age I have tasted, at seasons, divine love and favour; but I must lament that I have too, too often lost the savour of his precious truths; may it be so no more! Many times, like Israel, have I been delivered, and as often like them have I provoked him by distrust, &c.; yea he hath chastised me, and I have been like a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke. Ah! that I might be so moulded into his heavenly image, and daily learn to say experimentally, "Thy will be done." He indeed renewed his love to me, that evening, and since he hath caused his grace to distil as the dew, and has given me to know, that in his own time and way, he will lengthen my cords and strengthen my stakes, and cause me to break out on the right and on the left.

I feel my spirit melting while I write this, with the tenderest love and affection towards you, who minister in the Word, and towards your societies. I joy in your joys, and should sorrow in your sorrows did I know them. Pardon me if I go too far in saying, that I have seen in my mind, what the Lord will do in his own time: antichrist will fall with all his powers, and a pure primitive church, perhaps like thine, arise out of his ruin, for in the evening time it shall be light—and that shall shine brighter and brighter to the perfect day. I have been burthened with the weight of awful, fearful apprehension, that the Lord God hath a controversy with us, as a nation, laden with iniquity; his hand has been—is—and will be stretched out against us, if we do not repent, and turn to him with all our minds. Ah, Friends, I know by many years experience, though I am but a young man, that if you are faithful to reprove, publicly and privately, you will suffer persecution, perhaps even among some of your own whole hearted people, for all are not Israel that are born of Israel; but continue you faithful unto death, and you know who hath said, he will give you a crown of life. I conclude—may the peace of God rule in your hearts, and may you be stirred up to thankfulness to him in your spirit, on my account; and may all who heard you that evening, if he so will, meet to praise for ever. As to me, at a suitable season, thy people shall be mine, I will live and die in their communion, and among them will I, if I can, and the Lord please, be buried. Thy God is my God, and to his grace I am a great debtor. When you find freedom in prayer remember your affectionate friend,



## ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.

Dear friend,

I received the letter thou sent me: I wish well to all mankind, and especially to the truly seeking soul, that has nothing in view but its own salvation and redemption from this vain world and its enticements; such will the Lord help, and will not suffer them to fall, but will uphold these, and carry them through the wilderness, to the praise of his great name. Oh! that thy trust may be in him alone; do not let thy eye be outward to human power, and the wisdom of men. It is said of Nimrod, that he was a mighty hunter before the Lord, he set up Babel and was confounded. No building will stand but the Lord's building, in the day of account that is coming on all flesh, and I wish that thou mayest be favoured to dwell low and humble, as at the feet of Jesus, a safe guide who leads all right; he is the way, the truth and the life. One formerly could answer him and say, thou art Christ the son of the living God; and the Lord blessed him, and said that flesh and blood had not revealed it unto him, but his Father which is in heaven; and further said, thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. I believe all those that take him for a guide will be built on that rock, will be led in the way of life, and kept from falling; for he will discover by his enlightening virtue, the many snares that the enemy of man's happiness is secretly laying for them. The Lord will discover all his works, both small and great, to us poor creatures, and enable man to cry earnestly to be delivered from every temptation; oh, then man will witness the Lord to be near, and to be our helper in every needful time, plucking him out of the hand of our enemies, whether outward or inward. Those that trust in him with a sincere heart, none shall be able to pluck out of the Lord's hand, for he that is willing to undergo any thing for the Lord's sake, will have it made delightful to turn his cheek to the smiter; he will make hard things easy, and we shall count it our joy to be in suffering with him, and be crucified to the world, and the world unto us. All our joys will be in heaven and upon heavenly things; desires will be raised, with that love and peace, that the world cannot give; we shall want all mankind to partake of the same, and shall be favoured to pray for our enemies, that the Lord may turn their hearts to that love that wisheth well to all mankind. We have need to wait low, and be thoroughly washed and purged from dark works and dark imaginations, to serve the living God, that dwells in

light, and that light will influence our hearts one to another, so that we may witness the saying of, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel:" feel often that necessity, for it is the love of God spread abroad in the heart, desiring the welfare of all men, that they may witness a change from corruption and sin, so as to put on Christ with his deeds of righteousness. Oh, dear friend, such will the Lord uphold with his free spirit, and will set bounds to the proud waves, that they shall go so far and no further; for the Lord will not suffer the honest in heart to be tempted beyond what they are able to bear. We have an High Priest who is touched with a feeling of all our infirmities, and stands ready to help the needy soul, that longs to be delivered from all sin, that secret and public evils may be purged away, and it be presented to the Lord without spot or wrinkle. The Lord's love and mercy will be extended to these, for neither grace nor truth, nor any good thing will he withhold from those who love him. I may say in my little measure of experience, that it hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive the good things that the Lord hath in store for them that love him; for he is rich to all them that call upon him with a sincere heart, desiring to be made fit for his kingdom, to learn contentment with godliness, which is great gain; for a contented mind is a continual feast. May this be thy happy lot, is the sincere desire of one who wisheth well to all mankind, and who hath left all that is near and dear in this world, for the sake of my own peace and the good of souls, to persuade mankind to flee from the wrath to come upon those who die in their sins.

If I have been an instrument in the Lord's hand to do any good, may the Lord have the praise of his own works, and may no honour be given to the instrument; for he is pleased to make clay with spittle and anoint the eyes of the blind, and I look upon myself less than that clay. It was the Lord's power that wrought the miracle of old, and may he, saith my soul, have the praise of his: oh, that I may not rob God of his own glory, for he will not give his praise unto graven images, nor his honour unto another. May thy mind therefore be turned to him, who is able to forgive all thy sins, and blot out all thy iniquities; he will not only open the eyes to see, but will heal all other infirmities; he will make the lame to walk; the dumb to speak; heal the sick and raise the dead—may thou be truly raised from dead works, to serve the living and eternal God. I am very desirous that thou mayest be made a serviceable man in the Lord's hand, and do good in his house, which will be more to thee in a dying hour



than all the riches that this world can give. My very spirit prayeth for thy welfare in the Lord; so farewell. I remain thy well-wishing friend,  
PATIENCE BRAYTON.

SECOND LETTER, FROM THE WRITER OF  
THE FIRST.

Dear friend,

Blessed, forever blessed, be that holy Lord God, who inclined thy heart to write to me, the most unworthy and less than the least of all, and who while reading, laid truly low all lofty thoughts and vain imaginations, sweetly inclining my (alas! too stubborn) will, to resign itself like clay into the hands of the potter, to mould and fashion me into his own image and likeness.

My spirit truly unites with thine, in a manner which words cannot convey—fain would my will rest on this side Jordan, settling on my lees, and relinquish a work which I am called to, and which thy mind hath been led out concerning, on my account; but now I am again revived and renewed, and my language is, Here am I, send me: but there are many obstacles in my way. I am no Quaker by profession, nor do I know whom at present to open my mind to, on that subject. I am made willing to part with any thing and every thing, in the Lord's strength, for his glory; nor do I count riches, acquirements, friendship, or life itself, dear unto me, so that I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I am more than persuaded I have received of him. Oh! that he would make crooked paths straight before me—that he would lengthen my cords and strengthen my stakes, that he would cause me to break out on the right hand and the left—that he would burst my bonds asunder, and make me, though only as it were clay and spittle, useful—Oh! that I may be so wholly given up to him, as to trust in him at all times, and walk continually before him in the light of his reconciled countenance.

My work I clearly see, is to those who are at ease in Zion, to those who hold the form and deny the power, to those who are dwelling at ease in their own fenced cities, in walled towns, whose arguments are to them as chariots of iron. My work will be my wages, it will be in my mouth sweet as honey, and bitter as gall in my belly. Persecution and peculiar trials will await me; but in all these things we are more than conquerors, through him that loveth us. Alas! such is my ignorance, I am fearful to proceed, lest I darken counsel with words without knowledge. Go on, dear woman, and preach Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever; and

fulfil the saying, that women out of weakness were made strong in word, valiant in fight, and put to flight the armies of the aliens. Every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, but this shall be with the sharp two-edged sword of divine power, and spirit of burning: here no human faculties or art can prevail, and all human wisdom and strength must fall: here the young man shall utterly faint and be weary, but they that trust in the Lord shall do valiantly. May all concerned wait for the noise over the mulberry trees, and never like Saul enter the battle without the signal; but let God arise, and so shall his enemies be scattered—the people will be as grass before him, while his doctrine like the rain or like the dew, shall distil; and they shall spring up with clear springings after rain.

But perhaps I shall write too much: I feel my spirit earnestly praying for thee, and the success of thy ministry. Oh! may King Jesus go forth conquering and to conquer; and may all the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and his Christ. Ah! would the Lord be pleased to use so unworthy a creature as I am, he would get all the praise; but all falls short to exalt his glories, and all falls short to describe my nothingness, ignorance and depravity—Ah! join me, reader, to give him all the glory as our **ALL in ALL**. Keep silence before him, O my soul, in thy primitive nothingness, dust; and be thou exalted, O my Redeemer, in all men's hearts, far above all blessings and praise.

Dear friend, it is true, all our enemies are forgiven, and easily so, when we can say experimentally, *My beloved is mine, and I am his*: he feeds among the lilies of the valley, those who are truly humble and contrite, who when laden with dew, put down their heads as overwhelmed with love and gratitude, and whose amiable walking makes them white and beautiful. Here is sweet contentment and rest; bread shall be given such, and their water shall be sure—having food and raiment, such are divinely content, such are below pride and above want—Oh, happy, heavenly experience; blessed are they who are in such a state, yea, blessed are the people whose God is the Lord.

From hence, farewell prejudice to real friends—farewell, love of the world—farewell, trust in vain imaginations—Oh! that I could say to that many headed monster self, farewell too; but some Canaanites of that kind will perhaps remain, like the leprosy in the walls of the house, to try us and to prove us, that we may fight in the Lord's strength and drive them from their strong holds. To him



who hath made thee as my sister, that sucked the breasts of my mother, be all glory now and forever.

*A Testimony of Swansea Monthly Meeting, in the county of Bristol, and State of Massachusetts, concerning PATIENCE BRAYTON.*

THIS our esteemed friend Patience Brayton, was born at North-Kingston, State of Rhode Island, the 18th of Eleventh month, 1733, of parents professing Truth, David and Mary Greene. As she early found in herself a propensity to folly, dissipation and vanity, so she witnessed the Reprover following her by powerful convictions, though for a time she withstood them, and was reluctant in yielding to the divine Monitor, which exposed her to many deep conflicts and temptations; yet frequent and powerful were the operations of the Holy Spirit on her mind, whereby a willingness was wrought in her to break off from her beloved companions in vanity and mirth, by yielding obedience to the Divine will, although she became a byword and derision of those unprofitable companions.

About the twenty-first year of her age she appeared in public testimony, in which she witnessed an advancement from one degree of faith and experience to another. In the year 1758 she was married to Preserved Brayton, a member of this meeting, in the attendance of which, and of meetings for worship, she was very diligent when ability of body would admit, and we believe surmounted many discouragements.

A remarkable gravity appeared in her deportment, which indicated that a reverent awe covered her mind, especially in her approaches to perform divine worship in our assemblies; and whilst she was under the parental ties of an affectionate mother, she was at times prevented from getting out, and at such times as well as others, she manifested a necessity for heavenly bread, by calling her family to retirement and quietude.

She was one of those who were exercised on account of the slavery of the Africans, and about the middle part of her life was jointly concerned with her husband in setting those they held, at liberty. Thus being assisted to cleanse her own hands from that iniquity, she became qualified to labour with her brethren and sisters on account of the liberty of others, which in time was thoroughly accomplished among us. Thus endeavouring to be faithful in the little, she came to be called to a greater field of labour.

A concern prevailed in her mind for some time to visit Friends in the Southern governments, which she gave up to perform; and having the concurrence of Friends therein, she set out on the 9th of the Fifth month, 1771. Notwithstanding her exercise was great, and her conflicts many and proving; the infant state of her family seem-

ing to require her nursing attention, and the exercise of parting with a beloved weakly husband, caused painful reflections on her mind; yet that arm which was made bare for her delivery from her early captivity, and had sustained her hitherto, was pleased again to perfect obedience to his requirings, and supported her through many hardships and discouragements in the course of this journey. In her absence one of her children was taken away by death, and another soon after her return, in which trials she manifested resignation of mind, and acknowledged that the Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away, blessed be his worthy name.

After her return, being absent from home upwards of a year, she visited Friends' families through this monthly meeting, to the comfort of the living amongst us, and stirring up of the lukewarm, and was instrumental in encouraging the weak and diffident traveller to persevere on; her concern being much for the unity of the body. She continued about home several years, attending this and the neighbouring meetings, and once pretty generally visited Friends in the eastern quarter of New England.

She had a concern for a long time to pay a religious visit to Friends in Great Britain and Ireland; and in the year 1783, having the concurrence of her brethren and sisters, she set forward for Philadelphia, taking meetings on the way there; from thence embarked, and was favoured to arrive safe in Ireland. After spending some time in visiting Friends there, she proceeded to England, where her concern mostly led, and visited nearly all the meetings of Friends in Great Britain, and was favoured to return to her family and friends in about four years, with satisfaction and peace in her own bosom. At her return from this and other visits, she produced certificates of Friends' unity and good satisfaction with her services amongst them.

After her return from Europe, being in the decline of life, she was much about home, attending her own and adjacent meetings. In the year 1793, she was seized with a paralytic affection, at intervals of which, she was concerned and assisted to meet with us at our meeting-house, though much weakened in body, yet fervent in spirit, and appeared to be renewedly concerned for the poor, often administering to their relief.

She was one that was diffident of herself and her performances, and often had to acknowledge her own unworthiness, and as she laboured to be faithful, her endeavours were abundantly blessed to herself, and we trust to many of those among whom her lot was cast, particularly the sick and afflicted, with whom her mind was often baptized in near sympathy, and favoured with a sense of their states. To these, through the precious influence of Truth, she was enabled to administer



the wine and the oil of the kingdom, to the refreshing and consoling of their spirits.

She was a loving wife, a tender mother, and much beloved by her neighbours and acquaintance. "And having kept the Word of his patience, we trust she hath left affliction behind her." She was seized with a fit of the like kind as heretofore, and manifested a sense of her approaching dissolution; with calmness and composure said she was ready; and discovering her daughter to weep, continued, "do not mourn for me, my child, for it will be well with me;" and having been assisted to the door for air, she said to those about her, "carry and lay me on the bed that I may die in peace." In a short time she quietly departed this life, the 30th day of the seventh month, 1794, and was decently buried the

1st of the eighth month, in Friends' burial-ground at Somerset, after a large and solemn meeting of Friends and others. And we doubt not but she is one of that number of whom it is said, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours: and their works do follow them." Aged upwards of sixty years, and a minister about forty years.

Signed in behalf of our monthly meeting of men and women Friends, held at Somerset for Swansey, the 6th of the fourth month, 1795, by

DANIEL BRAYTON, } Clerks.  
MARY EARL, }































